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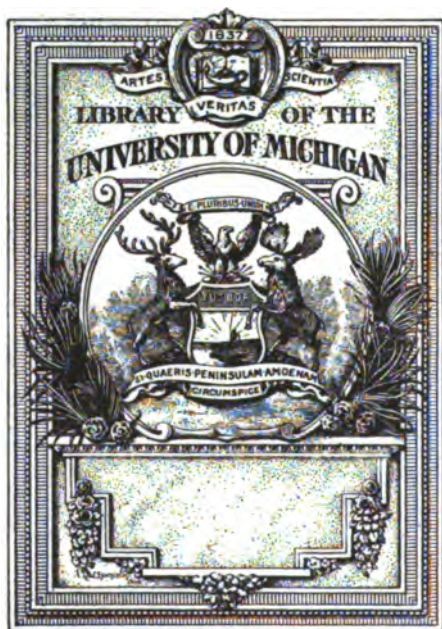
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"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

„Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.“
GÖTTE.

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ART. I.—LATER SPECULATIONS OF AUGUSTE COMTE.

1. *Système de Politique Positive, ou Traité de Sociologie, instituant la Religion de l'Humanité.* Par AUGUSTE COMTE, Auteur du Système de Philosophie Positive. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1851-1854.
2. *Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle, en onze Entretiens Systématiques entre une Femme et un Prêtre de l'Humanité.* Par AUGUSTE COMTE, Auteur du Système de Philosophie Positive et du Système de Politique Positive. 1 vol. 12mo. Paris: 1852.
3. *Appel aux Conservateurs.* Par AUGUSTE COMTE, Auteur du Système de Philosophie Positive et du Système de Politique Positive. Paris: 1855 (brochure).
4. *Synthèse Subjective, ou Système Universel des Conceptions propres à l'Etat Normal de l'Humanité.* Par AUGUSTE COMTE, Auteur du Système de Philosophie Positive et du Système de Politique Positive. Tome Premier, contenant le Système de Logique Positive, ou Traité de Philosophie Mathématique. 8vo. Paris: 1856.
5. *Auguste Comte et la Philosophie Positive.* Par E. LITTRÉ. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris: 1863.
6. *Exposition Abrégée et Populaire de la Philosophie et de la Religion Positives.* Par CÉLESTIN DE BLIGNIÈRES, ancien élève de l'Ecole Polytechnique. 1 vol. 12mo. Paris: 1857.
7. *Notice sur l'Œuvre et sur la Vie d'Auguste Comte.* Par le DOCTEUR ROBINET, son Médecin, et l'un de ses treize Exécuteurs Testamentaires. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris: 1860.

THE above list of publications contains the materials for knowing and estimating what M. Comte termed his second career, in which the *savant*, historian, and philosopher of his fundamental treatise, came forth transfigured as the High Priest of the Religion of Humanity. They include all his writings except the Cours de Philosophie Positive: for his early productions, and the occasional publications of his later life, are reprinted as Preludes or Appen-

ices to the treatises here enumerated, or in Dr. Robinet's volume, which, as well as that of M. Littré, also contains copious extracts from his correspondence.

In the concluding pages of his great systematic work, M. Comte had announced four other treatises as in contemplation: on Politics; on the Philosophy of Mathematics; on Education, a project subsequently enlarged to include the systematization of Morals; and on Industry, or the action of man upon external nature. Our list comprises the only two of these which he lived to execute. It further contains a brief exposition of his final doctrines, in the form of a Dialogue, or, as he terms it, a Catechism, of which a translation has been published by his principal English adherent, Mr. Congreve. There has also appeared very recently, under the title of "A General View of Positivism," a translation by Dr. Bridges, of the Preliminary Discourse in six chapters, prefixed to the Système de Politique Positive. The remaining three books on our list are the productions of disciples in different degrees. M. Littré, the only thinker of established reputation who accepts that character, is a disciple only of the Cours de Philosophie Positive, and can see the weak points even in that. Some of them he has discriminated and discussed with great judgment: and the merits of his volume, both as a sketch of M. Comte's life and an appreciation of his doctrines, would well deserve a fuller notice than we are able to give it here. M. de Blignières is a far more thorough adherent; so much so, that the reader of his singularly well and attractively written condensation and popularization of his master's doctrines, does not easily discover in what it falls short of that unqualified acceptance which alone, it would seem, could find favour with M. Comte. For he ended by casting off M. de Blignières, as he had previously cast off M. Littré, and every other person who, having gone with him a certain length, refused to follow him to the end. The author of the last work in our enumeration, Dr. Robinet, is a disciple after M. Comte's own heart; one whom no difficulty stops, and no absurdity startles. But it is far from our disposition to speak otherwise than respectfully of

Dr. Robinet and the other earnest men, who maintain around the tomb of their master an organized co-operation for the diffusion of doctrines which they believe destined to regenerate the human race. Their enthusiastic veneration for him, and devotion to the ends he pursued, do honour alike to them and to their teacher, and are an evidence of the personal ascendancy he exercised over those who approached him; an ascendancy which for a time carried away even M. Littré, as he confesses, to a length which his calmer judgment does not now approve.

These various writings raise many points of interest regarding M. Comte's personal history, and some, not without philosophic bearings, respecting his mental habits: from all which matters we shall abstain, with the exception of two, which he himself proclaimed with great emphasis, and a knowledge of which is almost indispensable to an apprehension of the characteristic difference between his second career and his first. It should be known, that during his later life, and even before completing his first great treatise, M. Comte adopted a rule, to which he very rarely made any exception: to abstain systematically, not only from newspapers or periodical publications, even scientific, but from all reading whatever, except a few favourite poets, in the ancient and modern European languages. This abstinence he practised for the sake of mental health; by way, as he said, of "*hygiène cérébrale*." We are far from thinking that the practice has nothing whatever to recommend it. For most thinkers, doubtless, it would be a very unwise one; but we will not affirm that it may not sometimes be advantageous to a mind of the peculiar quality of M. Comte's—one that can usefully devote itself to following out to the remotest developments a particular line of meditations, of so arduous a kind that the complete concentration of the intellect upon its own thoughts is almost a necessary condition of success. When a mind of this character has laboriously and conscientiously laid in beforehand, as M. Comte had done, an ample stock of materials, he may be justified in thinking that he will contribute most to the mental wealth of mankind by occupying himself solely in working upon these, without distracting his attention by continually taking in more matter, or keeping a communication open with other independent intellects. The practice, therefore, may be legitimate; but no one should adopt it without being aware of what he loses by it. He must resign the pretension of arriving at the whole truth, on the subject, whatever it be, of his meditations. That he should effect this, even on a narrow subject, by the mere force of his own mind, building on the foundations of his predecessors, without aid or correction from his contemporaries, is simply impossible. He may do eminent service by elaborating certain sides of the truth, but he must expect to find that there are other sides which have wholly escaped his attention. However great his powers, everything that he can do without the aid of incessant reminders from other thinkers, is merely provisional, and will require a thorough revision. He ought to

be aware of this, and accept it with his eyes open, regarding himself as a pioneer, not a constructor. If he thinks that he can contribute most towards the elements of the final synthesis by following out his own original thoughts as far as they will go, leaving to other thinkers, or to himself at a subsequent time, the business of adjusting them to the thoughts by which they ought to be accompanied, he is right in doing so. But he deludes himself if he imagines that any conclusions he can arrive at, while he practises M. Comte's rule of *hygiène cérébrale*, can possibly be definitive.

Neither is such a practice, in a hygienic point of view, free from the gravest dangers to the philosopher's own mind. When once he has persuaded himself that he can work out the final truth on any subject, exclusively from his own sources, he is apt to lose all measure or standard by which to be apprised when he is departing from common sense. Living only with his own thoughts, he gradually forgets the aspect they present to minds of a different mould from his own; he looks at his conclusions only from the point of view which suggested them, and from which they naturally appear perfect; and every consideration which from other points of view might present itself either as an objection or as a necessary modification, is to him as if it did not exist. When his merits come to be recognised and appreciated, and especially if he obtains disciples, the intellectual infirmity soon becomes complicated with a moral one. The natural result of the position is a gigantic self-confidence, not to say self-conceit. That of M. Comte is colossal. Except here and there in an entirely self-taught thinker, who has no high standard with which to compare himself, we have met with nothing approaching to it. As his thoughts grew more extravagant, his self-confidence grew more outrageous. The height it ultimately attained must be seen, in his writings, to be believed.

The other circumstance of a personal nature which it is impossible not to notice, because M. Comte is perpetually referring to it as the origin of the great superiority which he ascribes to his later as compared with his earlier speculations, is the "moral regeneration" which he underwent from "*une angélique influence*" and "*une incomparable passion privée*." He formed a passionate attachment to a lady whom he describes as uniting everything which is morally with much that is intellectually admirable, and his relation to whom, besides the direct influence of her character upon his own, gave him an insight into the true sources of human happiness, which changed his whole conception of life. This attachment, which always remained pure, gave him but one year of passionate enjoyment, the lady having been cut off by death at the end of that short period; but the adoration of her memory survived, and became, as we shall see, the type of his conception of the sympathetic culture proper for all human beings. The change thus effected in his personal character and sentiments, manifested itself at once in his speculations; which, from having been only a philosophy, now aspired to become a religion; and from having

been as purely, and almost rudely, scientific and intellectual, as was compatible with a character always enthusiastic in its admirations and in its ardour for improvement, became from this time what, for want of a better name, may be called sentimental; but sentimental in a way of its own, very curious to contemplate. In considering the system of religion, politics, and morals, which in his later writings M. Comte constructed, it is not unimportant to bear in mind the nature of the personal experience and inspiration to which he himself constantly attributed this phasis of his philosophy. But as we shall have much more to say against, than in favour of, the conclusions to which he was in this manner conducted, it is right to declare that, from the evidence of his writings, we really believe the moral influence of Madame Clotilde de Vaux upon his character to have been of the ennobling as well as softening character which he ascribes to it. Making allowance for the effects of his exuberant growth in self-conceit, we perceive almost as much improvement in his feelings, as deterioration in his speculations, compared with those of the *Philosophie Positive*. Even the speculations are, in some secondary aspects, improved through the beneficial effect of the improved feelings; and might have been more so, if, by a rare good fortune, the object of his attachment had been qualified to exercise as improving an influence over him intellectually as morally, and if he could have been contented with something less ambitious than being the supreme moral legislator and religious pontiff of the human race.

When we say that M. Comte has erected his philosophy into a religion, the word religion must not be understood in its ordinary sense. He made no change in the purely negative attitude which he maintained towards theology: his religion is without a God. In saying this, we have done enough to induce nine-tenths of all readers, at least in our own country, to avert their faces and close their ears. To have no religion, though scandalous enough, is an idea they are partly used to: but to have no God, and to talk of religion, is to their feelings at once an absurdity and an impiety. Of the remaining tenth, a great proportion, perhaps, will turn away from anything which calls itself by the name of religion at all. Between the two, it is difficult to find an audience who can be induced to listen to M. Comte without an insurmountable prejudice. But, to be just to any opinion, it ought to be considered, not exclusively from an opponent's point of view, but from that of the mind which propounds it. Though conscious of being in an extremely small minority, we venture to think that a religion may exist without belief in a God, and that a religion without a God may be, even to Christians, an instructive and profitable object of contemplation.

What, in truth, are the conditions necessary to constitute a religion? There must be a creed, or conviction, claiming authority over the whole of human life; a belief, or set of beliefs, deliberately adopted, respecting human destiny and duty, to which the believer in-

wardly acknowledges that all his actions ought to be subordinate. Moreover, there must be a sentiment connected with this creed, or capable of being invoked by it, sufficiently powerful to give it in fact, the authority over human conduct to which it lays claim in theory. It is a great advantage (though not absolutely indispensable) that this sentiment should crystallize, as it were, round a concrete object; if possible a really existing one, though, in all the more important cases, only ideally present. Such an object Theism and Christianity offer to the believer: but the condition may be fulfilled, if not in a manner strictly equivalent, by another object. It has been said that whoever believes in "the Infinite nature of Duty," even if he believe in nothing else, is religious. M. Comte believes in what is meant by the infinite nature of duty, but he refers the obligations of duty, as well as all sentiments of devotion, to a concrete object, at once ideal and real; the Human Race, conceived as a continuous whole, including the past, the present, and the future. This great collective existence, this "Grand Etre," as he terms it, though the feelings it can excite are necessarily very different from those which direct themselves towards an ideally perfect Being, has, as he forcibly urges, this advantage in respect to us, that it really needs our services, which Omnipotence cannot, in any genuine sense of the term, be supposed to do: and M. Comte says, that assuming the existence of a Supreme Providence (which he is as far from denying as from affirming) the best, and even the only, way in which we can rightly worship or serve Him, is by doing our utmost to love and serve that other Great Being, whose inferior Providence has bestowed on us all the benefits that we owe to the labours and virtues of former generations. It may not be consonant to usage to call this a religion; but the term, so applied, has a meaning, and one which is not adequately expressed by any other word. Candid persons of all creeds may be willing to admit, that if a person has an ideal object, his attachment and sense of duty towards which, are able to control and discipline all his other sentiments and propensities, and prescribe to him a rule of life, that person has a religion: and though every one naturally prefers his own religion to any other, all must admit that if the object of this attachment, and of this feeling of duty, is the aggregate of our fellow creatures, this Religion of the Infidel cannot, in honesty and conscience, be called an intrinsically bad one. Many, indeed, may be unable to believe that this object is capable of gathering round it feelings sufficiently strong: but this is exactly the point on which a doubt can hardly remain in an intelligent reader of M. Comte: and we join with him in condemning, as equally irrational and mean, the conception of human nature as incapable of giving its love and devoting its existence to any object which cannot afford in exchange an eternity of personal enjoyment.

The power which may be acquired over the mind by the idea of the general interest of the human race, both as a source of emotion and as a motive to conduct, many have perceived; but

we know not if any one, before M. Comte, realized so fully as he has done, all the majesty of which that idea is susceptible. It ascends into the unknown recesses of the past, embraces the manifold present, and descends into the indefinite and unforeseeable future. Forming a collective Existence without assignable beginning or end, it appeals to that feeling of the Infinite, which is deeply rooted in human nature, and which seems necessary to the imposingness of all our highest conceptions. Of the vast unrolling web of human life, the part best known to us is irrevocably past; this we can no longer serve, but can still love: it comprises for most of us the far greater number of those who have loved us, or from whom we have received benefits, as well as the long series of those who, by their labours and sacrifices for mankind, have deserved to be held in everlasting and grateful remembrance. As M. Comte truly says, the highest minds, even now, live in thought with the great dead, far more than with the living; and, next to the dead, with those ideal human beings yet to come, whom they are never destined to see. If we honour as we ought those who have served mankind in the past, we shall feel that we are also working for those benefactors by serving that to which their lives were devoted. And when reflection, guided by history, has taught us the intimacy of the connexion of every age of humanity with every other, making us see in the earthly destiny of mankind the playing out of a great drama, or the action of a prolonged epic, all the generations of mankind become indissolubly united into a single image, combining all the power over the mind of the idea of Posterity, with our best feelings towards the living world which surrounds us, and towards the predecessors who have made us what we are. That the ennobling power of this grand conception may have its full efficacy, we should, with M. Comte, regard the Grand Être, Humanity, or Mankind, as composed, in the past, solely of those who, in every age and variety of position, have played their part worthily in life. It is only as thus restricted that the aggregate of our species becomes an object deserving our veneration. The unworthy members of it are best dismissed from our habitual thoughts; and the imperfections which adhered through life, even to those of the dead who deserve honourable remembrance, should be no further borne in mind than is necessary not to falsify our conception of facts. On the other hand, the Grand Être in its completeness ought to include not only all whom we venerate, but all sentient beings to which we owe duties, and which have a claim on our attachment. M. Comte, therefore, incorporates into the ideal object whose service is to be the law of our life, not our own species exclusively, but, in a subordinate degree, our humble auxiliaries, those animal races which enter into real society with man, which attach themselves to him, and voluntarily co-operate with him, like the noble dog who gives his life for his human friend and benefactor. For this M. Comte has been subjected to unworthy ridicule, but there is nothing truer or more honourable to him in the whole body of his doctrines.

The strong sense he always shows of the worth of the inferior animals, and of the duties of mankind towards them, is one of the very finest traits of his character.

We, therefore, not only hold that M. Comte was justified in the attempt to develop his philosophy into a religion, and had realized the essential conditions of one, but that all other religions are made better in proportion as, in their practical result, they are brought to coincide with that which he aimed at constructing. But, unhappily, the next thing we are obliged to do, is to charge him with making a complete mistake at the very outset of his operations—with fundamentally misconceiving the proper office of a rule of life. He committed the error which is often, but falsely, charged against the whole class of utilitarian moralists; he required that the test of conduct should also be the exclusive motive to it. Because the good of the human race is the ultimate standard of right and wrong, and because moral discipline consists in cultivating the utmost possible repugnance to all conduct injurious to the general good, M. Comte infers that the good of others is the only inducement on which we should allow ourselves to act; and that we should endeavour to starve the whole of the desires which point to our personal satisfaction, by denying them all gratification not strictly required by physical necessities. The golden rule of morality, in M. Comte's religion, is to live for others, "*vivre pour autrui*." To do as we would be done by, and to love our neighbour as ourselves, are not sufficient for him: they partake, he thinks, of the nature of personal calculations. We should endeavour not to love ourselves at all. We shall not succeed in it, but we should make the nearest approach to it possible. Nothing less will satisfy him, as towards humanity, than the sentiment which one of his favourite writers, Thomas à Kempis, addresses to God: *Amem te plus quam me, nec me nisi propter te*. All education and all moral discipline should have but one object, to make altruism (a word of his own coining) predominate over egoism. If by this were only meant that egoism is bound, and should be taught, always to give way to the well-understood interests of enlarged altruism, no one who acknowledges any morality at all would object to the proposition. But M. Comte, taking his stand on the biological fact that organs are strengthened by exercise and atrophied by disuse, and firmly convinced that each of our elementary inclinations has its distinct cerebral organ, thinks it the grand duty of life not only to strengthen the social affections by constant habit and by referring all our actions to them, but, as far as possible, to deaden the personal passions and propensities by desuetude. Even the exercise of the intellect is required to obey as an authoritative rule the dominion of the social feelings over the intelligence (*du cœur sur l'esprit*). The physical and other personal instincts are to be mortified far beyond the demands of bodily health, which indeed the morality of the future is not to insist much upon, for fear of encouraging "*les calculs personnels*." M. Comte condemns only such austerities as, by diminish-

ing the vigour of the constitution, make us less capable of being useful to others. Any indulgence, even in food, not necessary to health and strength, he condemns as immoral. All gratifications, except those of the affections, are to be tolerated only as "inevitable infirmities." Novalis said of Spinoza that he was a God-intoxicated man: M. Comte is a morality-intoxicated man. Every question with him is one of morality, and no motive but that of morality is permitted.

The explanation of this we find in an original and mental twist, very common in French thinkers, and by which M. Comte was distinguished beyond them all. He could not dispense with what he called "unity." It was for the sake of Unity that a religion was, in his eyes, desirable. Not in the mere sense of Unanimity, but in a far wider one. A religion must be something by which to "systematize" human life. His definition of it, in the "Catéchisme," is "the state of complete unity which distinguishes our existence, at once personal and social, when all its parts, both moral and physical, converge habitually to a common destination . . . Such a harmony, individual and collective, being incapable of complete realization in an existence so complicated as ours, this definition of religion characterizes the immovable type towards which tends more and more the aggregate of human efforts. Our happiness and our merit consist especially in approaching as near as possible to this unity, of which the gradual increase constitutes the best measure of real improvement, personal or social." To this theme he continually returns, and argues that this unity or harmony among all the elements of our life is not consistent with the predominance of the personal propensities, since these drag us in different directions; it can only result from the subordination of them all to the social feelings, which may be made to act in a uniform direction by a common system of convictions, and which differ from the personal inclinations in this, that we all naturally encourage them in one another, while, on the contrary, social life is a perpetual restraint upon the selfish propensities.

The *fonc errorum* in M. Comte's later speculations is this inordinate demand for "unity" and "systematization." This is the reason why it does not suffice to him that all should be ready in case of need, to postpone their personal interests and inclinations to the requirements of the general good: he demands that each should regard as vicious any care at all for his personal interests, except as a means to the good of others—should be ashamed of it, should strive to cure himself of it, because his existence is not "systematized," is not in "complete unity," as long as he cares for more than one thing. The strangest part of the matter is that this doctrine seems to M. Comte to be axiomatic. That all perfection consists in unity, he apparently considers to be a maxim which no sane man thinks of questioning. It never seems to enter into his conceptions that any one could object *ab initio*, and ask, why this universal systematizing, systematizing, systematizing? Why is it necessary that all human

life should point but to one object, and be cultivated into a system of means to a single end? May it not be the fact that mankind, who after all are made up of single human beings, obtain a greater sum of happiness when each pursues his own, under the rules and conditions required by the good of the rest, than when each makes the good of the rest his only object, and allows himself no personal pleasures not indispensable to the preservation of his faculties? The regimen of a blockaded town should be cheerfully submitted to when high purposes require it, but is it the ideal perfection of human existence? M. Comte sees none of these difficulties. The only true happiness, he affirms, is in the exercise of the affections. He had found it so for a whole year, which was enough to enable him to get to the bottom of the question, and to judge whether he could do without everything else. Of course the supposition was not to be heard of that any other person could require, or be the better for, what M. Comte did not value. "Unity" and "systematization" absolutely demanded that all other people should model themselves after M. Comte. It would never do to suppose that there could be more than one road to human happiness, or more than one ingredient in it.

The most prejudiced must admit that this religion without theology is not chargeable with any relaxation of moral restraints. On the contrary, it prodigiously exaggerates them. It makes the same ethical mistake as the theory of Calvinism, that every act in life should be done for the glory of God, and that whatever is not a duty is a sin. It does not perceive that between the region of duty and that of sin there is an intermediate space, the region of positive worthiness. It is not good that persons should be bound, by other people's opinion, to do everything that they would deserve praise for doing. There is a standard of altruism to which all should be required to come up, and a degree beyond it which is not obligatory, but meritorious. It is incumbent on every one to restrain the pursuit of his personal objects within the limits consistent with the essential interests of others. What those limits are, it is the province of ethical science to determine; and to keep all individuals and aggregations of individuals within them, is the proper office of punishment and of moral blame. If in addition to fulfilling this obligation, persons make the good of others a direct object of disinterested exertions, postponing or sacrificing to it even innocent personal indulgences, they deserve gratitude and honour, and are fit objects of moral praise. So long as they are in no way compelled to this conduct by any external pressure, there cannot be too much of it; but a necessary condition is its spontaneity; since the notion of a happiness for all, procured by the self-sacrifice of each, if the abnegation is really felt to be a sacrifice, is a contradiction. Such spontaneity by no means excludes sympathetic encouragement; but the encouragement should take the form of making self-devotion pleasant, not that of making everything else painful. The object should be to stimulate services to humanity by their natural rewards;

not to render the pursuit of our own good in any other manner impossible, by visiting it with the reproaches of others and of our own conscience. The proper office of those sanctions is to enforce upon every one, the conduct necessary to give all other persons their fair chance: conduct which chiefly consists in not doing them harm, and not impeding them in anything which without harming others does good to themselves. To this must of course be added, that when we either expressly or tacitly undertake to do more, we are bound to keep our promise. And inasmuch as every one, who avails himself of the advantages of society, leads others to expect from him all such positive good offices and disinterested services as the moral improvement attained by mankind has rendered customary, he deserves moral blame if, without just cause, he disappoints that expectation. Through this principle the domain of moral duty is always widening. When what once was uncommon virtue becomes common virtue, it comes to be numbered among obligations, while a degree exceeding what has grown common, remains simply meritorious.

M. Comte is accustomed to draw most of his ideas of moral cultivation from the discipline of the Catholic Church. Had he followed that guidance in the present case, he would have been less wide of the mark. For the distinction which we have drawn was fully recognised by the sagacious and far-sighted men who created the Catholic ethics. It is even one of the stock reproaches against Catholicism, that it has two standards of morality, and does not make obligatory on all Christians the highest rule of Christian perfection. It has one standard which, faithfully acted up to, suffices for salvation, another and a higher which when realized constitutes a saint. M. Comte, perhaps unconsciously, for there is nothing that he would have been more unlikely to do if he had been aware of it, has taken a leaf out of the book of the despised Protestantism. Like the extreme Calvinists, he requires that all believers shall be saints, and damns them (after his own fashion) if they are not.

Our conception of human life is different. We do not conceive life to be so rich in enjoyments, that it can afford to forego the cultivation of all those which address themselves to what M. Comte terms the egotistic propensities. On the contrary, we believe that a sufficient gratification of these, short of excess, but up to the measure which renders the enjoyment greatest, is almost always favourable to the benevolent affections. The moralization of the personal enjoyments we deem to consist, not in reducing them to the smallest possible amount, but in cultivating the habitual wish to share them with others, and with all others, and scorning to desire anything for oneself which is incapable of being so shared. There is only one passion or inclination which is permanently incompatible with this condition—the love of domination, or superiority, for its own sake; which implies, and is grounded on, the equivalent depression of other people. As a rule of conduct, to be enforced by moral sanctions, we think no more should be attempted

than to prevent people from doing harm to others, or omitting to do such good as they have undertaken. Demanding no more than this, society, in any tolerable circumstances, obtains much more; for the natural activity of human nature, shut out from all noxious directions, will expand itself in useful ones. This is our conception of the moral rule prescribed by the religion of Humanity. But above this standard there is an unlimited range of moral worth, up to the most exalted heroism, which should be fostered by every positive encouragement, though not converted into an obligation. It is as much a part of our scheme as of M. Comte's, that the direct cultivation of altruism, and the subordination of egoism to it, far beyond the point of absolute moral duty, should be one of the chief aims of education, both individual and collective. We even recognise the value, for this end, of ascetic discipline, in the original Greek sense of the word. We think with Dr. Johnson, that he who has never denied himself anything which is not wrong, cannot be fully trusted for denying himself everything which is so. We do not doubt that children and young persons will one day be again systematically disciplined in self-mortification; that they will be taught, as in antiquity, to control their appetites, to brave dangers, and submit voluntarily to pain, as simple exercises in education. Something has been lost as well as gained by no longer giving to every citizen the training necessary for a soldier. Nor can any pains taken be too great, to form the habit, and develop the desire, of being useful to others and to the world, by the practice, independently of reward and of every personal consideration, of positive virtue beyond the bounds of prescribed duty. No efforts should be spared to associate the pupil's self-respect, and his desire of the respect of others, with service rendered to Humanity; when possible, collectively, but at all events, what is always possible, in the persons of its individual members. There are many remarks and precepts in M. Comte's volumes which, as no less pertinent to our conception of morality than to his, we fully accept. For example; without admitting that to make "calculs personnels" is contrary to morality, we agree with him in the opinion, that the principal hygienic precepts should be inculcated, not solely or principally as maxims of prudence, but as a matter of duty to others, since by squandering our health we disable ourselves from rendering to our fellow creatures the services to which they are entitled. As M. Comte truly says, the prudential motive is by no means fully sufficient for the purpose, even physicians often disregarding their own precepts. The personal penalties of neglect of health are commonly distant, as well as more or less uncertain, and require the additional and more immediate sanction of moral responsibility. M. Comte, therefore, in this instance, is, we conceive, right in principle; though we have not the smallest doubt that he would have gone into extreme exaggeration in practice, and would have wholly ignored the legitimate liberty of the individual to judge for himself

respecting his own bodily conditions, with due relation to the sufficiency of his means of knowledge, and taking the responsibility of the result.

Connected with the same considerations is another idea of M. Comte, which has great beauty and grandeur in it, and the realization of which, within the bounds of possibility, would be a cultivation of the social feelings on a most essential point. It is, that every person who lives by any useful work, should be habituated to regard himself not as an individual working for his private benefit, but as a public functionary; and his wages, of whatever sort, as not the remuneration or purchase money of his labour, which should be given freely, but as the provision made by society to enable him to carry it on, and to replace the materials and products which have been consumed in the process. M. Comte observes, that in modern industry every one in fact works much more for others than for himself, since his productions are to be consumed by others, and it is only necessary that his thoughts and imagination should adapt themselves to the real state of the fact. The practical problem, however, is not quite so simple, for a strong sense that he is working for others may lead to nothing better than feeling himself necessary to them, and instead of freely giving his commodity, may only encourage him to put a high price upon it. What M. Comte really means is that we should regard working for the benefit of others as a good in itself; that we should desire it for its own sake, and not for the sake of remuneration, which cannot justly be claimed for doing what we like: that the proper return for a service to society is the gratitude of society; and that the moral claim of any one in regard to the provision for his personal wants, is not a question of *quid pro quo* in respect to his co-operation, but of how much the circumstances of society permit to be assigned to him, consistently with the just claims of others. To this opinion we entirely subscribe. The rough method of settling the labourer's share of the produce, by the competition of the market, may represent a practical necessity, but certainly not a moral ideal. Its defence is, that civilization has not hitherto been equal to organizing anything better than this first rude approach to an equitable distribution. Rude as it is, we for the present go less wrong by leaving the thing to settle itself, than by settling it artificially in any mode which has yet been tried. But in whatever manner that question may ultimately be decided, the true moral and social idea of Labour is in no way affected by it. Until labourers and employers perform the work of industry in the spirit in which soldiers perform that of an army, industry will never be moralized, and military life will remain, what, in spite of the anti-social character of its direct object, it has hitherto been—the chief school of moral co-operation.

Thus far of the general idea of M. Comte's ethics and religion. We must now say something of the details. Here we approach the ludicrous side of the subject: but we shall unfor-

tunately have to relate other things far more really ridiculous.

There cannot be a religion without a *cultus*. We use this term for want of any other, for its nearest equivalent, worship, suggests a different order of ideas. We mean by it, a set of systematic observances, intended to cultivate and maintain the religious sentiment. Though M. Comte justly appreciates the superior efficacy of acts, in keeping up and strengthening the feeling which prompts them, over any mode whatever of mere expression, he takes pains to organize the latter also with great minuteness. He provides an equivalent both for the private devotions, and for the public ceremonies, of other faiths. The reader will be surprised to learn, that the former consists of prayer. But prayer, as understood by M. Comte, does not mean asking; it is a mere outpouring of feeling; and for this view of it he claims the authority of the Christian mystics. It is not to be addressed to the Grand Etre, to collective Humanity; though he occasionally carries metaphor so far as to style this a goddess. The honours to collective Humanity are reserved for the public celebrations. Private adoration is to be addressed to it in the persons of worthy individual representatives, who may be either living or dead, but must in all cases be women; for women, being the *sexe aimant*, represent the best attribute of humanity, that which ought to regulate all human life, nor can Humanity possibly be symbolized in any form but that of a woman. The objects of private adoration are the mother, the wife, and the daughter, representing severally the past, the present, and the future, and calling into active exercise the three social sentiments, veneration, attachment, and kindness. We are to regard them, whether dead or alive, as our guardian angels, "*les vrais anges gardiens*." If the last two have never existed, or if, in the particular case, any of the three types is too faulty for the office assigned to it, their place may be supplied by some other type of womanly excellence, even by one merely historical. Be the object living or dead, the adoration (as we understand it) is to be addressed only to the idea. The prayer consists of two parts; a commemoration, followed by an effusion. By a commemoration M. Comte means an effort of memory and imagination, summoning up with the utmost possible vividness the image of the object: and every artifice is exhausted to render the image as life-like, as close to the reality, as near an approach to actual hallucination, as is consistent with sanity. This degree of intensity having been, as far as practicable, attained, the effusion follows. Every person should compose his own form of prayer, which should be repeated not mentally only, but orally, and may be added to or varied for sufficient cause, but never arbitrarily. It may be interspersed with passages from the best poets, when they present themselves spontaneously, as giving a felicitous expression to the adorer's own feeling. These observances M. Comte practised to the memory of his Clotilde, and he enjoins them on all true believers. They are to occupy two hours of every day, di-

vided into three parts; at rising, in the middle of the working hours, and in bed at night. The first, which should be in a kneeling attitude, will commonly be the longest, and the second the shortest. The third is to be extended as nearly as possible to the moment of falling asleep, that its effect may be felt in disciplining even the dreams.

The public *cultus* consists of a series of celebrations or festivals, eighty-four in the year, so arranged that at least one occurs in every week. They are devoted to the successive glorification of Humanity itself; of the various ties, political and domestic, among mankind; of the successive stages in the past evolution of our species; and of the several classes into which M. Comte's polity divides mankind. M. Comte's religion has, moreover, nine Sacraments; consisting in the solemn consecration, by the priests of Humanity, with appropriate exhortations, of all the great transitions in life; the entry into life itself, and into each of its successive stages: education, marriage, the choice of a profession, and so forth. Among these is death, which receives the name of transformation, and is considered as a passage from objective existence to subjective—to living in the memory of our fellow creatures. Having no eternity of objective existence to offer, M. Comte's religion gives all it can, by holding out the hope of subjective immortality—of existing in the remembrance and in the posthumous adoration of mankind at large, if we have done anything to deserve remembrance from them; at all events, of those whom we loved during life; and when they too are gone, of being included in the collective adoration paid to the Grand Etre. People are to be taught to look forward to this as a sufficient recompense for the devotion of a whole life to the service of Humanity. Seven years after death, comes the last Sacrament: a public judgment, by the priesthood, on the memory of the defunct. This is not designed for purposes of reprobation, but of honour, and any one may, by declaration during life, exempt himself from it. If judged, and found worthy, he is solemnly incorporated with the Grand Etre, and his remains are transferred from the civil to the religious place of sepulture: "le bois sacré qui doit entourer chaque temple de l'Humanité."

This brief abstract gives no idea of the minuteness of M. Comte's prescriptions, and the extraordinary height to which he carries the mania for regulation by which Frenchmen are distinguished among Europeans, and M. Comte among Frenchmen. It is this which throws an irresistible air of ridicule over the whole subject. There is nothing really ridiculous in the devotional practices which M. Comte recommends towards a cherished memory or an ennobling ideal, when they come unprompted from the depths of the individual feeling; but there is something ineffably ludicrous in enjoining that everybody shall practise them three times daily for a period of two hours, not because his feelings require them, but for the premeditated purpose of getting his feelings up. The ludicrous, however, in any of its shapes, is a phenomenon with which M. Comte seems to have

been totally unacquainted. There is nothing in his writings from which it could be inferred that he knew of the existence of such things as wit and humour. The only writer possessed of either, for whom he shows any admiration, is Molière, and him he admires not for his wit but for his wisdom. We notice this without intending any reflection on M. Comte; for a profound conviction raises a person above the feeling of ridicule. But there are passages in his writings which, it really seems to us, could have been written by no man who had ever laughed. We will give one of these instances. Besides the regular prayers, M. Comte's religion, like the Catholic, has need of forms which can be applied to casual and unforeseen occasions. These, he says, must in general be left to the believer's own choice; but he suggests as a very suitable one the repetition of "the fundamental formula of Positivism," viz., "l'amour pour principe, l'ordre pour base, et le progrès pour but." Not content, however, with an equivalent for the Paters and Aves of Catholicism, he must have one for the sign of the cross also; and he thus delivers himself: * "Cette expansion peut être perfectionnée par des signes universels. . . . Afin de mieux développer l'aptitude nécessaire de la formule positiviste à représenter toujours la condition humaine, il convient ordinairement de l'énoncer en touchant successivement les principaux organes que la théorie cérébrale assigne à ses trois éléments." This *may* be a very appropriate mode of expressing one's devotion to the Grand Etre; but any one who had appreciated its effect on the profane reader, would have thought it judicious to keep it back till a considerably more advanced stage in the propagation of the Positive Religion.

As M. Comte's religion has a *cultus*, so also it has a clergy, who are the pivot of his entire social and political system. Their nature and office will be best shown by describing his ideal of political society in its normal state, with the various classes of which it is composed.

The necessity of a Spiritual Power, distinct and separate from the temporal government, is the essential principle of M. Comte's political scheme; as it may well be, since the Spiritual Power is the only counterpoise he provides or tolerates, to the absolute dominion of the civil rulers. Nothing can exceed his combined detestation and contempt for government by assemblies, and for parliamentary or representative institutions in any form. They are an expedient, in his opinion, only suited to a state of transition, and even that nowhere but in England. The attempt to naturalize them in France, or any Continental nation, he regards as mischievous quackery. Louis Napoleon's usurpation is absolved, is made laudable to him, because it overthrew a representative government. Election of superiors by inferiors, except as a revolutionary expedient, is an abomination in his sight. Public functionaries of all kinds should name their successors, subject to the approbation of their own superiors, and giving public notice of the nomination so long

* *Système de Politique Positive*, iv. 100.

beforehand as to admit of discussion, and the timely revocation of a wrong choice. But, by the side of the temporal rulers, he places another authority, with no power to command, but only to advise and remonstrate. The family being, in his mind as in that of Frenchmen generally, the foundation and essential type of all society, the separation of the two powers commences there. The spiritual, or moral and religious power, in the family, is the women of it. The positivist family is composed of the "fundamental couple," their children, and the parents of the man, if alive. The whole government of the household, except as regards the education of the children, resides in the man; and even over that he has complete power, but should forbear to exert it. The part assigned to the women is to improve the man through his affections, and to bring up the children, who, until the age of fourteen, at which scientific instruction begins, are to be educated wholly by their mother. That women may be better fitted for these functions, they are peremptorily excluded from all others. No woman is to work for her living. Every woman is to be supported by her husband or her male relations, and if she has none of these, by the State. She is to have no powers of government, even domestic, and no property. Her legal rights of inheritance are preserved to her, that her feelings of duty may make her voluntarily forego them. There are to be no marriage portions, that women may no longer be sought in marriage from interested motives. Marriages are to be rigidly indissoluble, except for a single cause. It is remarkable that the bitterest enemy of divorce among all philosophers, nevertheless allows it, in a case which the laws of England, and of other countries reproached by him with tolerating divorce, do not admit: namely, when one of the parties has been sentenced to an infamizing punishment, involving loss of civil rights. It is monstrous that condemnation, even for life, to a felon's punishment, should leave an unhappy victim bound to, and in the wife's case under the legal authority of, the culprit. M. Comte could feel for the injustice in this special case, because it chanced to be the unfortunate situation of his Clotilde. Minor degrees of unworthiness may entitle the innocent party to a legal separation, but without the power of re-marriage. Second marriages, indeed, are not permitted by the Positive Religion. There is to be no impediment to them by law, but morality is to condemn them, and every couple who are married religiously as well as civilly are to make a vow of eternal widowhood, "*le veuvage éternel*." This absolute monogamy is, in M. Comte's opinion, essential to the complete fusion between two beings, which is the essence of marriage; and moreover, eternal constancy is required by the posthumous adoration, which is to be continuously paid by the survivor to one who, though objectively dead, still lives "subjectively." The domestic spiritual power, which resides in the women of the family, is chiefly concentrated in the most venerable of them, the husband's mother, while alive. It has an auxiliary in the influence of age, represented by

the husband's father, who is supposed to have passed the period of retirement from active life, fixed by M. Comte (for he fixes everything) at sixty-three; at which age the head of the family gives up the reins of authority to his son, retaining only a consultative voice.

This domestic Spiritual Power, being principally moral, and confined to private life, requires the support and guidance of an intellectual power exterior to it, the sphere of which will naturally be wider, extending also to public life. This consists of the clergy, or priesthood, for M. Comte is fond of borrowing the consecrated expressions of Catholicism to denote the nearest equivalents which his own system affords. The clergy are the theoretic or philosophical class, and are supported by an endowment from the State, voted periodically, but administered by themselves. Like women, they are to be excluded from all riches, and from all participation in power (except the absolute power of each over his own household). They are neither to inherit, nor to receive emolument from any of their functions, or from their writings or teachings of any description, but are to live solely on their small salaries. This M. Comte deems necessary to the complete disinterestedness of their counsels. To have the confidence of the masses, they must, like the masses, be poor. Their exclusion from political and from all other practical occupations is indispensable for the same reason, and for others equally peremptory. Those occupations are, he contends, incompatible with the habits of mind necessary to philosophers. A practical position, either private or public, chains the mind to specialities and details, while a philosopher's business is with general truths and connected views (*vues d'ensemble*). These, again, require an habitual abstraction from details, which unfits the mind for judging well and rapidly of individual cases. The same person cannot be both a good theorist, and a good practitioner or ruler, though practitioners and rulers ought to have a solid theoretic education. The two kinds of function must be absolutely exclusive of one another: to attempt them both, is inconsistent with fitness for either. But as men may mistake their vocation, up to the age of thirty-five they are allowed to change their career.

To the clergy is entrusted the theoretic or scientific instruction of youth. The medical art also is to be in their hands, since no one is fit to be a physician who does not study and understand the whole man, moral as well as physical. M. Comte has a contemptuous opinion of the existing race of physicians, who, he says, deserve no higher name than that of *vétérinaires*, since they concern themselves with man only in his animal, and not in his human character. In his last years, M. Comte (as we learn from Dr. Robinet's volume) indulged in the wildest speculations on medical science, declaring all maladies to be one and the same disease, the disturbance or destruction of "*l'unité cérébrale*." The other functions of the clergy are moral, much more than intellectual. They are the spiritual directors, and venerated advisers, of the active

or practical classes, including the political. They are the mediators in all social differences; between the labourers, for instance, and their employers. They are to advise and admonish on all important violations of the moral law. Especially, it devolves on them to keep the rich and powerful to the performance of their moral duties towards their inferiors. If private remonstrance fails, public denunciation is to follow: in extreme cases they may proceed to the length of excommunication, which, though it only operates through opinion, yet if it carries opinion with it, may, as M. Comte complacently observes, be of such powerful efficacy, that the richest man may be driven to produce his subsistence by his own manual labour, through the impossibility of inducing any other person to work for him. In this as in all other cases, the priesthood depends for its authority on carrying with it the mass of the people—those who, possessing no accumulations, live on the wages of daily labour; popularly but incorrectly termed the working classes, and by French writers, in their Roman law phraseology, *proletaires*. These, therefore, who are not allowed the smallest political rights, are incorporated into the Spiritual Power, of which they form, after women and the clergy, the third element.

It remains to give an account of the Temporal Power, composed of the rich and the employers of labour, two classes who in M. Comte's system are reduced to one, for he allows of no idle rich. A life made up of mere amusement and self-indulgence, though not interdicted by law, is to be deemed so disgraceful, that nobody with the smallest sense of shame would choose to be guilty of it. Here, we think, M. Comte has lighted on a true principle, towards which the tone of opinion in modern Europe is more and more tending, and which is destined to be one of the constitutive principles of regenerated society. We believe, for example, with him, that in the future there will be no class of landlords living at ease on their rents, but every landlord will be a capitalist trained to agriculture, himself superintending and directing the cultivation of his estate. No one but he who guides the work, should have the control of the tools. In M. Comte's system, the rich, as a rule, consist of the "captains of industry:" but the rule is not entirely without exception, for M. Comte recognizes other useful modes of employing riches. In particular, one of his favourite ideas is that of an order of Chivalry, composed of the most generous and self-devoted of the rich, voluntarily dedicating themselves, like knights-errant of old, to the redressing of wrongs, and the protection of the weak and oppressed. He remarks, that oppression, in modern life, can seldom reach, or even venture to attack, the life or liberty of its victims (he forgets the case of domestic tyranny) but only their pecuniary means, and it is therefore by the purse chiefly that individuals can usefully interpose, as they formerly did by the sword. The occupation, however, of nearly all the rich, will be the direction of labour, and for this work they will be educated. Reciprocally, it is in M. Comte's opinion

essential, that all directors of labour should be rich. Capital (in which he includes land) should be concentrated in a few holders, so that every capitalist may conduct the most extensive operations which one mind is capable of superintending. This is not only demanded by good economy, in order to take the utmost advantage of a rare kind of practical ability, but it necessarily follows from the principle of M. Comte's scheme, which regards a capitalist as a public functionary. M. Comte's conception of the relation of capital to society is essentially that of Socialists, but he would bring about by education and opinion, what they aim at effecting by positive institution. The owner of capital is by no means to consider himself its absolute proprietor. Legally he is not to be controlled in his dealings with it, for power should be in proportion to responsibility: but it does not belong to him for his own use; he is merely entrusted by society with a portion of the accumulations made by the past providence of mankind, to be administered for the benefit of the present generation and of posterity, under the obligation of preserving them unimpaired, and handing them down, more or less augmented, to our successors. He is not entitled to dissipate them, or divert them from the service of Humanity to his own pleasures. Nor has he a moral right to consume on himself the whole even of his profits. He is bound in conscience, if they exceed his reasonable wants, to employ the surplus in improving either the efficiency of his operations, or the physical and mental condition of his labourers. The portion of his gains which he may appropriate to his own use, must be decided by himself, under accountability to opinion; and opinion ought not to look very narrowly into the matter, nor hold him to a rigid reckoning for any moderate indulgence of luxury or ostentation; since under the great responsibilities that will be imposed on him, the position of an employer of labour will be so much less desirable, to any one in whom the instincts of pride and vanity are not strong, than the "heureuse insouciance" of a labourer, that those instincts must be to a certain degree indulged, or no one would undertake the office. With this limitation, every employer is a mere administrator of his possessions, for his work-people and for society at large. If he indulges himself lavishly, without reserving an ample remuneration for all who are employed under him, he is morally culpable, and will incur sacerdotal admonition. This state of things necessarily implies that capital should be in few hands, because, as M. Comte observes, without great riches, the obligations which society ought to impose, could not be fulfilled without an amount of personal abnegation that it would be hopeless to expect. If a person is conspicuously qualified for the conduct of an industrial enterprise, but destitute of the fortune necessary for undertaking it, M. Comte recommends that he should be enriched by subscription, or, in cases of sufficient importance, by the State. Small landed proprietors and capitalists, and the middle classes altogether, he regards as a parasitic growth, destined to disap-

pear, the best of the body becoming large capitalists, and the remainder proletaires. Society will consist only of rich and poor, and it will be the business of the rich to make the best possible lot for the poor. The remuneration of the labourers will continue, as at present, to be a matter of voluntary arrangement between them and their employers, the last resort on either side being refusal of co-operation, "refus de concours," in other words, a strike or a lock-out; with the sacerdotal order for mediators in case of need. But though wages are to be an affair of free contract, their standard is not to be the competition of the market, but the application of the products in equitable proportion between the wants of the labourers and the wants and dignity of the employer. As it is one of M. Comte's principles that a question cannot be usefully proposed without an attempt at a solution, he gives his ideas from the beginning as to what the normal income of a labouring family should be. They are on such a scale, that until some great extension shall have taken place in the scientific resources of mankind, it is no wonder he thinks it necessary to limit as much as possible the number of those who are to be supported by what is left of the produce. In the first place the labourer's dwelling, which is to consist of seven rooms, is, with all that it contains, to be his own property: it is the only landed property he is allowed to possess, but every family should be the absolute owner of all things which are destined for its exclusive use. Lodging being thus independently provided for, and education and medical attendance being secured gratuitously by the general arrangements of society, the pay of the labourer is to consist of two portions, the one monthly, and of fixed amount, the other weekly, and proportioned to the produce of his labour. The former M. Comte fixes at 100 francs (£4) for a month of 28 days; being £52 a year: and the rate of piece-work should be such as to make the other part amount to an average of seven francs (5s. 6d.) per working day.

Agreeably to M. Comte's rule, that every public functionary should appoint his successor, the capitalist has unlimited power of transmitting his capital by gift or bequest, after his own death or retirement. In general it will be best bestowed entire upon one person, unless the business will advantageously admit of subdivision. He will naturally leave it to one or more of his sons, if sufficiently qualified; and rightly so, hereditary being, in M. Comte's opinion, preferable to acquired wealth, as being usually more generously administered. But, merely as his sons, they have no moral right to it. M. Comte here recognises another of the principles, on which we believe that the constitution of regenerated society will rest. He maintains (as others in the present generation have done) that the father owes nothing to his son, except a good education, and pecuniary aid sufficient for an advantageous start in life: that he is entitled, and may be morally bound, to leave the bulk of his fortune to some other properly selected person or persons, whom he judges likely to make a more beneficial use of

it. This is the first of three important points, in which M. Comte's theory of the family, wrong as we deem it in its foundations, is in advance of prevailing theories and existing institutions. The second, is the reintroduction of adoption, not only in default of children, but to fulfil the purposes, and satisfy the sympathetic wants, to which such children as there are may happen to be inadequate. The third is a most important point—the incorporation of domestics as substantive members of the family. There is hardly any part of the present constitution of society more essentially vicious, and morally injurious to both parties, than the relation between masters and servants. To make this a really human, and a moral relation, is one of the principal desiderata in social improvement. The feeling of the vulgar of all classes, that domestic service has anything in it peculiarly mean, is a feeling than which there is none meaner. In the feudal ages, youthful nobles of the highest rank thought themselves honoured by officiating in what is now called a menial capacity, about the persons of superiors of both sexes, for whom they felt respect: and, as M. Comte observes, there are many families who can in no other way so usefully serve Humanity, as by ministering to the bodily wants of other families, called to functions which require the devotion of all their thoughts. We will add by way of supplement to M. Comte's doctrine, that much of the daily physical work of a household, even in opulent families, if silly notions of degradation, common to all ranks, did not interfere, might very advantageously be performed by the family itself, at least by its younger members; to whom it would give healthful exercise of the bodily powers, which has now to be sought in modes far less useful, and also a familiar acquaintance with the real work of the world, and a moral willingness to take their share of its burthens, which, in the great majority of the better-off classes, do not now get cultivated at all.

We have still to speak of the directly political functions of the rich, or, as M. Comte terms them, the patriciate. The entire political government is to be in their hands. First, however, the existing nations are to be broken up into small republics, the largest not exceeding the size of Belgium, Portugal, or Tuscany, any larger nationalities being incompatible with the unity of wants and feelings, which is required, not only to give due strength to the sentiment of patriotism (always strongest in small estates), but to prevent undue compression; for no territory, M. Comte thinks, can without oppression be governed from a distant centre. Algeria, therefore, is to be given up to the Arabs, Corsica to its inhabitants, and France proper is to be, before the end of the century, divided into seventeen republics, corresponding to the number of considerable towns: Paris, however, (need it be said?) succeeding to Rome as the religious metropolis of the world. Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, are to be separated from England, which is of course to detach itself from all its transmarine dependencies. In each state thus constituted, the powers of government are to be vested in

a triumvirate of the three principal bankers, who are to take the foreign, home, and financial departments respectively. How they are to conduct the government and remain bankers, does not clearly appear; but it must be intended that they should combine both offices, for they are to receive no pecuniary remuneration for the political one. Their power is to amount to a dictatorship (M. Comte's own word): and he is hardly justified in saying that he gives political power to the rich, since he gives it over the rich and every one else, to three individuals of the number, not even chosen by the rest, but named by their predecessors. As a check on the dictators, there is to be complete freedom of speech, writing, printing, and voluntary association; and all important acts of the government, except in cases of emergency, are to be announced sufficiently long beforehand to ensure ample discussion. This, and the influence of the Spiritual Power, are the only guarantees provided against misgovernment. When we consider that the complete dominion of every nation of mankind is thus handed over to only four men—for the Spiritual Power is to be under the absolute and undivided control of a single Pontiff for the whole human race—one is appalled at the picture of entire subjugation and slavery, which is recommended to us as the last and highest result of the evolution of Humanity. But the conception rises to the terrific, when we are told the mode in which the single High Priest of Humanity is intended to use his authority. It is the most warning example we have, into what frightful aberrations a powerful and comprehensive mind may be led by the exclusive following out of a single idea.

The single idea of M. Comte, on this subject, is that the intellect should be wholly subordinated to the feelings; or, to translate the meaning out of sentimental into logical language, that the exercise of the intellect, as of all our other faculties, should have for its sole object the general good. Every other employment of it should be accounted not only idle and frivolous, but morally culpable. Being indebted wholly to Humanity for the cultivation to which we owe our mental powers, we are bound in return to consecrate them wholly to her service. Having made up his mind that this ought to be, there is with M. Comte but one step to concluding that the grand Pontiff of Humanity must take care that it *shall* be; and on this foundation he organizes an elaborate system for the total suppression of all independent thought. He does not, indeed, invoke the arm of the law, or call for any prohibitions. The clergy are to have no monopoly. Any one else may cultivate science if he can, may write and publish if he can find readers, may give private instruction if anybody consents to receive it. But since the sacerdotal body will absorb into itself all but those whom it deems either intellectually or morally unequal to the vocation, all rival teachers will, as he calculates, be so discredited beforehand, that their competition will not be formidable. Within the body itself, the High Priest has it in his power to make sure that there shall be no

opinions, and no exercise of mind, but such as he approves; for he alone decides the duties and local residence of all its members, and can even eject them from the body. Before electing to be under this rule, we feel a natural curiosity to know in what manner it is to be exercised. Humanity has only yet had one Pontiff, whose mental qualifications for the post are not likely to be often surpassed, M. Comte himself. It is of some importance to know what are the ideas of this High Priest, concerning the moral and religious government of the human intellect.

One of the doctrines which M. Comte most strenuously enforces in his latter writings, is, that during the preliminary evolution of humanity, terminated by the foundation of Positivism, the free development of our forces of all kinds was the important matter, but that from this time forward the principal need is to regulate them. Formerly the danger was of their being insufficient, but henceforth, of their being abused. Let us express, in passing, our entire dissent from this doctrine. Whoever thinks that the wretched education which mankind as yet receive, calls forth their mental powers (except those of a select few) in a sufficient or even tolerable degree, must be very easily satisfied: and the abuse of them, far from becoming proportionally greater as knowledge and mental capacity increase, becomes rapidly less, provided always that the diffusion of those qualities keeps pace with their growth. The abuse of intellectual power is only to be dreaded, when society is divided between a few highly cultivated intellects and an ignorant and stupid multitude. But mental power is a thing which M. Comte does not want—or wants infinitely less than he wants submission and obedience. Of all the ingredients of human nature, he continually says, the intellect most needs to be disciplined and reined-in. It is the most turbulent, "*les plus perturbateur*," of all the mental elements; more so than even the selfish instincts. Throughout the whole modern transition, beginning with ancient Greece, (for M. Comte tells us that we have always been in a state of revolutionary transition since then,) the intellect has been in a state of systematic insurrection against "*le cœur*." The metaphysicians and literati (*lettrés*), after helping to pull down the old religion and social order, are rootedly hostile to the construction of the new, and desire only to prolong the existing scepticism and intellectual anarchy, which secure to them a cheap social ascendancy, without the labour of earning it by solid scientific preparation. The scientific class, from whom better might have been expected, are, if possible, worse. Void of enlarged views, despising all that is too large for their comprehension, devoted exclusively each to his special science, contemptuously indifferent to moral and political interests, their sole aim is to acquire an easy reputation, and in France (through paid Academies and professorships) personal lucre, by pushing their sciences into idle and useless inquiries (*speculations oiseuses*), of no value to the real interests of mankind, and tending to divert the thoughts from

them. One of the duties most incumbent on opinion and on the Spiritual Power, is to stigmatize as immoral, and effectually suppress, these useless employments of the speculative faculties. All exercise of thought should be abstained from, which has not some beneficial tendency, some actual utility to mankind. M. Comte, of course, is not the man to say that it must be a merely material utility. If a speculation, though it has no doctrinal, has a logical value—if it throws any light on universal Method—it is still more deserving of cultivation than if its usefulness was merely practical: but either as method or as doctrine, it must bring forth fruits to Humanity, otherwise it is not only contemptible, but criminal.

That there is a portion of truth at the bottom of all this, we should be the last to deny. No respect is due to any employment of the intellect which does not tend to the good of mankind. It is precisely on a level with any idle amusement, and should be condemned as waste of time, if carried beyond the limit within which amusement is permissible. And whoever devotes powers of thought which could render to Humanity services it urgently needs, to speculations and studies which it could dispense with, is liable to the discredit attaching to a well-grounded suspicion of caring little for Humanity. But who can affirm positively of any speculations, guided by right scientific methods, on subjects really accessible to the human faculties, that they are incapable of being of any use? Nobody knows what knowledge will prove to be of use, and what is destined to be useless. The most that can be said is that some kinds are of more certain, and above all, of more present, utility than others. How often the most important practical results have been the remote consequence of studies which no one would have expected to lead to them! Could the mathematicians, who, in the schools of Alexandria, investigated the properties of the ellipse, have foreseen that nearly two thousand years afterwards their speculations would explain the solar system, and a little later would enable ships safely to circumnavigate the earth? Even in M. Comte's opinion, it is well for mankind that, in those early days, knowledge was thought worth pursuing for its own sake. Nor has the "foundation of Positivism," we imagine, so far changed the conditions of human existence, that it should now be criminal to acquire, by observation and reasoning, a knowledge of the facts of the universe, leaving to posterity to find a use for it. Even in the last two or three years, has not the discovery of new metals, which may prove important even in the practical arts, arisen from one of the investigations which M. Comte most unequivocally condemns as idle, the research into the internal constitution of the sun? How few, moreover, of the discoveries which have changed the face of the world, either were or could have been arrived at by investigations aiming directly at the object! Would the mariner's compass ever have been found by direct efforts for the improvement of navigation? Should we have reached the electric

telegraph by any amount of striving for a means of instantaneous communication, if Franklin had not identified electricity with lightning, and Ampère with magnetism? The most apparently insignificant archæological or geological fact, is often found to throw a light on human history, which M. Comte, the basis of whose social philosophy is history, should be the last person to disparage. The direction of the entrance to the great Pyramid of Ghizeh, by showing the position of the circumpolar stars at the time when it was built, is the best evidence we even now have of the immense antiquity of Egyptian civilization. The one point on which M. Comte's doctrine has some colour of reason, is the case of sidereal astronomy: so little knowledge of it being really accessible to us, and the connexion of that little with any terrestrial interests being, according to all our means of judgment, infinitesimal. It is certainly difficult to conceive how any considerable benefit to humanity can be derived from a knowledge of the motions of the double stars: should these ever become important to us it will be in so prodigiously remote an age, that we can afford to remain ignorant of them until, at least, all our moral, political, and social difficulties have been settled. Yet the discovery that gravitation extends even to those remote regions, gives some additional strength to the conviction of the universality of natural laws; and the habitual meditation on such vast objects and distances is not without an æsthetic usefulness, by kindling and exalting the imagination, the worth of which in itself, and even its reaction on the intellect, M. Comte is quite capable of appreciating. He would reply, however, that there are better means of accomplishing these purposes. In the same spirit he condemns the study even of the solar system, when extended to any planets but those which are visible to the naked eye, and which alone exert an appreciable gravitational influence on the earth. Even the perturbations he thinks it idle to study, beyond a mere general conception of them, and thinks that astronomy may well limit its domain to the motions and mutual action of the earth, sun, and moon. He looks for a similar expurgation of all the other sciences. In one passage he expressly says that the greater part of the researches which are really accessible to us are idle and useless. He would pare down the dimensions of all the sciences as narrowly as possible. He is continually repeating that no science, as an abstract study, should be carried further than is necessary to lay the foundation for the science next above it, and so ultimately for moral science, the principal purpose of them all. Any further extension of the mathematical and physical sciences should be merely "episodic;" limited to what may from time to time be demanded by the requirements of industry and the arts; and should be left to the industrial classes except when they find it necessary to apply to the sacerdotal order for some additional development of scientific theory. This, he evidently thinks, would be a rare contingency,

most physical truths sufficiently concrete and real for practice being empirical. Accordingly in estimating the number of clergy necessary for France, Europe, and our entire planet (for his forethought extends thus far), he proportions it solely to their moral and religious attributions (overlooking, by the way, even their medical); and leaves nobody with any time to cultivate the sciences, except abortive candidates for the priestly office, who having been refused admittance into it for insufficiency in moral excellence or in strength of character, may be thought worth retaining as "pensioners" of the sacerdotal order, on account of their theoretic abilities.

It is no exaggeration to say, that M. Comte gradually acquired a real hatred for scientific and all purely intellectual pursuits, and was bent on retaining no more of them than was strictly indispensable. The greatest of his anxieties is lest people should reason, and seek to know more than enough. He regards all abstraction and all reasoning as morally dangerous, by developing an inordinate pride (*orgueil*), and still more, by producing dryness (*sécheresse*). Abstract thought, he says, is not a wholesome occupation for more than a small number of human beings, nor of them for more than a small part of their time. Art, which calls the emotions into play along with and more than the reason, is the only intellectual exercise really adapted to human nature. It is nevertheless indispensable that the chief theories of the various abstract sciences, together with the modes in which those theories were historically and logically arrived at, should form a part of universal education: for, first, it is only thus that the methods can be learnt, by which to attain the results sought by the moral and social sciences: though we cannot perceive that M. Comte got at his own moral and social results by those processes. Secondly, the principal truths of the subordinate sciences are necessary to the systematization (still systematization!) of our conceptions, by binding together our notions of the world in a set of propositions, which are coherent, and a sufficiently correct representation of fact for our practical wants. Thirdly, a familiar knowledge of the invariable laws of natural phenomena is a great elementary lesson of submission, which, he is never weary of saying, is the first condition both of morality and of happiness. For these reasons, he would cause to be taught, from the age of fourteen to that of twenty one, to all persons, rich and poor, girls or youths, a knowledge of the whole series of abstract sciences, such as none but the most highly instructed persons now possess, and of a far more systematic and philosophical character than is usually possessed even by them. (N.B.—They are to learn, during the same years, Greek and Latin, having previously, between the ages of seven and fourteen, learnt the five principal modern languages, to the degree necessary for reading, with due appreciation, the chief poetical compositions in each). But they are to be taught all this, not only without encouraging, but

stifling as much as possible, the examining and questioning spirit. The disposition which should be encouraged is that of receiving all on the authority of the teacher. The Positivist faith, even in its scientific part is *la foi démontrable*, but ought by no means to be *la foi toujours démontrée*. The pupils have no business to be oversolicitous about proof. The teacher should not even present the proofs to them in a complete form, or as proofs. The object of instruction is to make them understand the doctrines themselves, perceive their mutual connexion, and form by means of them a consistent and *systematized* conception of nature. As for the demonstrations, it is rather desirable than otherwise that even theorists should forget them, retaining only the results. Among all the aberrations of scientific men, M. Comte thinks none greater than the pedantic anxiety they show for complete proof, and perfect rationalization of scientific processes. It ought to be enough that the doctrines afford an explanation of phenomena, consistent with itself and with known facts, and that the processes are justified by their fruits. This over-anxiety for proof, he complains is breaking down, by vain scruples, the knowledge which seemed to have been attained; witness the present state of chemistry. The demand of proof for what has been accepted by Humanity, is itself a mark of "distrust, if not hostility, to the sacerdotal order" (the naïveté of this would be charming, if it were not deplorable), and is a revolt against the traditions of the human race. So early had the new High Priest adopted the feelings and taken up the inheritance of the old. One of his favourite aphorisms is the strange one, that the living are more and more governed by the dead. As is not uncommon with him, he introduces the dictum in one sense, and uses it in another. What he at first means by it is, that as civilization advances, the sum of our possessions, physical and intellectual, is due in a decreasing proportion to ourselves, and in an increasing one to our progenitors. The use he makes of it is, that we should submit ourselves more and more implicitly to the authority of previous generations, and suffer ourselves less and less to doubt their judgment, or test by our own reason the grounds of their opinions. The unwillingness of the human intellect and conscience, in their present state of "anarchy," to sign their own abdication, he calls "the insurrection of the living against the dead." To this complexion has Positive Philosophy come at last!

Worse, however, remains to be told. M. Comte selects a hundred volumes of science, philosophy, poetry, history, and general knowledge, which he deems a sufficient library for every positivist, even of the theoretic order, and actually proposes a systematic holocaust of books in general—it would almost seem of all books except these. Even that to which he shows most indulgence, poetry, except the very best, is to undergo a similar fate, with the reservation of select passages, on the ground that, poetry being intended to cultivate our in-

stinct of ideal perfection, any kind of it that is less than the best is worse than none. This imitation of the error, we will call it the crime, of the early Christians—and in an exaggerated form, for even they destroyed only those writings of pagans or heretics which were directed against themselves—is the one thing in M. Comte's projects which merits real indignation. When once M. Comte has decided, all evidence on the other side, nay the very historical evidence on which he grounded his decision, had better perish. When mankind have enlisted under his banner, they must burn their ships. There is, though in a less offensive form, the same over-weening presumption in a suggestion he makes, that all species of animals and plants which are useless to man should be systematically rooted out. As if any one could presume to assert that the smallest weed may not, as knowledge advances, be found to have some property serviceable to man. When we consider that the united power of the whole human race cannot reproduce a species once eradicated—that what is once done, in the extirpation of races, can never be repaired; one can only be thankful that amidst all which the past rulers of mankind have to answer for, they have never come up to the measure of the great regenerator of Humanity; mankind have not yet been under the rule of one who assumes that he knows all there is to be known, and that when he puts himself at the head of humanity, the book of human knowledge may be closed.

Of course M. Comte does not make this assumption consistently. He does not imagine that he actually possesses all knowledge, but only that he is an infallible judge what knowledge is worth possessing. He does not believe that mankind have reached in all directions the extreme limits of useful and laudable scientific enquiry. He thinks there is a large scope for it still, in adding to our power over the external world, but chiefly in perfecting our own physical, intellectual, and moral nature. He holds that all our mental strength should be economized, for the pursuit of this object in the mode leading most directly to the end. With this view, some one problem should always be selected, the solution of which would be more important than any other to the interests of humanity, and upon this the entire intellectual resources of the theoretic mind should be concentrated, until it is either resolved, or has to be given up as insoluble: after which mankind should go on to another, to be pursued with similar exclusiveness. The selection of this problem of course rests with the sacerdotal order, or in other words, with the High Priest. We should then see the whole speculative intellect of the human race simultaneously at work on one question, by orders from above, as a French minister of public instruction once boasted that a million of boys were saying the same lesson during the same half-hour in every town and village of France. The reader will be anxious to know, how much better and more wisely the human intellect will be applied under this absolute monarchy, and to what degree this system of government will be prefer-

able to the present anarchy, in which every theorist does what is intellectually right in his own eyes. M. Comte has not left us in ignorance on this point. He gives us ample means of judging. The Pontiff of Positivism informs us what problem, in his opinion, should be selected before all others for this united pursuit.

What this problem is, we must leave those who are curious on the subject to learn from the treatise itself. When they have done so, they will be qualified to form their own opinion of the amount of advantage which the general good of mankind would be likely to derive, from exchanging the present "dispersive speciality" and "intellectual anarchy" for the subordination of the intellect to the *cœur*, personified in a High Priest, prescribing a single problem for the undivided study of the theoretic mind.

We have given a sufficient general idea of M. Comte's plan for the regeneration of human society, by putting an end to anarchy, and "systematizing" human thought and conduct under the direction of feeling. But an adequate conception will not have been formed of the height of his self-confidence, until something more has been told. Be it known, then, that M. Comte by no means proposes this new constitution of society for realization in the remote future. A complete plan of measures of transition is ready prepared, and he determines the year, before the end of the present century, in which the new spiritual and temporal powers will be installed, and the régime of our maturity will begin. He did not indeed calculate on converting to Positivism, within that time, more than a thousandth part of all the heads of families in Western Europe and its offshoots beyond the Atlantic. But he fixes the time necessary for the complete political establishment of Positivism at thirty-three years, divided into three periods, of seven, five, and twenty-one years respectively. At the expiration of seven, the direction of public education in France would be placed in M. Comte's hands. In five years more, the Emperor Napoleon, or his successor, will resign his power to a provisional triumvirate, composed of three eminent proletaires of the positivist faith; for proletaires, though not fit for permanent rule, are the best agents of the transition, being most free from the prejudices which are the chief obstacle to it. These rulers will employ the remaining twenty-one years in preparing society for its final constitution; and after duly installing, the Spiritual Power, and effecting the decomposition of France into the seventeen republics before mentioned, will give over the temporal government of each to the normal dictatorship of the three bankers. A man may be deemed happy, but scarcely modest, who had such boundless confidence in his own powers of foresight, and expected to complete a triumph of his own ideas on the reconstitution of society within the possible limits of his lifetime. If he could live (he said) to the age of Fontenelle, or of Hobbes, or even of Voltaire, he should see all this realized, or as good as realized. He died, however, at sixty, without leaving any disciple sufficiently advanced to be appointed his suc-

cessor. There is now a College, and a Director, of Positivism; but Humanity no longer possesses a High Priest.

What more remains to be said may be despatched more summarily. Its interest is philosophic rather than practical. In his four volumes of "Politique Positive," M. Comte revises and re-elaborates the scientific and historical expositions of his first treatise. His object is to systematize (again to systematize) knowledge from the human, or subjective point of view, the only one, he contends, from which a real synthesis is possible. For (he says) the knowledge attainable by us of the laws of the universe is at best fragmentary, and incapable of reduction to a real unity. An objective synthesis, the dream of Descartes and the best thinkers of old, is impossible. The laws of the real world are too numerous, and the manner of their working into one another too intricate, to be, as a general rule, correctly traced and represented by our reason. The only connecting principle in our knowledge is its relation to our wants, and it is upon that we must found our systematization. The answer to this is, first, that there is no necessity for an universal synthesis; and secondly, that the same arguments may be used against the possibility of a complete subjective, as of a complete objective systematization. A subjective synthesis must consist in the arrangement and co-ordination of all useful knowledge, on the basis of its relation to human wants and interests. But those wants and interests are, like the laws of the universe, extremely multifarious, and the order of preference among them in all their different gradations (for it varies according to the degree of each) cannot be cast into precise general propositions. M. Comte's subjective synthesis consists only in eliminating from the sciences everything that he deems useless, and presenting as far as possible every theoretical investigation as the solution of a practical problem. To this, however, he cannot consistently adhere; for, in every science, the theoretic truths are much more closely connected with one another, than with the human purposes which they eventually serve, and can only be made to cohere in the intellect by being, to a great degree, presented as if they were truths of pure reason, irrespective of any practical application.

There are many things eminently characteristic of M. Comte's second career, in this revision of the results of his first. Under the head of Biology, and for the better combination of that science with Sociology and Ethics, he found that he required a new system of Phrenology, being justly dissatisfied with that of Gall and his successors. Accordingly he set about constructing one *à priori*, grounded on the best enumeration and classification he could make of the elementary faculties of our intellectual, moral, and animal nature; to each of which he assigned an hypothetical place in the skull, the most conformable that he could to the few positive facts on the subject which he considered as established, and to the general presumption that functions which react strongly on one another must have their organs adjacent: leaving the localities avowedly to be here-

after verified, by anatomical and inductive investigation. There is considerable merit in this attempt, though it is liable to obvious criticisms of the same nature as his own upon Gall. But the characteristic thing is, that while presenting all this as hypothesis waiting for verification, he could not have taken its truth more completely for granted if the verification had been made. In all that he afterwards wrote, every detail of his theory of the brain is as unhesitatingly asserted, and as confidently built upon, as any other doctrine of science. This is his first great attempt in the "Subjective Method," which, originally meaning only the subordination of the pursuit of truth to human uses, had already come to mean drawing truth itself from the fountain of his own mind. He had become, on the one hand, almost indifferent to proof, provided he attained theoretic coherency, and on the other, serenely confident that even the guesses which originated with himself could not but come out true.

There is one point in his later view of the sciences, which appears to us a decided improvement on his earlier. He adds to the six fundamental sciences of his original scale, a seventh under the name of Morals, forming the highest step of the ladder, immediately after Sociology: remarking that it might, with still greater propriety, be termed Anthropology, being the science of individual human nature, a study, when rightly understood, more special and complicated than even that of Society. For it is obliged to take into consideration the diversities of constitution and temperament (*la réaction cérébrale des viscères végétatifs*) the effects of which, still very imperfectly understood, are highly important in the individual, but in the theory of society may be neglected, because, differing in different persons, they neutralize one another on the large scale. This is a remark worthy of M. Comte in his best days; and the science thus conceived is, as he says, the true scientific foundation of the art of Morals (and indeed of the art of human life) which, therefore, may, both philosophically and didactically, be properly combined with it.

His philosophy of general history is recast, and in many respects changed; we cannot but say, greatly for the worse. He gives much greater development than before to the Fetishistic, and to what he terms the Theocratic, periods. To the Fetishistic view of nature he evinces a partiality, which appears strange in a Positive philosopher. But the reason is that Fetish-worship is a religion of the feelings, and not at all of the intelligence. He regards it as cultivating universal love: as a practical fact it cultivates much rather universal fear. He looks upon Fetishism as much more akin to Positivism than any of the forums of Theology, inasmuch as these consider matter as inert, and moved only by forces, natural and supernatural, exterior to itself: while Fetishism resembles Positivism in conceiving matter as spontaneously active, and errs only by not distinguishing activity from life. As if the superstition of the Fetishist consisted only in believing that the objects which produce the phenomena of nature involuntarily, produce them voluntarily.

ly. The Fetishist thinks not merely that his Fetish is alive, but that it can help him in war, can cure him of diseases, can grant him prosperity, or afflict him with all the contrary evils. Therein consists the lamentable effect of Fetishism—its degrading and prostrating influence on the feelings and conduct, its conflict with all genuine experience, and antagonism to all real knowledge of nature.

M. Comte had also no small sympathy with the Oriental theocracies, as he calls the sacerdotal castes, who indeed often deserved it by their early services to intellect and civilization; by the aid they gave to the establishment of regular government, the valuable though empirical knowledge they accumulated, and the height to which they helped to carry some of the useful arts. M. Comte admits that they became oppressive, and that the prolongation of their ascendancy came to be incompatible with further improvement. But he ascribes this to their having arrogated to themselves the temporal government, which, so far as we have any authentic information, they never did. The reason why the sacerdotal corporations became oppressive, was because they were organized: because they attempted the "unity" and "systematization" so dear to M. Comte, and allowed no science and no speculation, except with their leave and under their direction. M. Comte's sacerdotal order, which, in his system, has all the power that ever they had, would be oppressive in the same manner: with no variation but that which arises from the altered state of society and of the human mind.

M. Comte's partiality to the theocracies is strikingly contrasted with his dislike of the Greeks, whom as a people he thoroughly detests, for their undue addiction to intellectual speculation, and considers to have been, by an inevitable fatality, morally sacrificed to the formation of a few great scientific intellects,—principally Aristotle, Archimedes, Apollonius, and Hipparchus. Any one who knows Grecian history as it can now be known, will be amazed at M. Comte's travestie of it, in which the vulgar historical prejudices are accepted and exaggerated, to illustrate the mischiefs of intellectual culture left to its own guidance.

There is no need to analyze further M. Comte's second view of universal history. The best chapter is that on the Romans, to whom, because they were greater in practice than in theory, and for centuries worked together in obedience to a social sentiment (though only that of their country's aggrandizement), M. Comte is as favourably affected, as he is inimical to all but a small selection of eminent thinkers among the Greeks. The greatest blemish in this chapter is the idolatry of Julius Cæsar, whom M. Comte regards as one of the most illustrious characters in history, and of the greatest practical benefactors of mankind. Cæsar had many eminent qualities, but what he did to deserve such praise we are at a loss to discover, except subverting a free government: that merit, however, with M. Comte, goes a great way. It did not, in his former days, suffice to rehabilitate Napoleon, whose name and memory he regarded with a bitter-

ness highly honourable to himself, and whose career he deemed as one of the greatest calamities in modern history. But in his later writings these sentiments are considerably mitigated: he regards Napoleon as a more estimable "dictator" than Louis Philippe, and thinks that his greatest error was re-establishing the Academy of Sciences! That this should be said by M. Comte, and said of Napoleon, measures the depth to which his moral standard had fallen.

The last volume which he published, that on the Philosophy of Mathematics, is in some respects a still sadder picture of intellectual degeneracy than those which preceded it. After the admirable resumé of the subject in the first volume of his first great work, we expected something of the very highest order when he returned to the subject for a more thorough treatment of it. But, being the commencement of a *Synthèse Subjective*, it contains, as might be expected, a great deal that is much more subjective than mathematical. Nor of this do we complain; but we little imagined of what nature this subjective matter was to be. M. Comte here joins together the two ideas, which, of all that he has put forth, are the most repugnant to the fundamental principles of Positive Philosophy. One of them is that on which we have just commented, the assimilation between Positivism and Fetishism. The other, of which we took notice in a former article, was the "liberté facultative" of shaping our scientific conceptions to gratify the demands not solely of objective truth, but of intellectual and æsthetic suitability. It would be an excellent thing, M. Comte thinks, if science could be deprived of its *sécheresse*, and directly associated with sentiment. Now it is impossible to prove that the external world, and the bodies composing it, are not endowed with feeling, and voluntary agency. It is therefore highly desirable that we should educate ourselves into imagining that they are. Intelligence it will not do to invest them with, for some distinction must be maintained between simple activity and life. But we may suppose that they feel what is done to them, and desire and will what they themselves do. Even intelligence, which we must deny to them in the present, may be attributed to them in the past. Before man existed, the earth, at that time an intelligent being, may have exerted "its physico-chemical activity so as to improve the astronomical order by changing its principal coefficients. Our planet may be supposed to have rendered its orbit less excentric, and thereby more habitable, by planning a long series of explosions, analogous to those from which, according to the best hypotheses, comets proceed. Judiciously reproduced, similar shocks may have rendered the inclination of the earth's axis better adapted to the future wants of the Grand Être. *A fortiori* the Earth may have modified its own figure, which is only beyond our intervention because our spiritual ascendancy has not at its disposal a sufficient material force." The like may be conceived as having been done by each of the other planets, in concert, possibly, with the Earth and with one another. "In propor-

tion as each planet improved its own condition, its life exhausted itself by excess of innervation; but with the consolation of rendering its self-devotion more efficacious, when the extinction of its special functions, first animal, and finally vegetative, reduced it to the universal attributes of feeling and activity." * This stuff, though he calls it fiction, he soon after speaks of as belief (*croyance*), to be greatly recommended, as at once satisfying our natural curiosity, and "perfecting our unity" (again unity!) by "supplying the gaps in our scientific notions with poetic fictions, and developing sympathetic emotions and æsthetic inspirations: the world being conceived as aspiring to second mankind in ameliorating the universal order under the impulse of the Grand Être." And he obviously intends that we should be trained to make these fantastical inventions permeate all our associations, until we are incapable of conceiving the world and Nature apart from them, and they become equivalent to, and are, in fact transformed into, real beliefs.

Wretched as this is, it is singularly characteristic of M. Comte's later mode of thought. A writer might be excused for introducing into an avowed work of fancy this dance of the planets, and conception of an animated Earth. If finely executed, he might even be admired for it. No one blames a poet for ascribing feelings, purposes, and human propensities to flowers. Because a conception might be interesting, and perhaps edifying, in a poem, M. Comte would have it imprinted on the inmost texture of every human mind in ordinary prose. If the imagination were not taught its prescribed lesson equally with the reason, where would be Unity? "It is important that the domain of fiction should become as *systematic* as that of demonstration, in order that their mutual harmony may be conformable to their respective destinations, both equally directed towards the continual increase of *unity*, personal and social." †

Nor is it enough to have created the Grand Fétiche (so he actually proposes to call the Earth) and to be able to include, it and all concrete existence in our adoration along with the Grand Être. It is necessary also to extend Positivist Fetishism to purely abstract existence; to "animate" the laws as well as the facts of nature. It is not sufficient to have made physics sentimental, mathematics must be made so too. This does not at first seem easy; but M. Comte finds the means of accomplishing it. His plan is, to make Space also an object of adoration, under the name of the Grand Milieu, and consider it as the representative of Fatality in general. "The final *unity* disposes us to cultivate sympathy by developing our gratitude to whatever serves the Grand Être. It must dispose us to venerate the Fatality on which reposes the whole aggregate of our existence." We should conceive this Fatality as having a fixed seat, and that seat must be considered to be Space, which should be conceived as possessing feeling, but not activity or intelligence.

And in our abstract speculations we should imagine all our conceptions as located in free Space. Our images of all sorts, down to our geometrical diagrams, and even our cyphers and algebraic symbols, should always be figured to ourselves as written in space, and not on paper or any other material substance. M. Comte adds that they should be conceived as green on a white ground.

We cannot go on any longer with this trash. In spite of it all, the volume on mathematics is full of profound thoughts, and will be very suggestive to those who take up the subject after M. Comte. What deep meaning there is, for example, in the idea that the infinitesimal calculus is a conception analogous to the corpuscular hypothesis in physics; which last M. Comte has always considered as a logical artifice, not an opinion respecting matters of fact. The assimilation, as it seems to us, throws a flood of light on both conceptions; on the physical one still more than the mathematical. We might extract many ideas of similar, though none perhaps of equal, suggestiveness. But mixed with these, what pitiable *niaiserie*! One of his great points is the importance of the "moral and intellectual properties of numbers." He cultivates a superstitious reverence for some of them. The first three are sacred, *les nombres sacrés*: One being the type of all Synthesis, Two of all Combination, which he now says is always binary (in his first treatise he only said that we may usefully represent it to ourselves as being so), and Three of all Progression, which not only requires three terms, but as he now maintains, never ought to have any more. To these sacred numbers all our mental operations must be made, as far as possible, to adjust themselves. Next to them, he has a great partiality for the number seven; for these whimsical reasons: "Composed of two progressions followed by a synthesis, or of one progression between two couples, the number seven, coming next after the sum of the three sacred numbers, determines the largest group which we can distinctly imagine. Reciprocally, it marks the limit of the divisions which we can directly conceive in a magnitude of any kind." The number seven, therefore, must be foisted in wherever possible, and among other things, is to be made the basis of numeration, which is hereafter to be septimal instead of decimal: producing all the inconvenience of a change of system, not only without getting rid of, but greatly aggravating, the disadvantages of the existing one. But then, he says, it is absolutely necessary that the basis of numeration should be a prime number. All other people think it absolutely necessary that it should not, and regard the present basis as only objectionable in not being divisible enough. But M. Comte's puerile predilection for prime numbers almost passes belief. His reason is that they are the type of irreducibility: each of them is a kind of ultimate arithmetical fact. This, to any one who knows M. Comte in his later aspects, is amply sufficient. Nothing can exceed his delight in anything which says to the human mind,

* *Synthèse Subjective*, pp. 10, 11.

† *Synthèse Subjective*, pp. 11, 12.

Thus far shalt thou go and no farther. If prime numbers are precious, doubly prime numbers are doubly so; meaning those which are not only themselves prime numbers, but the number which marks their place in the series of prime numbers is a prime number. Still greater is the dignity of trebly prime numbers; when the number marking the place of this second number is also prime. The number thirteen fulfils these conditions: it is a prime number, it is the seventh prime number, and seven is the fifth prime number. Accordingly he has an outrageous partiality to the number thirteen. Though one of the most inconvenient of all small numbers, he insists on introducing it everywhere.

These strange conceits are connected with a highly characteristic example of M. Comte's frenzy for regulation. He cannot bear that anything should be left unregulated: there ought to be no such thing as hesitation; nothing should remain arbitrary, for *l'arbitraire* is always favourable to egoism. Submission to artificial prescriptions is as indispensable as to natural laws, and he boasts that under the reign of sentiment, human life may be made equally, and even more, regular than the courses of the stars. But the great instrument of exact regulation for the details of life is numbers: fixed numbers, therefore, should be introduced into all our conduct. M. Comte's first application of this system was to the correction of his own literary style. Complaint had been made, not undeservedly, that in his first great work, especially in the latter part of it, the sentences and paragraphs were long, clumsy, and involved. To correct this fault, of which he was aware, he imposed on himself the following rules. No sentence was to exceed two lines of his manuscript, equivalent to five of print. No paragraph was to consist of more than seven sentences. He further applied to his prose writing the rule of French versification which forbids a *hiatus* (the concurrence of two vowels), not allowing it to himself even at the break between two sentences or two paragraphs; nor did he permit himself ever to use the same word twice, either in the same sentence or in two consecutive sentences, though belonging to different paragraphs: with the exception of the monosyllabic auxiliaries.* All this is well enough, especially the first two precepts, and a good way of breaking through a bad habit. But M. Comte persuaded himself that any arbitrary restriction, though in no way emanating from, and therefore necessarily disturbing, the natural order and proportion of the thoughts, is a benefit in itself, and tends to improve style. If it renders composition vastly more difficult, he rejoices at it, as tending to confine writing to superior minds. Accordingly, in the *Synthèse Subjective*, he institutes the following "plan for all compositions of importance." "Every volume really capable of forming a distinct treatise" should consist of "seven chapters, besides the

introduction and the conclusion; and each of these should be composed of three parts." Each third part of a chapter should be divided into "seven sections, each composed of seven groups of sentences, separated by the usual break of line. Normally formed, the section offers a central group of seven sentences, preceded and followed by three groups of five: the first section of each part reduces to three sentences three of its groups, symmetrically placed; the last section gives seven sentences to each of its extreme groups. These rules of composition make prose approach to the regularity of poetry, when combined with my previous reduction of the maximum length of a sentence to two manuscript or five printed lines, that is, 250 letters." "Normally constructed, great poems consist of thirteen cantos, decomposed into parts, sections, and groups like my chapters, saving the complete equality of the groups and of the sections." "This difference of structure between volumes of poetry and of philosophy is more apparent than real, for the introduction and the conclusion of a poem should comprehend six of its thirteen cantos," leaving therefore, the cabalistic number seven for the body of the poem. And all this regulation not being sufficiently meaningless, fantastic, and oppressive, he invents an elaborate system for compelling each of his sections and groups to begin with a letter of the alphabet, determined beforehand, the letters being selected so as to compose words having "a synthetic or sympathetic signification," and as close a relation as possible to the section or part to which they are appropriated.

Others may laugh, but we could far rather weep at this melancholy decadence of a great intellect. M. Comte used to reproach his early English admirers with maintaining the "conspiracy of silence" concerning his later performances. The reader can now judge whether such reticence is not more than sufficiently explained by tenderness for his fame, and a conscientious fear of bringing undeserved discredit on the noble speculations of his earlier career.

M. Comte was accustomed to consider Descartes and Leibnitz as his principal precursors, and the only great philosophers (among many thinkers of high philosophic capacity) in modern times. It was to their minds that he considered his own to bear the nearest resemblance. Though we have not so lofty an opinion of any of the three as M. Comte had, we think the assimilation just: these were, of all recorded thinkers, the two who bore most resemblance to M. Comte. They were like him in earnestness, like him, though scarcely equal to him, in confidence in themselves; they had the same extraordinary power of concatenation and co-ordination; they enriched human knowledge with great truths and great conception of method; they were, of all great scientific thinkers, the most consistent, and for that reason often the most absurd, because they shrunk from no consequences, however contrary to common sense, to which their premises appeared to lead. Accordingly their names have come down to us as-

* Preface to the fourth volume of the "*Système de Politique Positive*."

sociated with grand thoughts, with most important discoveries, and also with some of the most extravagantly wild and ludicrously absurd conceptions and theories which ever were solemnly propounded by thoughtful men. We think M. Comte as great as either of these philosophers, and hardly more extravagant. Were we to speak our whole mind, we should call him superior to them: not intrinsically, but by the exertion of equal intellectual power in a more advanced state of human preparation, but also in an age less tolerant of palpable absurdities, and to which those he has committed, if not in themselves greater, at least appear more ridiculous.

J. S. M.

ART. II.—THE ANTI-SLAVERY REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

1. *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Civil War in the United States of America, &c., &c.* By HORACE GREELEY. Illustrated by Portraits on Steel, Views, Maps, Diagrams of Battle Fields, &c. Vol. I. London: Bacon & Co. 1865.
2. *The Political History of the United States of America, during the Great Rebellion, &c., &c.* By EDWARD MCPHERSON, Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States. Washington: Philp & Solomons, (Trubner & Co.)
3. *History of the American War.* By Lieutenant-Colonel FLETCHER, Scots Fusilier Guards. Vol. I. (Bentley & Co.)
4. *Testimonies concerning Slavery.* By M. D. Conway, a Native of Virginia. Second edition. Chapman & Hall. 1865.
5. *The Confederate Secession.* By the MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN. William Blackwood & Sons. 1864.

If anything had been needed to confirm the instinct of those, who from the first have held the American war to be a final struggle between slavery and freedom, it would have been supplied in the character of the influence which that war has had upon the politics of other nations. The invisible rays of the war-spectrum have been potent enough on this side of the Atlantic, to affect profoundly the conditions of all popular struggles for political rights. At an early date, the American war became an English question; a question whose character is indicated in the less distinct class-division which occurred upon it, and whose depth may be gauged by the profound agitations by which its discussion has been attended. This discussion has been traceable here in disturbed meetings, in collisions, and some law-suits. Candidates have been broken upon or beneath it. It is not supposable, that a war turning upon any local or sectional question, involving no universal principle, or a tariff-war, should have stirred so deeply a foreign people, and a people somewhat noted for common-sense. It was felt by all, that the war was to be the crucial test of the principle of self-government amongst an Anglo-

Saxon people; that if the United States could not maintain itself, it would be plausibly claimed as the bursting of "the republican bubble;" that if it should still fulfil its career as a Republic, the tide of reform in England, certainly, would steadily follow all the phases of its waxing strength.

The classes in England which espoused the cause of the South, entered upon as hopeless a task as their allies across the water. Even had the American Republic failed, it would have been seen to be the result of so much anti-republicanism as it had retained among its institutions; and, instead of bolstering up aristocratic interests or theories, it would have been a terribly impressive lesson in favour of the inviolability of the rights of the lowest, and a powerful testimony to human equality. But if they could gain nothing in any event of the American war, they may yet find that they could lose much at home by assuming an attitude of rebellion against the established principles and most sacred feelings of the English people. We know that it is the habit in some quarters to deny indignantly that those who sympathised with the South sympathised with slavery. It is perhaps true that our privileged classes would reprove such a vicious excess of their principle as slavery; but it is plainly not true, that the general triumph of slavery would not seem to them as dreadful as the general triumph of democracy. The willingness of the *Times* newspaper, at one time during this struggle, to defend slavery on scriptural grounds; the proclamation of a leading weekly journal, that the negro was now "found out," and proved unfit to be free; and the absence of any protest against Southern slavery by the friends of secession here,—are facts which have fewer off-sets than we could desire. It is true that these gentlemen have, with a degree of unfairness which only the proverbially wide allowance of war can excuse, brought forward everything, except slavery, as the cause and question of the American war; the traditions and convictions of our people made necessary so much stratagem; but there have not been wanting important avowals, which, whilst showing how far reactionism has penetrated in certain directions, reveal also how universally the cause of the Americans of the North is recognised as being identified with humanity.

The Marquess of Lothian, starting out to prove that the civil war in America originated in difficulties arising from temperament, the manner of electing presidents, and above all, the tariff, is yet, at every step, forced to make admissions, which show that he knows the true nature of the conflict. He tells us, (p. 8) in defending the Southerners from the charge of having provoked the war, that "all the provocation" came "from the Northern abolitionists." Again, (p. 23) "The Southerners made sacrifices for the sake of the Union, at their own expense: the Northerners made theirs at the expense of the negro;" the inevitable deduction from which is that the South was continually making demands favourable to slavery, which the North conceded; the Marquess forgetting, in the eagerness of the thrust, that his

sword is two-edged. And to complete the matter, the South is acknowledged (p. 83) to have become entirely identified with the institution: "what had been regarded as an unavoidable evil came to be regarded as a national palladium." But there is no shrinking on that score in the mind of the Marquess. He does not even affect to conceal his contempt for abolitionism. Speaking of New England, he describes it scornfully, as full of "Isms," as welcoming notions which the most visionary dreamers of Europe would reject, and then adds (p. 81)—"It could hardly have been expected, that in such a country the doctrine of abolitionism should have had no place." The tone of all this is unmistakable. We quote these sentences, not to reply to them, but as indicating that those who trust in oppression throughout the world, are no more deceived by all the outcries of the South about "independence," than are those working men of the North, who think that any true theory of independence would at once have shown its genuineness by striking off the chains of its own forging. The magnitude and depth of the American struggle is thus clearly disclosed; and if the Pope, the Emperor of the French, and the class in England represented by the Marquess of Lothian, instinctively recognised their friends in the slaveholder and planter, the people of Europe have only additional reasons to feel in the striking down of that working man, who—having fulfilled the conditions of superiority, was supported by the people of the United States as their president, in the name of liberty and equality—a blow aimed at their own hearts, and at every hope that is leading them onward and upward.

The Confederates have appealed to the world for sympathy as revolutionists for their independence, and have been never weary of comparing the attitude of the North to that of George III., toward the American colonies in former times. Undoubtedly the civil war was one stage of a revolution, nor is it wonderful that, for the moment, the secession movement gained the applause which the world is not slow in yielding to those who strike for liberty, especially if they strike pluckily, as the Southerners certainly did. But this claim could not stand the test of the sober second thought which has followed that almost critical familiarity with the antecedents and conditions of the struggle, which mankind soon reached as one of the results of the war itself. It became sufficiently plain, that George III. in this case was the evil institution of the South, which that king did so much to foster, and which came at last to be a more formidable despot to America than any king could have been; and the real revolutionists, those who inaugurated and resolutely sustained that anti-slavery revolution, which was meant to be peaceful, but which the Southerners forced to become violent. The Southern movement was thus only a rebellion against a revolution—and that a revolution for liberty and justice. To illustrate this fact, and to trace this new American revolution from its faint beginnings to its present condition and prospect, is our purpose in this article.

In the first volume of Mr. Greeley's History, we have traced, with wonderful clearness and force, by one who has been intimately associated with the political struggles which preceded the war for at least a quarter of a century, the chain of causes which are consummated in the present state of affairs. The essence of every important document from the formation of the Government, and the practical bearing of every event, are succinctly stated; and if we may admire the industry which has enabled the Editor of the leading daily newspaper in America to do this at such a time, we may still more admire the spirit of fairness and directness, which are the chief characteristics of his very valuable work. None who read it can wonder at the almost unexampled favour with which it has been received. This volume ends at a point immediately preceding the Peninsular Campaign of General M'Clellan, in Virginia. Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, looking at the whole matter with the eye of a soldier, passes impatiently and blunderingly over the causes of the war, which he deals with in a preliminary chapter, and carries his review of the course of military events down to the time of the advance of M'Clellan to the Chickahominy, and immediately preceding the disastrous battles before Richmond, which led to the inglorious retirement and ultimate downfall of that commander. Next to Mr. Greeley's work, the *Political History*, by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, must be regarded as the most valuable repository for the future historian. It includes in one volume a classified summary of all important public documents, and of legislation, in both the Washington and Richmond Capitals, from November, 1860, to July, 1864. These works, therefore, enable us to comprehend the parallel military and political events and forces which between them have already formed a characteristic portion of the American epoch, which they promise to consummate.

The construction of a government for the colonies, which had declared and maintained their independence of England, began under a natural reaction. Washington, in a letter to Henry Laurens (July 10, 1782) wrote: "That spirit of freedom, which, at the commencement of this contest, would have gladly sacrificed everything to the attainment of its object, has long since subsided, and every selfish passion has taken its place. It is not the public but private interest which influences the generality of mankind, nor can the Americans any longer boast of an exception." This was, as we have said, natural; the ravages of war, and the debt created by it, must make trade paramount, and under that and the vices which follow in the train of war, the fiery lava of revolution must cool down and harden into the provisions of self-interest and the enactments of economy. A late Conservative orator of New England sneered at the Declaration of Independence as "the passionate manifesto of a revolutionary war," and appealed from its "glittering generalities" to the wary "compromises of the Constitution;" it has only been amid the fires of another revolution that

those glittering generalities have been revealed as, to use Mr. Emerson's phrase, "blazing ubiquities." The great motives which prevailed to bring about the Convention of 1787, whose object was to supersede the loose articles of confederation and establish "a more perfect Union," were apparently the greater security of all economic interests, and a more complete combination against any attempt at a recovery of the States on the part of England. At this time, Massachusetts was the only State that held no slaves. By the census of 1790, there was a population in America of a little over 3,000,000, of which nearly 700,000 were slaves, whose relative distribution is shown in the following summary, taken from the same census:—

North.		South.	
New Hampshire . . .	158	Delaware . . .	8,887
Vermont . . .	17	Maryland . . .	108,086
Rhode Island . . .	952	Virginia . . .	298,427
Connecticut . . .	2,759	North Carolina . . .	100,572
Massachusetts . . .	None	South Carolina . . .	107,094
New York . . .	21,324	Georgia . . .	29,264
New Jersey . . .	11,423	Kentucky . . .	11,880
Pennsylvania . . .	3,737	Tennessee . . .	3,417
Total . . .	40,370	Total . . .	657,527

There is ample proof that slavery was never a source of wealth in the Northern States, and that the possession of slaves was rather coveted as an aristocratic distinction. Bancroft has also shown that the Northern slaves were carefully protected under the same roof with the master and his family. There were, indeed, many points in which their condition might be compared to that of the *clients* of ancient Rome. In the South, their treatment was already characterised by those cruelties and degradations which elicited the strong denunciations of the system which are to be found in the works of Jefferson, Washington, and other eminent men who lived in the South. There seems, however, to have been a concurrent testimony as to the evil of the institution, and an implied agreement that each State should, more or less gradually, abolish it. The Northern States were busily engaged in this work of Emancipation at the time of the formation of the Constitution. Vermont framed a State Constitution in 1777, and embodied it in a Bill of Rights, whereof the first article precluded slavery. Massachusetts framed her Constitution in 1780, containing a Declaration of Rights, almost a paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence, which was held by the Supreme Court of that State, on the first case that arose, to have abolished slavery entirely. In like manner, New Hampshire was held to have abolished slavery by her Constitution, framed in 1783. Pennsylvania passed an Act, March 1, 1780, by which all persons born in that State after that day were to be free at the age of 28. Rhode Island provided that all persons born after March, 1784, should be free. Connecticut, in 1784, passed an Act of Gradual Emancipation. New York provided for Gradual Emancipation in 1799. In 1817 another Act was passed, providing that there should be no slavery in

that State after July 4, 1827, an act by which 10,000 slaves were at once liberated. New Jersey passed an Act in 1804, designed to put an end to slavery, which was so slow, however, in its action that even so late as 1840 the census reported 674 slaves as still in that State. Nearly all of these Acts of Emancipation are accompanied by the prohibition, under severe penalties, of the exportation of slaves. This is a sufficient reply to that slander of the Northern States which declares that they "sold their slaves South and then abolished slavery." This statement—for which not a shadow of authority has been ever adduced—is made by the Marquess of Lothian concerning Massachusetts:—

"At the time of the Convention (i. e. of 1787) slavery was not the distinguishing mark between North and South, for the Northern states had slaves just as much as their Southern neighbours had.* There was one exception, and only one. Massachusetts had no slaves. That canny state had come to the perfectly correct conclusion that in her climate slave labour was unprofitable, and that her negroes were an inconvenience. So she had got rid of the 'peculiar institution' by converting them from slaves into . . . freemen? No; into cash."—p. 26.

He elsewhere says: "The first American ship that ever took part in this [slave] traffic sailed from the port of Boston." Though the fame of Massachusetts does not require a vindication from these charges, the recklessness of such a statement, made by a member of the English nobility, merits the severe reproof of which a statement of the simple facts will best administer. At a time (1645) when the conscience of the world was as yet asleep so far as the slave-trade was concerned, though one or two Popes had denounced it, a ship of one Thomas Keyser and one James Smith, sailed "for Guinea to trade for negroes." At once throughout Massachusetts a cry was raised against the two men as malefactors and murderers; Richard Saltonstall, a magistrate, denounced the act as "expressly contrary to the law of God and the law of the country;" the guilty men were committed for the offence; and after advice of the elders, the representatives of the people, bearing "witness against the heinous crime of man-stealing," ordered the negroes to be restored at the public charge "to their native country, with a letter expressing the indignation of the General Court" at their wrongs.† So much for the justice of the fling at Massachusetts as leading in the colonial slave-trade. As to the other charge, although the Puritans had for a time consented to the authority of British law, which held that *pagans* might be enslaved, we find that so early as 1701 the agitation for emancipation was begun by the instruction given by the town of Boston to its representatives "to put a period to negroes being slaves." In 1780 the slaves were all declared by the

* Compare the statistics of slavery in 1790, quoted above, with this statement of the Marquess.

† See Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 132.

Superior Court to be free, without any delay or warning, which would have enabled the few remaining slaveholders to sell their slaves. It is this state—with its proud eminence of having been the first to deal justly, upon moral and religious grounds, with slavery—that is singled out by a British nobleman for denunciation!

The Acts of Emancipation passed by the Legislatures of Northern States, before and after the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, did but express what was understood to be the general sentiment of both North and South, though the South seemed reluctant to convert this sentiment into practical measures. When the convention met to frame the constitution, slavery inevitably came under its consideration, and it was found that the Southern States had become very deeply involved in the institution, and were determined to demand the utmost indulgence for that which no one was ready to justify. The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia came fully prepared to use the menace of disunion, as a lash over the convention, to secure advantages for slavery; and when the matter came up first, upon the proposition to prohibit the slave-trade, they placed before the convention the alternatives: "No slave-trade—no union." They thus secured the compromise, that the trade should not be prohibited until the year 1808. By similar means, and with less discussion, they secured the compromise that the basis of representation in Congress should be the entire free population of each state, and "three-fifths of all other persons,"—*persons* being held to mean *slaves*—a measure which secured a preponderance of southern representation. To this they succeeded in adding a clause providing that "persons bound to service or labour in any of the United States, escaping into other states, should not thereby be considered discharged from such service or labour, but should be delivered up to the person claiming the same," which was proposed by Mr. Butler, of South Carolina. It will be observed that, whilst these advantages were given to slavery, the terms *slave* and *slavery* were decorously excluded from the constitution: this was, according to Mr. Madison, "because they did not choose to admit the right of property in man." It was plain that the framers of the constitution believed that the institution of slavery was dying out of the land, and that, though they might consent to humour it by certain indulgences, these must all terminate in 1808, when slavery, deprived of the traffic which fed it, would perish, and not a dead letter remain in the constitution to be its epitaph. Nevertheless, it is not to be supposed that these compromises were agreed to without much opposition. Nothing could have reconciled the people of the North to them, but the great and substantial advantage of which they had been the high price. *That advantage had been the establishment of a firm national union with supreme powers.* They consented to enter this narrow gate and straitened way only because they saw, or thought they saw, the spacious halls of liberty and justice in the distance. They knew that, in consenting to that constitution, the Southern

States had created a new and sovereign power, which would gradually abolish their own evil institution—for there was a power of self amendment, by a majority of three-fourths of the states, which would enable it to grow with the growing world. It is a sufficient proof of the absurdity of any theory of secession, that, when this constitution was returned to the several states for ratification, it was met furiously by the entire state-sovereignty party, on the one ground that it demanded the surrender of its sovereignty by each state. No one, at that time, urged that it was an agreement from which any state might withdraw at will. Said Patrick Henry, in the ratifying convention of Virginia, "That this is a consolidated government is demonstrably clear; and the danger of such a government is, to my mind, very striking." He is met by no denial; but, on the contrary, the president of the convention which framed the constitution—George Washington—declares that the purpose of that instrument was "the consolidation of our union." In fine, the bitter and long struggles which occurred in various states where the constitution met with opposition, are inexplicable on any supposition that those states were only called upon to sign a bond from which they might break away at pleasure. Even Mr. Calhoun, in a "Declaration of Principles for South Carolina," drawn up by him in 1828, is forced to admit that his state had, by ratifying the federal constitution, "modified its original right of sovereignty, whereby its individual consent was necessary to any change in its political condition, and, by becoming a member of the Union, had placed that power in the hands of three-fourths of the States, in whom the highest power known to the constitution actually resides."

This, then, was the force of the compact into which the States had entered. Slavery clutched the strength of the hour. Freedom relied on the justice of the age. The South obtained advantages for slavery as long as it should exist, but no security for the continuation of that existence: the North accepted the grub actual, with the golden wings implied. This compromise was not quite noble on the part of the North, although it was natural that it should not fear an institution which all the physicians of State pronounced to be on its death-bed. Bitterly must they atone for it. Two events were to give slavery a new and most unexpected lease of life. The first of these was the invention of the cotton-gin, by Eli Whitney. Whitney was a native of Massachusetts, and a graduate of Yale College, Connecticut, who, in his 27th year, was employed as a tutor in a private family in Georgia. Hearing some gentlemen complain of the depressed state of agriculture in the South, and the impossibility of profitably extending the culture of the green-seed cotton, because of the trouble and expense of separating the seed from the fibre, young Whitney was led to make those efforts at remedying this difficulty, which resulted in the cotton-gin. Hargreaves had invented the spinning-jenny in 1764; Arkwright, the machine for making fine cotton-thread, in 1768; Watt had patented his improvement for obtaining a

rotatory motion by his steam-engine in 1782; and all of these stood ready to reinforce the cotton-gin when it was invented, in 1795. In 1784 eight bags of cotton shipped to England were seized at the Custom House as fraudulently entered—"cotton not being a production of the United States." Even in 1790 the export was returned as eighty-one bags. But under the influences mentioned the supply at once doubled, then quadrupled itself, until it rose to the million bales of 1880, and the five millions of 1860. "Under this dispensation," says Mr. Greeley, "the prices of slaves necessarily and rapidly advanced," until it was roughly computed that each average field-hand was worth so many hundred dollars, as cotton commanded cents per pound. That is, when cotton was worth ten cents per pound, field-hands were worth a thousand dollars each; with cotton at twelve cents they were worth twelve hundred; and when it rose, as it sometimes did even in later days, to fifteen cents per pound for a fair article of middling Orleans, a stout negro, from 17 to 30 years old, with no particular skill but that necessarily acquired in the rude experience of farm labour anywhere, would often bring fifteen hundred dollars on a New Orleans auction-block." But another event exercised a vast influence in the rehabilitation of slavery, namely, the purchase of Louisiana from France, by President Jefferson, in 1808. By \$12,000,000 paid France, and \$4,000,000 paid its own citizens, in satisfaction of claims against France, the United States became unquestionable owner of the entire Valley of the Mississippi. Mr. Jefferson freely acknowledged that he had overridden the constitution in making this purchase, but relied for justification before the country upon the greatness of the interests secured. The great influence which would be exerted by this purchase toward increasing the power and perpetuating the existence of slavery seems to have been suspected by no one. The antecedents of Louisiana, under both Spanish and French rule, had been slaveholding; and when it became a portion of the United States, the great south-western emigration carried slavery deep into the heart of the continent. The Treaty of Cession would, indeed, on a fair construction, have secured the liberty of all in Louisiana, but Napoleon, fresh from the murder of Toussaint, and just baffled in his attempt to re-enslave the negroes of Hayti, was not the one to care about the destiny of the negro in the ceded territory. The reception of this state, occurring only a little before the legal discontinuance of the slave-trade (1808), opened a vast market for slaves in the more northern slave-states. The Coast of Guinea was simply transferred to Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky. The negro infant was worth \$100 at birth. In fact, not to go further into this most loathsome and distinctive aspect of American slavery, slave-breeding for purposes of traffic, became a systematic thing in those border states. Under a seemingly humane opposition to the African slave-trade, they sheltered the infernal traffic, and in the war which seems to have singled out the regions where human beings were bred for merchandize for especial

devastations, we find only reason to recognise the track of implacable Justice which still, with wheel and rudder, pursues wrong by land and sea.

This resuscitation of slavery was followed by a general corruption of the mercantile classes throughout the United States. The Northern manufacturer, and the warehouse-man, were partners with the planter in one firm. Slavery had "managed to clutch one of the most important of the world's purse-strings, and thenceforth there arose a party rich enough to buy for it a science, a literature, and a gospel. Then slavery leapt from its death-bed, provided its feast, and was received into good society; it sat in its judicial seats, with the ermine on its brow; it sat in the President's chair; it entered the pulpit, and for it the Bible was clasped with handcuffs, and the very Cross of Christ festooned with chains."* The North had its long list of political leaders, who, one by one, deserted the principles of freedom at the demand of slavery. Alluding to the bold declaration of a Georgian congressman, that he would one day call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill, Mr. Wendell Phillips said, with bitter truth:—"Robert Toombs has already fulfilled his promise, to call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill. He calls them to-day:—Daniel Webster—*Here!* Rufus Choate—*Here!* Edward Everett—*Here!* Robert Winthrop—*Here!*"

"Against this frightful usurpation," says the work just quoted, "the anti-slavery men, though few and often faint, inaugurated a revolution. Spared at first, because of their insignificance, they at length, through much suffering, raised their cause to a sufficient equality with slavery to bring on those tempests which, as Lord Bacon says, may, in the calendars of states, be looked for when things come to an equality, as in the natural world they attend the equinoctial." It is now our purpose to give some account of this moral revolution, whose aim was justice, and whose method was peaceful argument, up to the time when it was forced, by the mad resistance of the South, to record its triumph in blood.

The pioneer of the anti-slavery agitation in America was a devout Quaker, named Benjamin Lundy. Leaving his father's humble home at the age of nineteen, he wandered, about the year 1803, to Wheeling, Virginia, where, during the next four years, he learned the trade of a saddler, and observed the cruelties of slavery. He settled in St. Clairsville, Ohio, afterwards, and in 1815 organized the first anti-slavery society of America, which was called "The Union Humane Society;" and, beginning with five or six members, who met at his own house, within a few months numbered four or five hundred. Some two years after this, the first anti-slavery journal of the States was published at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, by Charles Osborne, Lundy being the chief writer in it: it was called *The Philanthropist*. We next find Osborne editing *The Emancipator*, in Tennessee, and Lundy *The*

* "Testimonies concerning Slavery," p. 187.

Genius of Universal Emancipation, in Ohio. This latter paper was printed at Steubenville, twenty miles distant from Mount Pleasant, where it was published, and Lundy each week walked that distance to bring back the edition on his back. Afterwards the two papers were united and edited, in Tennessee, by Lundy. In 1823-4 the first American Convention for the abolition of slavery was held in Philadelphia, and Lundy, who was a weak man physically, and very poor, walked all the way (600 miles) and back to attend it. He then resolved to print his paper at Baltimore; and (1824) started out from Tennessee on foot, knapsack on back, for that city. On his way he paused at a Friends' Meeting House, in a pleasant grove, at Deep Creek, North Carolina, and was there moved to give his first public address against slavery. The Friends received his address kindly, and formed then and there an anti-slavery society. Encouraged by this, he went about in that state, speaking to the people, now at a house-raising, then at a militia muster, and was instrumental in forming anti-slavery societies. He then passed into Virginia, where he met with less success. From this time forward Lundy devoted his life to enlisting writers and speakers throughout the country in the cause he had espoused. Of course, he met with the usual number of mobs, assaults, etc., which, however, in the anti-slavery movement, are too normal and numerous to be specifically referred to. He died in 1839, when was closed, as Mr. Greeley well says, "the record of one of the most heroic, devoted, unselfish, courageous lives that was ever lived on this continent."

Amongst those whom Lundy had met in his travels throughout the country was a journeyman printer, who had become an editor, and whom he persuaded to go with him (1829) to help edit the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, at Baltimore. This was William Lloyd Garrison, who was then about twenty-four years of age. Having, in the paper at Baltimore, denounced the coastwise slave-trade between that city and New Orleans, and stigmatized certain persons connected with it, he was indicted for "a gross and malicious libel," and, unable to pay the \$50 fine imposed, was cast into prison, where he passed forty-nine days, being released at last, by the payment of the fine and costs, by Arthur Tappan, a wealthy merchant of New York. After this, having met with violence in Baltimore, Garrison repaired to Boston, where the first number of the *Liberator* appeared, January 1, 1830. The paper was very radical. Its motto was, "Our country is the world—our countrymen all mankind." Somewhat later it adopted the motto, "No Union with Slaveholders." It also declared, "The (Federal) Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." The "Garrisonians," as they were distinctively called, refused to vote or hold office, and honestly believed it was a plain duty to dissolve, by the constitutional method of a convention of states, the compact which permitted slavery. Of course, there were few who could go these lengths. Mr. Greeley

enumerates the anti-slavery classes as follows:

"A very few years, dating from 1832-3, when the New England and American Anti-Slavery Society were formed respectively, sufficed to segregate the American opponents of slavery into four general divisions, as follows: 1.—The Garrisonians aforesaid. 2.—The members of the 'Liberty Party,' who, regarding the Federal Constitution as essentially anti-slavery, swore with good conscience to uphold it, and supported candidates who were distinctively, determinedly, pre-eminently champions of 'Liberty for all.' 3.—Various small sects and parties, which occupied a middle ground between the above positions; some of the sects agreeing with the latter in interpreting and revering the Bible as consistently anti-slavery, while refusing with the former to vote. 4.—A large and steadily increasing class who, though decidedly anti-slavery, refused either to withhold their votes or to throw them away on candidates whose election was impossible, but persisted in voting, at nearly every election, so as to effect good and prevent evil to the extent of their power."

This division of the anti-slavery movement into, as it were, various fingers, gave it greater power; every ingenuity of the defence of slavery was met. The anti-slavery men had little idea beforehand of the general corruption which slavery had superinduced, or of the obstinacy with which every link of the negro's chain was to be defended. The battle assumed a threefold character—ecclesiastical, popular, and political—of each of which we may give a brief account.

The only religious connexion which seems to have preserved a satisfactory record under this touchstone of practical morality is that of the Quakers. In 1696 the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia had admonished Friends against "bringing in any more negroes." In 1754 a minute against the slave-trade was entered, and those of the society who owned slaves were urged to take care for their morals and treat them humanely. In 1774 the Friends directed that all engaging in the slave-trade should be "disowned;" and in 1776 this sentence was extended to the owners of slaves. In 1783 it was shown that there was no case of slave-holding in the Quaker body in America. The Presbyterians, old and new school, the Baptists, Methodists, and minor sects, were much divided on the subject; for a time they seemed to be able to pass resolutions against slavery in the abstract, but gradually were more or less completely conquered by their Southern memberships,—only the Methodists having had vitality enough to be divided into Northern and Southern divisions upon the question of permitting a bishop to hold slaves. The Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal Churches boldly maintained and do to this day, that slave-holding is no sin at all. These churches, by a vast majority, and with great bitterness, denounced the abolitionists as agitators, schismatics, and infidels. The biblical justification of slavery was much dwelt upon. Accordingly the abolitionists denounced the churches very cordially, and it is certain that the growth of abolitionism has been attended by a gradual weakening of the influence of all churches.

The Unitarians, next to the Quakers, seem to have acted with more zeal in behalf of the negroes; and Dr. Channing, who did such brave service, was followed by many faithful and earnest anti-slavery preachers. This body was so associated, indeed, with the movement against slavery, that only three or four Unitarian societies ever existed in the South, and of these the majority were closed for some years before the Rebellion, because ministers could not be found willing to pledge themselves to silence concerning slavery. When Garrison, who seems to have been in some official standing in the Baptist Church, began his exhortations against slavery in Boston, every church was closed against him, and he began speaking in the open air, on Boston Common. Finally, the infidels opened to him the hall in which they held their meetings. Although, of course, there has been a gradual improvement in the tone of the churches, they nevertheless have generally been dragged after leaders who were laymen, and we find, in association with earlier reformers, no ministers more orthodox than Dr. Channing and Theodore Parker.

The social and popular resistance which the abolitionists had to encounter was terrible, and has left its trace in many deeds of mob violence. In the North, the movements, speeches, and writings of Garrison and his few friends seem to have excited at first little if any attention; but slavery, with the keen sense of the savage, seems to have laid its ear close to the ground, and to have heard behind those insignificant "fanatics" the tramp of the hosts of a mighty revolution. Before the *Liberator* had been issued a year, and while the subscribers were yet only a few hundreds, the Legislature of Georgia passed an Act offering \$5,000 to whomsoever should bring to trial either of its editors. A requisition was sent to the Mayor of Boston, by a Southern magistrate, for the suppression of the *Liberator*; but the Mayor—evidently not half so far-sighted as his Southern fiends—returned an answer that the paper in question, of which he had plainly never heard before, was not of a character to disturb Southern gentlemen,—that his officers had "ferreted out the paper and its editor, whose office was an obscure hole, his only visible auxiliary a negro boy, his supporters a few insignificant persons of all colours." The Southerners, however, could not share this contempt of the anti-slavery agitators and their movement. The threat of disunion, which had been held over the Constitutional Convention with some success, was again resorted to. "We firmly believe," said the leading newspaper of Georgia (1838) "that if the Southern States do not quickly unite, and declare to the North, if the question of slavery be longer discussed in any shape, they will instantly secede from the Union, that the question must be settled, and very soon, by the sword, as the only possible means of self-preservation;" and the *Richmond Whig* said, "The people of the North must go to hanging these fanatics, if they would not lose the benefit of the Southern trade, and they will do it Depend upon it, the Northern people will never sacrifice their

present lucrative trade with the South, so long as the hanging of a few thousands will prevent it." In both Houses of the Legislature of Virginia (1836) it was "Resolved—That the non-slaveholding States of the Union are respectfully but earnestly requested promptly to adopt penal enactments, or such other measures as will effectually suppress all associations within their respective limits purporting to be, or having the character of, Abolition Societies." Our space will not allow us to trace the numerous and cruel mobs which assailed nearly every anti-slavery meeting, in consequence of these Southern threats, from 1838 to 1837. When the triumph of emancipation in the West Indies was secured, GEORGE THOMPSON went to America, to assist in the kindred struggle there. The interference of a "Briton" in what was held to be a domestic difference, roused the people to fury, and his presence was the invariable occasion of riot, until he was induced to return to England, as introducing a needless cause of exasperation. President Jackson, in his annual message (Dec. 2, 1835), did not hesitate to approve these violent manifestations. "It is fortunate for the country," said that message, "that the good sense, the generous feeling, and the deep-rooted attachment of the people of the non-slaveholding States to the Union, and to their fellow-citizens of the same blood in the South, have given so strong and impressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the proceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in these unconstitutional and wicked attempts, and especially against the emissaries from foreign parts, who have dared to interfere in this matter, as to authorise the hope that those attempts will no longer be persisted in." Vigorous efforts were made by Governors Edward Everett (of Massachusetts) and Marcy (of New York) to suppress freedom of speech concerning slavery in their States; but with no further result than some vague denunciations of "fanatics" by legislative committees. It was thus felt that Legislature could do nothing so subversive of the traditions of the North as would alone satisfy the South, and the opponents of the abolitionists betook themselves to the further instigation of mob-violence. But history attests nothing more completely than that the interest which wields the weapon of violence seizes a sword by the blade, and, though it may bruise its adversary with the hilt, much more gashes its own hands. Men of fine powers and great wealth—as Hon. Gerrit Smith and Arthur Tappan—had their honourable feelings aroused by these persecutions, and took their places among the abolitionists; and it was at a meeting called in Boston, to consider the murder of Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Illinois, by slaveholders from Missouri, that Wendell Phillips made his first speech for freedom, and began that career which, more than that of any other individual, has been the means of promoting the favourable reaction which has culminated in the abolition of slavery. To the inspiration which a great and just cause brought to its champions, opposition added the most needed condition of co-operation; the aboli-

tionists became a compact minority, and wearied out the mobs. The disturbances became less bloody and less frequent, whilst the anti-slavery meetings commanded increasing attention by the accession of eloquent men, notably of the incomparable orator, Wendell Phillips. "Eloquence is cheap at the abolition meetings," said Emerson; and the crowds who attended them in later years confirmed the assertion of the philosopher. Nevertheless, the popular fury did not subside until many devoted men had sealed the cause of emancipation with their blood, and, alas, not until many Northern statesmen had made the unworthy sacrifice of their principles to the insolent demands of slavery.

It has often been asserted that the North was not strictly faithful to the original compact by which the Union was framed; but the truth is notoriously the reverse of this. It was, in fact, the patient determination of the North to fulfil that compact in the letter and spirit which made the leading abolitionists adopt their theory that the Union must be dissolved, an object, however, which they sought to reach through the peaceful formula of a convention of the people of all the states. But in the South the compact was repeatedly violated in the interest of slavery. It has been already stated that President Jefferson purchased the great south-western territory of Orleans from Bonaparte, which was cut up into slave-states, and that he openly acknowledged the unconstitutionality of that purchase. At Charleston, South Carolina, July 29th, 1835, the United States' mails were rifled, and a large quantity of matter, supposed to be anti-slavery, burnt; President Jackson's Post-Master General accepting such action in the following words:—

"By no act or direction of mine, official or private, could I be induced to aid, knowingly, in giving circulation to papers of this description, directly or indirectly. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live; and, if the former be permitted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them."

In the same year South Carolina passed an act by which every coloured person found on board any vessel entering her ports was to be seized and lodged in jail; there to remain until the vessel was cleared for departure, when said coloured person or persons should be restored to said vessel, on payment of the cost and charges of arrest, detention, and subsistence. This act bore so heavily upon the vessels of Massachusetts, that this state resolved to institute legal proceedings in the United States' District Court of South Carolina, to test the constitutionality of the act; and Hon. Samuel Hoar was commissioned by the Governor of Massachusetts to go to South Carolina for that purpose; whereupon the Legislature of the latter state formally "resolved, that the emissary sent by the State of Massachusetts" should be compelled immediately to leave the State of South Carolina, and the authorities resolved themselves into a kind of mob, to drive out this eminent gentleman, who was accompanied by his daughter. How such an event was related to the constitution may be judged by reference

to Art. iv. § 2 of that instrument, which provides that "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states." The anti-slavery men of the North bore this patiently, and only raised another degree their determination to achieve that sublime revenge which the poet Whittier invoked on that occasion:

"Have they chained our free-born men?
Let us unchain theirs."

The abolitionists were a class which any monarchy on the continent of Europe would have exiled. They had that perilous *πονοστ* outside of the Government which few Governments can permit. The short arm of the lever, with which they moved the country, was the Republican party. Mr. Sumner was related to Mr. Garrison, as Jules Favre to Ledru Rollin. The union of the states was, from the first, threatened only by the insatiable hunger of slavery for fresh territory. It had already learned what an increase of the pecuniary value of slaves, and of political power, ensued upon the opening of new territory to it, by its extension into Louisiana; and when Arkansas had been devoured, the hunger grew to lust. The first serious resistance it encountered was in the agitation which led to the adoption of the Missouri compromise in 1820—the stormiest chapter in the political history of the United States. At that time, John Adams, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson (December 18th, 1819), said:—

"The Missouri question, I hope, will follow the other waves under the ship, and do no harm. I know it is high treason to express a doubt of the perpetual duration of our vast American empire, and our free institutions; and I say as devoutly as Father Paul *esto perpetua*: and [yet] I am sometimes Cassandra enough to dream that another Hamilton, another Burr, may rend this mighty fabric in twain, or perhaps into a leash; and a few more choice spirits of the same stamp might produce as many nations in North America as there are in Europe."

The threatened disaster was temporarily avoided by the adoption of the *Missouri Compromise*, so called, by which slavery was permitted in the great new state of Missouri, but prohibited in all that portion of the territory out of which it was carved, north of 36° 3'. It was hoped by the conservatives that the passage of this measure would for ever take the slavery-discussion out of the Houses of Congress, and, notwithstanding an infraction of it by the South,* it did manage to prevent any formidable conflict for full twenty years. The great pro-slavery reaction had prevailed over all the land, and the abolitionists could scarcely produce a sensation in Congress by sending in petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, etc.,

* In 1836 a considerable section of the territory beyond the original western boundary of Missouri was added to the state of Missouri, so quietly as not to attract attention. By this palpable violation of the Missouri compromise, slave-holding Missouri acquired 8,026 square miles of rich land, cut up now into six counties, which contained, in 1860, 70,508 inhabitants, of whom 6,699 were slaves.

which were at first received with derision, and at length forbidden even to be read. This long political truce on the slavery issue was destined to be broken by another exasperation of slavery's accursed lust for empire. We need not repeat here that disgraceful history of the entrance of filibusters into Texas—originally through the generosity of Mexico in bestowing grants of land upon them—the revolution of that territory by slaveholders, and its annexation in the interest of slavery. Against that measure Daniel Webster lifted his voice, in warning. The recklessness of slavery—its willingness to lie, rob, and murder, in order to reach its ends—were laid bare in that transaction more than in anything else. There was as yet, however, no Republican party, and, consequently, no adequate opposition to the annexation of Texas under the vigorous advocacy of "His Accidency"* John Tyler. That virgin country, which the measure of universal emancipation, passed by Mexico some twenty years before, had protected, was helplessly bound, and soon became a prey to the Southern dragon. Nevertheless, out of this outrage came the compensation of a party which revealed the important fact that the abolition movement was now represented within the pale of the constitution. The champions of slavery had some misgivings, when, in 1848, a Free Soil Convention met at Buffalo, New York, and, resolving "That Congress had no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery, than to institute or establish monarchy," presented the names of Van Buren and Adams as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency: they had still greater misgivings when those candidates polled, out of 2,872,056 votes cast, 291,342. When, soon after this Presidential campaign—in which Taylor and Fillmore were elected—the question of a Government for the territory of Oregon came up, Freedom was conciliated by a defeat of the bill which would have given the best portion of it to Slavery. Then came on the fierce conflict about California, which, having fulfilled the conditions of population, etc., requisite for the formation of a state, asked to be admitted with a free constitution into the Union. President Taylor, a moderate Whig, having died as suddenly and mysteriously as his predecessor Harrison, slavery found in Millard Fillmore a compliant tool; and though California had to be admitted as a free state, it was not without the addition of offsets for slavery, in the admission of slavery into Utah and New Mexico, and the passage of the odious Fugitive Slave Bill, drafted by Mason, of Virginia, late Confederate Minister to England. The era of slave-hunting and kidnapping which followed this "Compromise of 1850," as it was

called, was a terrible one for the negroes of the North. In the first year of its operation, more slaves were dragged from Northern refuges into bondage than in the sixty years preceding; but there was nothing that the warmest foe of slavery could have more ingeniously devised to produce a general disgust toward slavery in the Northern States. Hitherto slavery had been a distant evil, and its cruelties were declared to be mythic; but now its hideous form was seen dragging innocent men and women through the streets of Northern cities to enslave them, and there was a deep and wide revulsion of feeling. A most important anti-slavery reaction began. It did not make itself fully felt in the Presidential canvass of 1852, chiefly because it nominated, as candidates, two very radical men (Hale and Julian), and because the Whigs nominated men (Scott and Graham) who were, to a moderate degree, satisfactory to the opponents of slavery, and were more generally voted for, as being more likely to be successful. In this election Franklin Pierce was elected—a man of absolute servility to the slave-power. Under him slavery conceived the fatal design, to itself, of nationalizing its power. To this end it attacked that line which had been established by the Missouri Compromise, and which, for over thirty years, had been a bulwark against its North-western encroachments. A bill to sweep away this limitation was, to use an American phrase, "engineered" through Congress, by S. A. Douglas. Immediately emigrants from the North and the South poured into Kansas, where the Bill decreed that the existence of slavery should depend upon the vote of settlers, and that territory soon became the theatre of a brutal civil war—slavery having determined to carry by force, and with the assistance of military aid from President Pierce, the polls which it was vain to try and carry by numbers. Free state settlers were put to the sword; voters who would not vote for slavery were murdered; the villages of immigrants from the free states were burnt after their houses and churches had been plundered. Under this the tide of Freedom advanced, and in 1856 the democratic (pro-slavery) candidate, James Buchanan, was confronted with an ominous array of 1,341,264 votes for the radical Republican, J. C. Fremont, against his 1,838,169—many of which were notoriously fraudulent. Through the persistence and bravery of the Free State men, Kansas was brought in as a free state. Slavery did not forego, however, its dream of nationalizing itself. With the favour of its new Presidential tool, it betook itself to the Supreme Court, the judges of which were, with one exception, notoriously pro-slavery in their opinions, and a majority of them slaveholders. A fictitious case was made up, concerning an old negro of St. Louis, Missouri, named Dred Scott—who was made to bring suit for his freedom, on the ground that he had been taken by his master into territory made free by the Missouri Compromise—and the Supreme Court, through Chief Justice Taney, declared him still a slave. The Chief Justice went out of his way to declare that negroes "are not included, and were not intended

* John Tyler, of Virginia, who became President by the death of Harrison, in 1841, one month after his inauguration. Slavery secured the immediate annexation of Texas by the change; and though Mr. Tyler was popularly entitled "His Accidency," there has always been, among intelligent Americans, a suspicion that his accession to power was not "accidental."

to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can, therefore, claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States;" also, that "they had, for more than a century before, been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that *they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect*; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit." It was thus decided flatly that the Constitution carried slavery with it wherever it went; President Buchanan congratulated the country that the long agitation was settled; and slavery prepared to celebrate its victory by raising a new star to its flag, to be called Slavery.

In the midst of slavery's festivities, however, about this time, there darted forth a hand of flame, which wrote on its walls some old sentiments from the Declaration of Independence, and warned it that there were some who, despite the decisions of the Supreme Court, still believed that "All men are born equal." Captain John Brown, having stood and fought bravely in Kansas until he saw it a free state, appeared in the town of Harper's Ferry, Virginia, with seventeen white and five black comrades, occupying the United States Arsenal, holding the town two days, all for the liberation of the slaves! So intense was the suspicion of greater armies behind, so fearful the excitement, that troops enough of the United States and of Virginia were poured into Harper's Ferry, not only to capture these twenty-three, but to have encountered a fair-sized foreign invasion. When these rescuers were conquered, and the three or four who were not killed at once were in Virginia dungeons, the Governor of the invaded state still preserved a large garrison for the gaol. The weakness of slavery had been made manifest. It is said that the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, a radical Republican representative, was sneeringly asked at the time, by a member from Virginia, "Well, Mr. Stevens, what do you think of John Brown?" "He is a fool, sir!" "Why, I thought you would call him a hero!" "A fool, sir! Think of a man going to capture the State of Virginia with *twenty-two* men. Why didn't he take *thirty*? then he'd have *done* it!" The long trial; the hanging of Brown and his few surviving companions all wounded; the extended Congressional investigations; the drilling of militia throughout Virginia, and some other states,—all told that a terrible fear had seized upon slavery. "Virginians," said Wendell Phillips, "did not tremble at an old grey-headed man at Harper's Ferry; they trembled at a John Brown in every man's conscience." The heroism with which John Brown hurled himself against slavery, to free the slave, deeply affected the nation; and the "Southern chivalry" lost any remnant of *prestige* it might have had when he was hung.

Among the papers of the late Theodore Parker, was found a letter, written from Canada, where his expedition was planned, by John

Brown, in which he said: "I expect to achieve a great victory, even though it be like the last victory of Samson." The death of this brave man did indeed produce a remarkable effect. For the months that he lay in prison, previous to his execution, his conversations, appeals, etc., on the subject of slavery, were reported in all the newspapers of the nation, and were repeated in pulpits and from platforms. For some months he preached from every pulpit and edited every paper. His fortitude and heroism won applause from its enemies, and the Governor of Virginia, under whom he was executed, said, "He is firm, truthful, intelligent—the gamest man I ever saw." That slavery had only a scaffold for qualities like these, was not without its lesson for the North. When his body was borne home for burial, it was followed by the friends of freedom, who mourned for him as a martyr. On the South the effect of his "raid," as they called it, was no less noteworthy. For the first time, the intensity and determination of the enemies of slavery was revealed to them, and they scented the battle from afar. John B. Floyd, of Virginia, was at that time Secretary of War, and, as is now known, he began at once to send arms, from Arsenals of the United States, to the South.* It is certain that the Southern leaders had fully determined upon secession, and only awaited the appearance of some occasion which would enable them to "fire the Southern heart" and unite their states in the movement.

How often does the field of compromise prove the field of battle! When, thirty years before, the North and the South agreed upon a line in the Missouri territory, on either side of which slavery and freedom should rest and be thankful, they ignored the fact that their line pierced through the heart of humanity. Slavery, with its insatiable lust of territory, with its ambition for nationalisation, with its new

* Mr. E. A. Pollard, sometime editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, who was in public employment at Washington throughout the administration of Buchanan, says, in his "Southern History of the War": "It had been supposed that the Southern people, poor in manufactures as they were, and in the haste for the mighty contest that was to ensue, would find themselves but ill provided with arms to contend with an enemy rich in the means and munitions of war. This disadvantage had been provided against by the timely act of one man. Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, when Secretary of war, under Mr. Buchanan's administration, had, by a single order, effected the transfer of 115,000 improved muskets and rifles from the Springfield (Massachusetts) Armoury, and the Watervliet Arsenal to different arsenals at the South." The same officer had, by a similar "timely" act, placed at the head of the United States forces, sent ostensibly to protect the Texan frontier from Indians, one whom he knew would throw them all into the hands of the South in case of collision; nor did General Twiggs betray his confidence. When Texas seceded he turned over to General Ben McCulloch his entire army, and all the fortifications, horses, &c., which he held; an act by which the United States lost one half of its army, and over two million dollars' worth of military property.

Dred Scott decision in its hand, did, with a madness which an old Hebrew prophet would have attributed to a divinely-ordered temptation of the devil, sweep away that line. The result was, that the whole subject of slavery extension was brought up again for decision before the people. The anti-extensionists put forward Abraham Lincoln as their candidate. He was selected because, whilst a man of Southern birth, and therefore not liable to the charge of sectional unfriendliness to the South, he was a thoroughly convinced champion of non-extension, who had surrendered political prospects for his principles, and was an honest man. No man had ever uttered before the American people the issue before them more simply and thoroughly. He showed that the admission of slavery into new territories was virtually the enslavement of men. "It means," he said, "that if A wishes to make B a slave, C has no right to interfere." But he also represented something more important—namely, the resolution of the Northern people that there should be no more delusive compromises on this subject, but that it should be at once and for ever settled. He acknowledged also, boldly, that this would be a blow at the life of slavery itself.

"We are now," said Mr. Lincoln (1858), "far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south."

In the spring of 1860 the various parties held conventions to organize their forces, declare their principles, and nominate candidates for the approaching presidential campaign. The republicans met at Chicago, Illinois, and, with a declaration of broad anti-slavery and anti-extension principles, nominated Mr. Lincoln. In April the pro-slavery party, which in America calls itself the Democracy, met at Charleston, South Carolina, and was at once thrown into contention by the determination of the extreme Southerners to contend for the principle of the Dred Scott decision, that slavery already existed in the territories, because the Constitution carried slavery with it wherever it went, and that the territorial legislatures had no more right to prohibit slavery in them than Congress. The Northern wing declared that such a principle would be suicidal in the North; that they could not go before the people on such an issue, and warned the Southerners that if they did not concede the principle

of the bill which abolished the Missouri Compromise, that the people of the territories must decide for themselves the existence or non-existence of slavery among them, the election of a Republican President was almost certain. Neither party did or could yield, and the result was a split, the Southern wing nominating Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and the other Mr. Douglas, of Illinois. It was sufficiently evident that the Southern leaders intended the inevitable result of this decision—the election of a Republican President—on the ground stated at the time by its Washington organ, that "if Lincoln triumphs the result cannot fail to be a South united in her own defence—the only key to a full and, we sincerely believe, a peaceful and happy solution of the political problem of the slavery question."

Confident that the alarm of the planters at the triumph of the policy of restriction, which would girdle slavery, and the humiliation of the proud Virginians and Carolinians at the election of an anti-slavery President, would secure a united movement throughout the South for secession; knowing that there was a strong conviction in the minds of many earnest Northern men that their complicity with slavery should end, though it cost the Union; aware that, during its long possession of the general government, slavery had been able, secretly, to disarm the North and arm the South, so that resistance would be at once seen to be futile, the Southern leaders looked forward with a delight which, in South Carolina, expressed itself in toasts to the success of the Republican candidate in the coming election as the signal for the formation of a grand Southern empire, with slavery for its corner-stone, a solution fondly believed to prove "peaceful and happy."

To the long head and the stout heart of Abraham Lincoln, humanity owes that the earth is not at this moment cursed with such an empire. Nothing was easier than for a weak president to have demoralised the North at that moment. The majority were already calling for a compromise, and the anti-slavery men, fearing another compromise above all else, were showing what great advantages there would be in parting with the South. The leading men, and pulpits, and presses, were against the coercion of the south. But Abraham Lincoln understood the heart and power of the American people better. To all these voices he said—No; this Union is to be preserved, and that not by any compromise! With surprise and pain the country heard this; but when the South fired upon the flag of Fort Sumter, the nation rose up "with the war-cry of the first revolution on its lips."

The Anti-Slavery Revolution had encountered, with what success we have seen, the social, the religious, and the political forces which had opposed it; by a long and weary path it had now reached its final ordeal—War.

When it became evident that there was to be a civil war, the advantages seemed so clearly to be on the side of the North that the movement of the South excited surprise and contempt throughout the world. According to the census of 1860, the population of the free states

and territories was 19,198,143; and that of the slave states, including the District of Columbia, 12,315,372. All the free states adhered to the Union, whilst of the slave states four, having an aggregate population of 3,137,282, did not unite with the movement for Secession. The population of the states which declared themselves actually in revolt was 2,103,014; but of these, 3,520,902* were slaves, who, it was generally predicted, would certainly take the occasion of war to gain their freedom by insurrection. In manufactures, commerce, shipping, and general wealth, the preponderance on the side of the Union was vast. The columns of the *Times* newspaper of that date show sufficiently the popular incredulity in this country of the ability of the South to maintain itself; whilst in the Northern States of America the same confidence uttered itself in "ninety-day" prophecies, and in some sad mistakes.

The fact was, that in the beginning of the war there was a substantial balance of advantages in favour of the South. In the first place, the Government of the United States had long been in the hands of the South. For four years the rebel chief had been Secretary of War, and had resigned that office only to be followed by Mr. Floyd, of Virginia. Not only did both of these carry on, through several years, the process of disarming the North and arming the South—another official, at the same time, scattering the navy to the ends of the earth,—but these men were personally acquainted with the officers of the army and navy, knew whom they might trust, and how others might be purchased. The secession movement was at once followed by a sweeping surrender of garrisons, forts, forces, and munitions—only one or two generals—as at Sumter—making a feeble resistance, and others—as at Norfolk—showing utter imbecility. In the second place the Washington Government had so long been administered in the interest of slavery, that the departments were full of disloyal persons, who, maintaining their positions by loud professions of devotion to the Union, conveyed every kind of military intelligence to the enemy. General Robert Lee had been for many years on the staff of the Lieutenant-General-in-Chief of the United States, and remained long enough, before resigning, to possess himself of whatever plans or ideas his superior in rank had. It was fully ascertained by Federal prisoners, after the battle of Bull Run, and boasted of by the Confederates, that nothing belonging to the plans of Lieutenant-General Scott was unknown to the camp of the secessionists. In the third place, slavery was in itself a military training to the South. It implied constant patrols, familiarity with violence, a paucity of railroads, and other internal improvements, which made every Southerner a horseman, and vast primeval woods, with abundance of game, making each a good marksman. The conditions of Northern society were precisely opposite to these. Military ambition, cultivated in the South, was despised in the

North, and for many years the leading military positions and offices of the country were filled by Southerners, who, on the breaking out of war, generally went South. General Scott himself was a Virginian, who was originally in favour of letting the "wayward sisters depart," and always half-hearted in the war. The North was at first not only without arms, but was forced to fall back upon civilian generals. In the fourth place, there was a large and powerful party of pro-Southern and pro-slavery men in the North, who were in full sympathy with the South, and who continually prevented the Government from taking any step which would have made slavery a weakness to the South, as encouraging the slaves to escape. The four slave states which still held to the Union had only a loyalty conditioned on the careful preservation of slavery, so that they impeded its movements more than helped them. They were for a long time influential in securing such a policy of rendition and repression toward the slaves as to prevent any accession of them to the Northern lines, and sealed up what might have been the most important source of information to the North. Consequently, in the fifth place, the negroes, remaining as usual at work upon the farms and plantations, proved the chief military strength of the South. Whilst every Northern soldier who enlisted was missed as a labourer at home, the negro at the South, working upon the farm, enabled the South to make the widest draft upon its white population. The negro-women worked in the fields as well as the men, and these labourers were supported upon one-third as much as a white labourer or citizen at the North would require; thus making, in addition to the advantages above indicated, the mere number of the South far more nearly equal than would appear from the figures of the census.

Whilst Jefferson Davis showed from the first his long familiarity with the conditions under which the war was to be fought, Mr. Lincoln gave unmistakable evidence that, in his long seclusion at Springfield, he had gained no means of gauging the forces which were about to work in the impending conflict. His first call, for 75,000 men to serve three months, was the result of a fearful mismeasurement of the Southern movement and resources, and was responded to by his enemy with derision. The terrible disaster which resulted from all this, opened the eyes of the Government, in a great measure, to the difficulty and extent of the task before it. As the Americans have raised the highest monument of the first Revolution on the spot—Bunker Hill—where they were defeated, so they may well build one at Bull Run, as the spot where a fearful defeat and humiliation taught their Government the necessity of putting forth its greatest energies. It was followed by a call for 500,000 volunteers to serve for three years. Arrests of the openly disloyal at the North were made. Large sums were voted by the Congress for the prosecution of the war. Nevertheless, the Government was not ready to take the step which alone could have prevented this force

* The number of slaves in the United States, by census 1860, was 3,953,524.

from being wasted. The battle of Bull Run had been lost, through the failure of General Patterson to engage the Confederate, General Johnston; and no explanation of this suspicious conduct having been given, the abolitionists very naturally reminded the Government that General Patterson was so earnestly pro-slavery that, when Fort Sumter was fired upon, he (General Patterson) had only exhibited the United States' flag when forced to do so, by a mob in Philadelphia. But the President had determined that the relation of states or individuals to slavery should not be made a test of loyalty—declaring that he held the man to be loyal who was willing to shoot and be shot for his country—and although Patterson was superseded, a hundred Pattersons remained to cripple the North in the field. Amongst the generals of this character was, notably, General M'Clellan. This general began his career in West Virginia, by a proclamation levelled, not at the rebels, but at the negroes, to whom he announced his determination to "crush them with an iron hand," if they should attempt to rise and claim their freedom. The Democracy of the Northern States was at that time making a great noise over the alleged military failures of the Republican Government, and partly as a conciliation of them, partly because the North had so few other generals by education, this half-hearted man was given the command of the great army of the Potomac, when General Scott, through age and infirmity, resigned the command. He assumed command, July 25th, 1861, and for one year was a dead-weight upon the heart and power of the country. The "iron hand" with which he had promised to crush the negroes was covered with the softest of gloves when a rebel was to be dealt with. His idea of duty, with the fine army of 150,000 men entrusted to him, with which to take Richmond, seemed to be confined to the guarding of mansions deserted by their former heads, for the Confederate service, and the rendition of fugitive negroes to disloyal masters. From month to month he sat motionless before Richmond, whilst to the impatient country every kind of excuse for the paralysis was exhausted. He was "waiting for the roads to get better;" they got better; "for the leaves to fall;" they fell; "for fair weather;" it came; and yet there was no onward movement. Meantime, his army became fearfully decimated by the diseases incidental to tide-water Virginia. It is difficult to believe that the waste of this noble army and the most precious year were due to M'Clellan's incapacity or cowardice. It seems but too plain, that political motives and insidious advices were at work; that it had slowly become evident to him that the military conquest of the South would imply the death of slavery, and that he was already acting—or rather sitting still—with reference to the candidature of the pro-slavery reactionists at the North, which was subsequently awarded him, and which he certainly had fairly earned. To his camp there came a favourite band of minstrels—the Hutchinsons—who sang to the measure and

music of Luther's hymn, a song by Whittier, which the soldiers liked to hear, the first verse of which is as follows:—

"We wait beneath the furnace-blast
The pangs of transformation:
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mould anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the laud
Uproots the ancient evil."

The Hutchinsons had gone by consent of the Secretary of War; they had been welcomed also by M'Clellan; but when he heard of this song, he at once issued an order, banishing them from the limits of his command. This little incident really explains the sad year. At length M'Clellan was compelled to make a movement towards Richmond; but it was evidently not done with any idea of entering that capital. While his soldiers were fighting and suffering frightfully, he was on a gun-boat in the James river, enjoying his wine and cigar, out of harm's way; and, in short, the ingenuity of his failure was only equalled by that with which he and his friends tried to make it appear that the failure was attributable to interference with his plans by the authorities at Washington, who were, indeed, seriously amenable to the charge of not having interfered with those plans to the extent of removing the General who had conceived them. The heavy tidings of the seven disasters before Richmond, came to the North on the eve of Independence Day (July 4), and the festival became a day of deepest mourning.

Disheartening as was this dreary year, with its fearful climax of a ruined army, it could not fail to bring some compensation to those who had an unconquerable purpose. Those who desired that the rebellion should be put down without harm to slavery, could not deny that their method had been tried by commanders of their own opinions, and that it had failed. The President could not be accused of conducting the war for party ends, if he now tried a more energetic and radical policy. Moreover, the delusion that there was as yet a large party at the South favourable to the Union, which needed to be strengthened by conciliation, was dispelled, and the loyalty of the negroes to the Northern cause and their willingness and ability to assist it, had been shown in many ways. It became evident to the Government, after the failure of M'Clellan, that it must destroy slavery and avail itself of the co-operation of the slaves to ensure success; but, owing to the necessity of carrying with it the four slave states which yet adhered to the Union, it proceeded very slowly and cautiously in this direction. That the Government and the Congress were anti-slavery, and disposed to exercise their constitutional power against slavery, and apart from mere military expediency, is proved by the promptness with which they emancipated the slaves of the District of Columbia, of all United States' territories, and abolished the fugitive slave law. Nothing but military ne-

cessity could justify the setting aside of the codes which protected slavery in the States, and it is not to be wondered that the loyal slaveholders, and their Northern party, were slow to perceive this military necessity. The President (July, 1862) called together the representatives of the non-seceding slave states, and urged them solemnly to use their influence with their respective states to secure the acceptance of the proposition for gradual and compensated emancipation, which Congress, in accordance with a message sent by him, had passed. To this appeal twenty of those representatives responded angrily, in the negative; seven declared they would appeal to their states for a fair deliberation on the subject; and two met the proposition with favour. The steps which had already been taken concerning slavery were, first, that no soldier should be allowed to return a fugitive slave; next, some time after, that any slave which had been used against the Northern army should be held to be free; and, later, that the slave of any disloyal person should be so held. On September 22, 1862, the world was startled by the President's proclamation, deciding that he would, on the following January 1, issue an edict liberating all slaves in any state or district where there should remain armed resistance to the United States' laws. On the day named, the proclamation was issued.

The utterance of this proclamation was the signal for a political conflict of unsurpassed vehemence, which, beginning with the year 1863, continued without intermission until the 7th of November, 1864, when it was concluded by the victory of the Republicans, who re-elected Mr. Lincoln. The President knew that the decided adoption of an anti-slavery policy would cause the formation, into a compact opposition, of all the pro-slavery elements of the country. He proceeded cautiously. He did not remove the feeble generals of Democratic sympathies—not even General M'Clellan, who was retained some months after his failures in Virginia, in a restricted command. The resuscitation which the armies required made an interval in which this could be done without serious harm. It became the duty of M'Clellan to publish to the army the President's proclamation of emancipation, which he did in language which indicated his want of sympathy with the measure, and at once marked him as the standard-bearer of the political opposition. He at length disobeyed orders so flagrantly that the President was forced to remove him, when he was at once taken up by the "Copperheads" as they were generally called, and "lionized." The "Copperheads" took the ground, that the South could yet be brought back by conciliation, negotiation, and compromise; that the President, by over-riding the Constitution and making war upon the domestic institutions of the Southern states—inciting servile insurrection, &c.—had united them as one man, and they would all return, if a president were elected who promised their former security. On the other hand there arose a dissatisfaction among the radical republicans and abolitionists, based upon Mr. Lincoln's slowness

and hesitation in dealing with slavery, a dissatisfaction which had already come to its head in a strong party which gathered chiefly around Major-General Fremont. The "Copperheads" had considerable strength in the Congress, and used it in impeding, so far as they could, the voting of supplies to the armies, and in urging measures for the institution of negotiations for peace with the South—their real object being to gain delays until they could obtain a president who would reverse the anti-slavery policy of Mr. Lincoln's government. But events could not be delayed. Negroes crowded by thousands to the Federal lines. The occurrence of fresh disasters made it necessary that these negroes should be enlisted; and both justice and common sense required that Congress should pass a measure emancipating the families of negroes so enlisted. The negroes fought magnificently, and won favour everywhere. Slavery was fast dying, by inevitable causes. Some military victories in the south-west—notably, the capture of Vicksburg—decided the republicans to nominate Mr. Lincoln for another term; and the nomination of General M'Clellan, by the "Copperheads," induced the radicals to forego their preference for Mr. Fremont.

Re-elected by an overwhelming vote of his countrymen; freed from any possible political "fire in the rear," the President had no longer any reason to halt in the work of emancipation. The cry for "peace" was hushed, and there was no path open but that of vigorous war. The South was giving signs of exhaustion, and the future was radiant with the auspices of victory. The President shared the enthusiasm of the people; half-hearted generals were removed, whole-hearted ones sent to the front; city after city—Atlanta, Savannah, Charleston, Columbia—fell, and state after state was conquered; and at length the Union banner floated over the Confederate capital itself, with the chief armies of the vanquished Slavery-Rebellion held as prisoners of war beneath it.

Self-conquest in the North had gone hand in hand with conquest in the South. Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia, and Tennessee had abolished slavery; Kentucky by her leading journals and her governor, had begun a movement for the same end; Illinois and Ohio had abolished civil restrictions upon negroes; the street-cars of New-York had resolved to admit negroes with whites; and the Government at Washington had purged itself, so far as it could at that time, by proposing to the states an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting for ever the existence of slavery in the United States. The signs of this great conversion were appearing everywhere. The flag of the Union—its one stain almost faded out—floated over Sumter again. The nation was filled with unutterable joy as, on the Dial of Growth, the rank weed of slavery and the blood-red flower of war closed together, and the new hour was marked by the unfolding of a pure Peace. But there was, in the ecstasy of this proud moment, a lurking danger. The anti-slavery revolution was not yet consummated. The anti-slavery amendment yet lacked for adoption the votes of four or five

states. There were yet thrice as many slaves actually held as in 1776. But, more formidable than any of these facts, there was a great spirit of clemency and conciliation sweeping through the North; and those North and South, who wished to preserve as much of the old slave power as they could, were already manœuvring to preserve the caste of the slave-owners, and to reconstruct the State governments of the South out of the fragments of those that had already crumbled through inherent rottenness. General Banks had already shown that disposition to restore states on the basis most desired by the planters, which would have been prolific of evils. The negroes were to be, indeed, not slaves, but they were to be in the political power of their former masters—converted from treason to loyalty by the hope of saving their estates—a power under which they could have been oppressed to almost to any extent as soon as the military occupation had been replaced by civil law, without any infraction of the laws abolishing slavery in its old form. There was every reason to apprehend that when the Federal power was withdrawn, and the late masters had exclusively the military and political power, the old wrong might survive in some form of serfdom, or enforced contracts with negroes, to be called by some decorous name, to harden gradually into a cruel and dangerous oppression, as slavery had done before. The chief danger was that this conciliatory spirit of the American people had already taken the shape, in the mind of the President, whom all were ready to follow, of a plan of reconstruction which must have inevitably preserved the *caste* which had grown out of slavery. He had already decided to issue a new proclamation of amnesty in this sense, which the people were ready to receive and applaud; and if, as has been stated, the order of General Weitzel, and the plan of reconstruction proposed by General Sherman, were based upon views and wishes expressed by President Lincoln, there is good reason to fear that this sultry clemency threatened the whole harvest of the war with blight. Was that noble Revolution which had conquered, in succession, indifference, social and ecclesiastical hostility, mobs, majorities, armies, to be lost now by a false and merciless mercy? Was the sword which had cloven iron bars to fail now in piercing the soft veil of sentiment? If there was any point where a great movement for humanity was vulnerable, it would be just here. But out of the darkness emerged the hand of destiny, to rescue the American nation from this last peril. It was decreed that slavery itself should blot out the unpublished proclamation of amnesty, and write in the blood of the heart which was too kind to utter it, that death-warrant which it and its caste deserved, and which alone could fitly crown the sacrifices of so many weary years. At the very moment when the joyful nation was wreathing the laurel and evergreen of the victor and patriot around the brow of their noble and gentle President, slavery slew him in cold blood. In a moment, the twenty million hearts that just now meditated indul-

gence demand implacable justice. The body of the murdered President passes from city to city, and from state to state, and the grief-stricken people swear over it that not one vestige of the infernal wrong shall remain in the land. The wild and guilty passions which the long outrages on human nature have engendered gather themselves into a last fearful stroke, the fit climax of their horrible history, and the policy of Southern reconstruction is remitted to one who, more than any loyalist in America, knows the nature of the monster with whose last writhings of desperation America has to deal. Andrew Johnson, who has had the rope of a rebel mob around his neck, who who has had a son laid in the grave, and a daughter shot down at his door, is now the President of Slavery's own election, and the last cloud clears away from that future of America which too much clemency alone had imperilled.*

We are not of those who have feared, at any time, that the heroes of humanity in America are in danger of being provoked, even by the fiendish assassination of a beloved leader, to lend themselves to a savage or vindictive policy. President Lincoln is not the first anti-slavery martyr over whose grave they have journeyed to their noble goal. The blood of Lovejoy and of John Brown cried from the ground, only to inspire them to a new devotion to justice, and that of the martyr-President will plead for nothing lower. That their labours and sacrifices have culminated in so purifying the banner of the United States that slaveholders loathed it, and slaves prayed for a sight of it; that the Presidents who were known only as slavehounds were at last superseded by one worthy to die for

* Since this article was written the hope expressed in this sentence has been cruelly disappointed. The new President has, in his first effort at reconstruction, surrendered the United States Law—under which blacks and whites are equally citizens—by which alone he has any authority in a Southern state, to the behests of the slave-code which North Carolina had anterior to her secession. If the laws of that state are in force, by what right can the President appoint its Governor, or convoke its Conventions? Or is every law invalid except that, the working of which excludes from political rights the only class in the South that can be absolutely trusted? With such an example, of how the most loyal whites of the South are resolved to oppress the negroes to the utmost of their power, as the Legislature of Tennessee has just given, it may be regarded as certain that the Congress will set aside any pretended state which tries to enter without adopting the principle of negro suffrage. To take from the crumbled slave-state the rottenest fragment to be corner stone of the new, were of course to surrender all the moral result of the war. The deplorable position which Mr. Johnson has taken is doubtless to be attributed, not to any love of slavery, but to the lack of legal training. A much stronger and more popular President put forth great efforts to carry through the last Congress the Louisiana organization, and failed, and it is a much more anti-slavery Congress with which Mr. Johnson has to deal in December next.

Freedom,—these will be held by them as the costly certificates of their well-earned triumph, and be set as a bow in the receding cloud. The subsiding waters of rebellion will leave the stratum of a new society over the South, the slaves will be transformed to free and equal citizens, and the chain, the lash, the shamble, and the bowieknife will be preserved only as the fossil implements of an extinct race of half-human creatures.

We have, in the preceding pages, reviewed and condensed this great chapter of contemporaneous history from that point of view which regards it as the peaceful revolution of a principle which, beginning with no strength but its own inherent rectitude, has gone on, step by step, against vast interests and over all imaginable obstacles to the noblest of successes. It was the noblest revolution of history, because in it only the legitimate weapons of truth were used. The strongholds yielded to the voices, the persuasions, the reasons, of just and earnest men; they were besieged with arrows of light, shelled with bombs of free thought and free schools. "Love is the hell-spark that burneth up the mountain of iniquity," said Mohammed. In the strength of a broad and irrepressible humanity, the anti-slavery revolution had gone on until the steps of Liberty were upon the threshold of a liberated and redeemed new world. The flag which had for many years represented the scars and stripes on the slave's back, had once again floated up, and promised to symbolise, as at first, the stars and streaks of humanity's dawn. The late war we have seen as a rebellion against this revolution. It was a league against the peaceful and legitimate evolution of Liberty on that continent—an insurrection against a resurrection.

Whilst we admire this fresh publication to our age of the law, that Justice, without wealth or weapons, is still irresistible, there is to be no less studied that reverse side of the lesson, which shows that evil, in the presence of its serene antagonist, for ever digs its own grave. We might, indeed, well have headed this record "The Suicide of American Slavery." We have seen, at each step, that every defiant movement of Slavery was a stab at its own heart. Its greed for extension created the opposition; its war against Mexico resulted in new free states; its mobs begot sympathy for its opponents among decent people; its slave-hunting in the North revealed its cruel nature to people before incredulous; its assassination silenced its Northern defenders; its hanging of John Brown gave its foes a watchword and a battle-hymn; its treacherous disarming of the North led to its first victories, which made emancipation necessary; its animal ferocity evoked the energy which crushed it. It built about the nation a wall of fire, which cut off every way but that of universal and immediate emancipation. And when, at last, it had, in the merciful heart of the Republican President, one single remaining hope of lingering life, it planted its fang in that last spot of vitality, and must perish miserably and for ever. *Sic semper tyrannis.*

ART. III.—MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S PRINCIPLES OF BIOLOGY.

The Principles of Biology. Vol. I. By HERBERT SPENCER. London: Williams and Norgate. 1864.

UNQUESTIONABLY life is the touchstone of any system of philosophy. Not only is it in itself the most eminent fact in nature, the one which, above all others, challenges attention and puts curiosity upon the stretch; it is, to a thoughtful apprehension much more than this. Though to a superficial view unlike, nay, in many aspects most opposed to the phenomena which lie outside the pale of organization, life is in reality, and is, more or less consciously, universally felt to be, the most perfect exhibition of the universe to us. We might call it Nature's revelation of herself; the mode in which she delights to make known her secret meaning. Yet, if it be a revelation it is still a hiding. If the ends are manifest the methods are obscure. Nature seems here to put herself into our hands, and yet eludes us when we seek to hold her. Life seems close to us, and yet is far off; it seems well known, and yet impenetrable; it seems distinct from all other things, yet its roots twine about the centre. We grasp it as Thor grasped the cup that drained the ocean. It furnishes our first draught of knowledge, but the whole depth of nature must be pierced before its mystery is exhausted.

Yet that life should stand to us as the interpreter of the universe is necessary. The organic body constitutes the point at which man touches the world. It is here our consciousness and the external meet, here, if anywhere, we have direct apprehension of nature, and obtain a standard by which our other apprehensions may be judged. Nor can we, on reflection, fail to see that the distinction which exists so broadly between the organic and inorganic worlds, may be founded less on a true external difference than on a difference of relation to ourselves; and that, if ever our knowledge is to penetrate below the surface, the living organism furnishes the clue by which we must be guided. Accordingly, we do not wonder that Mr. Spencer, in fulfilment of the great task which he has set himself of summing up the main items of human knowledge, and ordinating them under the broadest and simplest principles attainable, has sought at once to test the value of his conceptions by their application to Biology; feeling doubtless not only, as he says, that it is of more immediate importance to interpret organic than inorganic nature, but also, that to interpret life is to interpret all.

Nor is the tendency of science in this respect doubtful. While on the one hand extended observation has been constantly eliciting new points of apparent contrast between the organic and the inorganic, on the other a more minute examination has been almost constantly resolving them on principles of universal application. The identification of the two regions can hardly, indeed, yet be said to

be accomplished, but so far as their general aspects are concerned, it seems to be approaching. And the doctrine—to which Mr. Spencer's volume furnishes a powerful contribution—that organic and inorganic nature are one, is manifestly gaining an increased ascendancy. It is probable, however, that the march of thought on this subject, though on the whole decisive, has been much impeded by a certain one-sidedness. Almost all the effort bestowed on it hitherto has been exerted in one direction; namely, towards bringing vital phenomena into conformity with those of the inorganic world. To us it appears that this process should be at least in part reversed, and the endeavour made to read inorganic phenomena by the light of vital. We may illustrate our meaning thus. The motions of the heavenly bodies are in various respects unlike the motions which take place upon the earth; especially, perhaps, in this, that the latter never continue for more than a limited time; the former are unceasing. So palpable is the difference that by the natural sense of men these motions were absolutely contrasted; opposed, much as the organic and inorganic have been opposed among us. By the Greeks they were called respectively corruptible and incorruptible. But they are now wholly identified; the same laws are seen to prevail in each case, under different conditions. This identification was effected by a mutual interpretation. The apparently superior celestial motions were not reduced into terrestrial; the true nature of the latter was revealed by the former. The corruptible were raised up in thought and identified with the incorruptible. It was discovered that the apparent ceasing was an illusion of the sense. The seemingly simpler were the least truly seen—the least intelligible.

So, it appears to us, it must and will be in respect to the phenomena of the organic and inorganic world. The seeming higher will not be brought down to the lower; but the seeming lower will be raised up to the higher. The celestial regions where dwells vitality, will explain to us the humbler terrestrial sphere of lifeless matter. We shall first learn to understand inorganic nature when we discern in it, though hidden, the same characters as those which seem the sole prerogative of life.

To complete our illustration, we might ask whether each class of motions—the celestial and terrestrial—did not contribute its own elements to the laws of motion: for example, the character of continuance by the celestial, that of taking a straight line until deflected, by the terrestrial? So, perhaps, the organic and inorganic spheres have each some special elements to contribute to our comprehension of the laws of force.

In the sequel we may better see the bearing of this view. We will now no longer detain our readers from Mr. Spencer—who having, perchance by a wise instinct, pretermitted the inorganic region, may come to his subject with hands less bound—but shall proceed to lay be-

fore them a brief recapitulation of his views of life.

In order to understand the present volume it is necessary to recall the main positions laid down in the former, and some of the fundamental conceptions there given. Premising that the absolute verity of things is unknowable by us, and their actual cause wholly inscrutable (wherein lies a reconciliation between science and religion), Mr. Spencer proceeds to show, that from the fundamental ideas of matter and force—the indestructibility of which is demonstrated—the general characters of natural phenomena may be reduced. Starting from matter as a homogeneous mass, subject to the operation of force in some quite simple form (say as attraction and repulsion, or as a mere undefined motion), there must ensue a process of "evolution:" that is, this homogeneous mass must become characterized by more and more differences; the unlike portions being separated from each other, and the like portions aggregated. Thus there will arise a progressively more and more complex structure of the universe, each portion undergoing its own particular changes, connected by a widely ramifying chain of mutual dependence. In short, from the embryo universe, as above presented, must be evolved the universe which so conveniently surrounds us, but which we so imperfectly know.

This great series of changes, which constitutes evolution, arises in conformity with certain necessary laws, all of them based upon the one great axiom of the persistence, or indestructibility, of force. The first is *the instability of the homogeneous*. Since different parts of a mass, which is throughout perfectly alike, must be differently acted upon by the same force, this force will produce upon these parts different effects, and will thus modify them differently; in a word, will "differentiate" them. So the homogeneous mass will become heterogeneous." Another law also comes into immediate bearing—that of *the multiplication of effects*. For a force operating upon differing portions of matter, itself becomes modified and assumes different forms, again producing new differences of arrangement, which in their turn still farther differentiate the forces. So, from the simple indeterminate force there arise definite movements, heat, electricity, light, chemical phenomena, &c.

Besides this ever increasing diversity, there ensues an answering process: the like elements are grouped together, and more and more distinguished from unlike groups. This is *integration*, of which we see an instance in the successive strata of the earth's crust; and finally the whole process tends towards equilibrium, a perfect balance of force in every direction.

Thus we find, from a mere unvaried aggregate, played upon by an unbalanced force, is evolved a mutually connected variety; or, in other words, "evolution is a change from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity, to a definite coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations." And this is

exactly what takes place in chief perfection in the organic world. The history of life is the history of a typical process of evolution, as this second volume is designed to show. Herein the general principles laid down in the first are applied to the special field of biology, or at least to that part of the science which concerns the wider phenomena of life. In one aspect it is a cumulative argument for the doctrine of the development of life through natural forces as opposed to that of special creations. Mr. Spencer begins with a discussion of the *data* of biology—the mutual actions between the organism and surrounding forces,—and attempts a definition of life: then, in the absence of sufficient knowledge to allow of complete treatment of the subject, he reviews the main inductions at which biology has arrived; and finally applies the gathered materials to demonstrate the process of evolution. We will attempt briefly to follow him.

It is not hard to understand that organic matter should be peculiarly unstable. Three of its four chief constituents are gaseous, the fourth a solid; all are very unlike each other, and nitrogen is especially prone to quit its compounds. Several exist in a variety of forms, among them oxygen, carbon, sulphur, phosphorus. The organic molecules consist of numerous atoms, and probably possess a spherical form, which tends to keep their polarities unbalanced. They belong largely to the group termed colloid, by Graham, and thus possess tenacity sufficient for plastic purposes, and yet permit an easy diffusion through them of substances belonging to the crystalline group, which freely traverse the body; some entering as excitors of its actions, others passing out as the results of decomposition. Some of the organic substances possess a greater molecular, others a greater chemical mobility. Upon the substance thus constituted the forces of nature are continually operating. It is changed by pressure, rapidly imbibes and gives off fluids, is modified by heat and light, and is especially susceptible to chemical influences; rapidly falls from its unstable to a stable composition under the influence of oxygen, or of changes communicated in a manner akin to fermentation. Influenced thus from without, the organic body reacts; develops heat, light, electricity, nervous force, motion, all dependent on molecular change.

For a definition of life, Mr. Spencer, admitting that any definition must be imperfect, prefers this: "The definite combination of heterogeneous changes both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with external co-existences and sequences;" or more briefly, "The continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." The characters of life as thus defined are emphatically those of evolution. The highest animals present the widest, most rapid, and relatively the most prolonged series of changes; the higher the life the greater the variety of structure and of function, and the more definite the combinations or integrations. The correspondence, in life, between the internal and external is the establishing of a balance or equilibrium, "which

ever leads an evolution to become more complete."

"On the one hand, for the maintenance of that correspondence between inner and outer actions which constitutes life, an organism must be susceptible to small changes from small external forces (as in sensation), and must be able to initiate large changes in opposition to large external forces (as in muscular action). On the other hand, organic matter is at once extremely sensitive to disturbing agencies of all kinds, and is capable of suddenly evolving motion in great amounts; that is to say, the constitution of organic matter specially adapts it to receive and to produce the internal changes required to balance external changes."

The natural scope of biology would be a detailed interpretation of all structural and functional phenomena in their relations to the phenomena of the environment and in their mutual reactions; but this being in the present state of knowledge impossible, Mr. Spencer takes up, one by one, the chief biological inductions, analysing them and referring them to the laws of evolution, as already laid down. The inductions are: growth, development, function, waste and repair, adaptation, individuality, genesis, heredity, variation, classification, and distribution.

Growth is essentially the same in the organic and inorganic world, the growth of a crystal, for example, and of a plant; except in this, that inorganic substances, in growing, integrate with themselves such particles only as are already essentially the same as themselves; organic bodies first cause such particles to be formed from their elements, present in the surrounding medium, and then unite them with themselves. Growth is due to the surplus of food over expenditure, and therefore in all animals it necessarily reaches a limit more or less definite, because with increase of bulk the expenditure of force must relatively increase; the masses of similarly-shaped bodies varying as the cubes of the dimensions, the strength varying as the squares. An animal that has doubled in bulk needs twice the intensity of muscular contraction to move its body through a given space. Thus, however great, at first, the excess of nutrition may have been, there must come a time at which the expenditure overtakes it. Plants, in which there is nothing to call expenditure of force, go on growing till they die; the crocodile and the pike, which from their habits expend very little, do almost the same. The possible limits of growth depend first on complexity of organization as subserving supply and distribution of nourishment; and, secondly, on initial size, as the profits obtainable in a business are proportionate to the capital.

Development, meaning by the term not increase of bulk, but growing complexity of structure, corresponds precisely with the idea of evolution: it is a change from indefinite homogeneity to definite heterogeneity. The embryo of every higher animal, as Von Baer pointed out, passes from the general to the special; by degrees assuming characters less common to all embryos and more peculiar to its own group. It is at the same time, with

certain exceptions, progressively differentiated from the medium which surrounds it, alike in structure, form, chemical composition, specific gravity, temperature, and self-mobility. Of types of development there appear to be essentially two: the first round one or many *centres*, the second around one or many *axes*. Cellular plants and animals illustrate the former; trees and all animals above the lowest exhibit the latter.

The functions which life embraces may be arranged in three groups. They subserve either the accumulation of force, the expenditure of force, or the transfer of force: that is, either the incorporation of the food, the supply of the various organs by the blood and possibly by the nerves, or the actions of the various organs. Like the structure, the functions are made more complex and distinct by evolution, and at the same time more strictly interdependent. In the lowest animals—mere lumps of jelly-like substance—every part serves every office; absorbs, breathes, secretes, acts. Gradually different parts are appropriated to different offices. In the hydra and sea-anemone there are an internal surface to digest, an external to respond to the outer world, and arms to seize the food. So the differentiation proceeds, while, as they become more complex, all the organs depend for their maintenance on each other. Stomach and brain cannot live without the heart, nor the heart without these. From an indefinite simplicity there has arisen a definite variety. Remnants, however, of the primary convertibility continue to exist within narrow limits. (In disease, especially, one organ may often be seen to take on partially the functions of another.) This is the doctrine of the Physiological Division of Labour, first worked out by M. Milne Edwards: the body becomes a complex and mutually dependent whole, just as society does. Function precedes structure. In the simplest animals—the rhizopods—which are structureless, yet move and feed, it evidently does: and deductively it must; for it is by the operation of external forces on the action of a part that structure is determined.

Of waste and repair, the former is immediately deducible from the persistence of force, since no expenditure of force can take place but through the fall of the organic matter from an unstable towards a more stable equilibrium. Repair is not so readily to be understood, yet with a power in the molecules of the body to combine into their own form separate elements around them, it becomes a simple case of integration. The assumption of this power seems to be justified by some phenomena of disease. In small-pox, *e. g.*, the blood appears to be altered by the poison, and the altered particles mould into their own model all those by which they are replaced. Hence the comparative immunity from the disease after the first attack. The restoration of a lost member, or reproduction of the whole body from a part, which occurs in many of the lower organisms, is like the power of a crystal to reconstruct its lost apex when placed in a like solution. The aggregate force of the body controls the formative pro-

cesses of each part. Here Mr. Spencer proposes a hypothesis: "that the form of each species of organism is determined by a peculiarity in the constitution of its units; that these have a special structure in which they tend to arrange themselves, just as have the units of inorganic matter."

"A fragment of begonia leaf, imbedded in fit soil and kept at an appropriate temperature, will develop a young begonia; and so small is the fragment which is thus capable of originating a complete plant, that something like 100 plants might be produced from a single leaf. Various succulent plants have like powers of multiplication. . . . As many as fifty polypes may result from the section of one. . . . What now is the implication? We cannot say that in each portion of the begonia leaf, and in every fragment of the hydra's body, there exists a ready-formed model of the entire organism. . . . We have, therefore, no alternative but to say that the living particles composing one of these fragments have an innate tendency to arrange themselves into the shape of the organism to which they belong. We must infer that a plant or animal of any species is made up of special units, in all of which there dwells an intrinsic aptitude to aggregate into the form of that species, just as in the atoms of salt there dwells the intrinsic aptitude to crystallize in a particular way. It seems difficult to conceive that this can be so, but we see that it is so. Groups of units taken from an organism (providing they are of a certain bulk, and not much differentiated into special structures) *have* this power of rearranging themselves; and we are thus compelled to recognise the tendency to assume the specific form as inherent in all parts of the organism. . . . For this property there is no fit term. If we accept the word *polarity*, as the name for the force by which inorganic units are aggregated into a form peculiar to them, we may apply this word to the analogous force displayed by organic units. But *polarity*, as ascribed to atoms, is but a name for something of which we are ignorant—a name for a hypothetical property, which as much needs explanation as that which it is used to explain. Nevertheless, in default of another word, we must employ this. . . —organic polarity, or polarity of the organic units—to signify the proximate cause of the ability which organisms display of reproducing lost parts."—p. 180.

For the particles thus endowed, Mr. Spencer proposes the name "physiological units." They are not chemical units, albumen, fibrin, &c., because from these all forms alike are built, nor can they be the morphological units or cells, for these are not universal, and their existence implies the operation of the formative power. The "physiological units" are therefore something between these. The chemical units he infers must combine into units immensely more complex than themselves, complex as they are, these units differing in each organism.

Adaptation consists in the changes produced in the organs of animals or plants by the circumstances to which they are exposed, and the actions thereby called forth. The increase of an actively exercised limb, the thickening of an exposed surface, the acuteness of a cultivated sense, the false joint which may form after a fracture, are instances. But such adaptations have an early limit. They reach a certain point, but cannot be carried beyond, and with-

out a continuance of their causes soon disappear. This is referable to secondary changes which an altered, especially an increased, function of any organ involves. From increased action arises increased circulation, increase therefore of arterial and nervous supply. But these secondary changes imply others still in successive ratios, and these can only ensue slowly, and to a small extent. This point is illustrated in Mr. Spencer's favourite way.

"From the laws of adaptive modification in societies, we may hope to get a clue to the laws of adaptive modification in organisms. Let us suppose that a society has arrived at a state of equilibrium like that of a mature animal—a state not like our own, in which growth and structural development are rapidly going on, but a state of settled balance among the functional powers of the various classes and industrial bodies, and a consequent fixity in the relative sizes of such classes and bodies. In a society thus balanced, there occurs something which throws an unusual demand on some one industry—say an unusual demand for ships (which we will assume to be built of iron)—in consequence of a competing mercantile nation having been prostrated by famine or pestilence. The immediate result is the employment of more workmen and the purchase of more iron by the ship-builders; and when presently, the demand continuing, the builders find their premises and machinery insufficient, they enlarge them. . . . Let us go a step further. Suppose that this iron ship-building industry, having enlarged as much as the available capital and labour permit, is still unequal to the demand, what limits its immediate further growth? The lack of iron. The iron producing industry yields only as much iron as is habitually required for all the purposes to which iron is applied, ship-building being only one. If, then, extra iron is required for ships, the first effect is to withdraw part of the iron habitually consumed for other purposes, and to raise the price. Presently the iron-makers feel this change, and their stocks dwindle. [The iron-trade, however, expands under this demand much less rapidly than the ship-trade, because only part of the demand for iron depends on ship-building, and meanwhile the growth of the ship-building industry must be limited by the deficiency of iron. A remoter restraint of the same nature meets us if we go a step further, in the requisite expansion of the coal-producing industry; and this restraint can be overcome only in a still longer time, because the additional demand on the coal-owners and coal-miners will be comparatively small, and will not for a long time overcome the inertia encountered in drawing capital and labour from other spheres.] Thus in a community which has reached a state of moving equilibrium, though any one industry directly affected by an additional demand may rapidly undergo a small extra growth; yet a growth beyond this, requiring, as it does, the building up of subservient industries less directly and strongly affected, as well as the partial unbuilding of other industries, can take place with only comparative slowness; and a still further growth, requiring structural modifications of industries still more distinctly affected, must take place still more slowly."—p. 194.

Thus also in the animal organism adaptive modifications will be both slow and limited, and will readily revert to the original type. The fixity of species, therefore, as it exists in nature, does not contradict the evolution of life.

Genesis, heredity, and variation, Mr. Spencer groups together. The union of slightly unlike

units renders equilibrium more easily disturbed, as is seen in the lower melting point of amalgams than of their constituent metals. Thus when the organic forces are approaching equilibrium mobility is restored. The likeness of offspring to parents results from the similarity of the "physiological units." Acquired properties are thus perpetuated. Dr. B. Séquard having produced epilepsy in certain guinea-pigs, found that their descendants were epileptic; Mr. Lewes records that the pup of a mother that had been taught to beg, spontaneously adopted the practice.

Variation has for its causes the unlikeness of parents, changes wrought in them by functional adaptations, and the varying quantity or quality of the units, which in no two cases can be alike. Variations are greatest where the species differ most, and fundamentally they owe their origin to changes of function which are necessarily adaptations. The doctrine of "physiological units" accounts for all classes of phenomena under these heads.

In the classification of the organic world, no linear arrangement will stand. The groups touch one another on all sides. The most extensive groups are distinguished from each other by profound physiological differences. There is first no distinction of functions; then the accumulation of force is differentiated from its expenditure; next a provision is made for its transfer, and action is distributed between the two factors, muscle and nerve. The smaller groups are distinguished by modifications in these parts, or by the presence or absence of subsidiary ones.

In the local distributions of organisms there exists a perpetual tendency to intrude on each other's spheres and habits, and the expansion of each is limited only by suitability of circumstance or by local obstacles. Resemblance of types is found even in distant and unlike places if there be no obstacle to migration, and the most closely related localities present different types if migration is difficult. There is no exact adaptation of organisms to localities, as is proved by the frequent extermination of indigenous plants or animals by new arrivals. Of the distribution in time, our knowledge is very fragmentary; but we see that change is continuous and gradual where we have continuous evidence: where there are gaps in the record there are sudden changes in the forms. There is no proof of universal progress: where higher animals in succession make their appearance in the strata, it is probably owing to migration from previously existing continents to the present. With few exceptions, each species lives its life and ceases; and types that have once disappeared do not appear again.

Recurring now to the proofs of the evolution of life, Mr. Spencer urges that the distribution of organisms cannot be said to imply that they have been designed for and placed in particular habitats, because they are by no means always found where they are most suited; nor is there evidence of any design to multiply types, because similar types are found wherever migration is facile. On the other hand, changes corresponding to change of habitat or circum-

stance are everywhere visible, and the changes are more extensive in proportion to the variety of circumstance to which any group is exposed. Even the change from water to air has its intermediate links in molluscs and crustacea, which live only partially in water, in fish which migrate or bury themselves during drought, and in the amphibia. In respect to the distribution in time, we cannot but ask, if animals were specially created, why was there no *valuable* life so long? or if circumstances were not fitting—of which there is no proof—why were they not? And why—if creative wisdom be shown in multiform adaptation of one type to many ends—did types instead of being modified become extinct? Strongly suggestive of evolution, on the other hand, are the kinship between recent existing forms, and the special relationship that exists between the present and the former inhabitants of each region. The classifications of organisms, again, affords confirmation of the evolution of life. It corresponds precisely with that of languages, which are acknowledged to have arisen by evolution. Both present the same fundamental character of subordination of groups, the largest being radically unlike; the groups are of indefinite value, they are united by their lowest members, and they present unity and multiformity.

Further evidence is derived from embryology, in the gradual divergence of the groups as they proceed in their development, and the circuitous course through which many of them pass. The numerous modifications undergone in some cases before the final form is assumed, point to ancestral modifications produced by external conditions. Again, the suppression of organs once formed and their substitution by others—the teeth in foetal whales and in some embryonic birds—point to the same source: modifications gone through by their progenitors. Indirect and direct development are illustrated by the social organism. Society at first arises by a long series of changes, individuals gradually specializing or altering their operation as demand increases or arises; but when society is fully developed, offshoots from it are complete in all their elements at once. The units, being influenced by the whole, at once reproduce its form. So even among mammalia there is seen the commencement of a direct development; for example, in the heart, which arises by direct transformation of the germ-cells. This is an organ which must have been early developed, and has undergone throughout little change in its conditions; so that the action of the whole upon the particles, in respect to it, has been fully exerted. Direct thus tends to take the place of indirect development: the traces of ancestral modifications to be obliterated.

And yet again morphology—the ultimate forms of living things—may be summoned in evidence. These forms present characters which cannot otherwise be explained but by evolution. All vertebrata, from the whale to the giraffe, have seven vertebræ in the neck—except a few. If so many, why not all? Insects and crustacea have all of them twenty segments in their body, though applied to the most various purposes, from feet to jaws; spiders and

mites, though closely akin, have not. Are not the twenty segments derived from some common ancestor? See again the unity of plan, or homology, in organs differently used. Snakes need a spinal column, which is moveable in all its parts; mammals, on the other hand, require portions of them to be rigid—the sacrum, for example, which supports the lower limbs. Yet in them the sacrum is still composed of several portions. In its development it is first one, then is divided into several, then grows into one again. There are many useless rudimentary organs: snakes have abortive hind feet; the seal has nails on its toes; the manatee has rudiments of them hidden beneath the skin.

How then has evolution been brought about? Neither an inherent tendency to progress (the elder Darwin), nor efforts made to satisfy new desires (Lamarck), has any valid basis. Adaptive modifications of function are the true cause; but this formula requires to be reduced again to the ultimate laws of evolution. The factors in vital evolution are external and internal. Among the external comes first the larger astronomical rhythms. In 21,000 years the earth presents a larger part first of one and then of the other hemisphere to the sun at the time of its nearest approach to him, giving rise to seasons sometimes temperate, sometimes of extreme heat and cold. This cycle is included in another of some millions of years, during which the orbit of the planet becomes more and less eccentric, increasing and diminishing the above described effects. The direct influence thus exerted on the fauna and flora, great as it is, is less than that arising from the alternate extensions and limitations of their habitats, occasioned by the changing temperature, which carry each species into the presence of new physical conditions. Next there are the perpetually recurring geological changes which give an increasing complexity to the earth's surface in the most various ways; and with these the accompanying revolutions in atmosphere and climate. There are also the influences exerted by organisms on each other, especially by intrusions on each other's habitats; the conditions becoming more varied with every new accession of locomotive or other faculty in the subjects of them. Among the internal factors of evolution are the increasing heterogeneity involved in the very nature of force, which applies alike to the individual and the species: the additional changes brought about by every previous change—the modified development, for example, of neck, forelimbs, and therefore of every part, involved in increased weight of head. An increasing definiteness of structure also is applied; and this in spite of varying conditions, because the variations must be trivial in comparison with the constant elements, or life would be overthrown. Some organisms, however, may escape the effect of these multiplied causes of change, neutralizing them by migration. Hence the perpetuity of a few species from the earliest time to the present. Finally, these accumulating changes must be such as to subserve the life of the individual, because they necessarily constitute a process of

equilibration, or balancing of external by internal forces. This equilibration is direct or indirect. Direct is adaptation—modified function answering to external conditions; indirect equilibration is brought about by natural selection, or as Mr. Spencer terms it, "Survival of the fittest." By this means are rendered permanent those structural conditions which subserve the life of the individual, but which cannot have their source in adaptation; such as protective thorns on plants, a firm shell around an egg, the long leg of a wading bird. If from severity of season, or from stronger enemies, the weaker portion of the species are destroyed, the next generation being derived only from the stronger remnant of the race, is itself of a stronger order. Thus the external and internal force is balanced; and *vice versa*. But as the faculties of a species multiply, and the want of one can be compensated by the possession of others, natural selection becomes of less influence. It is of least influence among civilized mankind, with whom indeed, in advancing evolution, changes in the brain or mental organization tend to take the place of modification of external structure.

Thus, even apart from the physiology of individual organisms, many evidences converge to demonstrate evolution of life by natural forces against the doctrine of special creations. Various *à priori* considerations may be added. The latter view is probably false, as being one of a class of similar views which have been found to be erroneous, as being countenanced by no known facts, and incapable of being formed into a coherent thought. If we suppose a being capable of witnessing only a small part of the life of man, he would have as good a reason for supposing each individual specially created. There are also theological difficulties arising from the evils incident to organic life, which reach their climax in the existence of entozoa. For, if special creation be true, these must have been created specially to torment the higher lives, without even the poor excuse in many cases of a capacity for pleasure in themselves: created and endowed with special powers of existence and multiplication to cut off the chance of escape. The doctrine of evolution is contrasted in all these respects. It comes with knowledge and arises among those who are best informed; it is one of an increasing class of opinions; it can be conceived, and so forms a legitimate hypothesis; we see like things, *e. g.*, straight lines, passing through every stage into circles, which are utterly opposed to them in properties; we see, too, that formless germs do evolve into the highest organisms; there is some direct evidence, in the shape of known modifications of structure, and though it is not much, it is proportionately equal in amount to that on which the evolution of the structure of the earth is inferred from present geologic change. Evolution is morally more satisfactory, for though it does not tell us why evils could not have been avoided, it puts aside the question, why were they deliberately inflicted? These evils no longer suggest deliberate malice; nay, slowly but surely evolution brings about an increasing

amount of happiness; all evils being but incidental and diminishing.

Scanty as is the summary thus given, and little as it represents the wealth of Mr. Spencer's volume, by far too many points present themselves for remark for us to attempt to touch upon more than a few. But we have thought it well to present with a certain completeness the outline of the argument, both because we felt that in no other way could anything like justice be done to it, and because we think many readers will thank us for laying before them the leading points of what is certainly a very powerful and valuable, as well as novel strain of reasoning. Never before, that we are aware of, has the attempt been made with any degree of scientific precision, to subject the phenomena of life to a deductive process. Yet if we are ever to gain a real and commanding knowledge of physiology, this attempt must sooner or later be made—and succeed. And whatever may be Mr. Spencer's success in detail, there can be no doubt that the path he treads, and to which he has at least given an unprecedented scope and completeness, is one that promises great results, while many of his own conclusions bear the stamp of truth. In respect to the main position he aims to establish, that organisms have been "evolved," and not specially created, it is enough to say, here, that we entirely agree with him. The hypothesis of special creations has, to our mind, nothing in its favour except human ignorance and the good intentions of its authors. Yet we confess that we were somewhat struck with the novel view in ethics, presented by the doctrine that there is so great a moral difference between instituting a chain which involves certain results and directly bringing them about. Suppose the idea applied to social life: a man does not directly fire the gun which destroys an innocent life; he only so arranges, or consents that so should be arranged, the gunpowder and the fire, that in the course of inevitable "differentiations" it will be destroyed. Mr. Spencer, however, is reserving ethics for another volume, and perhaps we do wrong, though we do but follow his example, prematurely to start questions of morality. Our parallel also implies that the inscrutable first cause, even on the theory of evolution, is still a being with whom power dwells and who accepts its responsibilities. But on any view it is surely an undesirable thing (and Mr. Spencer, who places all religion in the sense of mystery would not dissent from this) to endeavour *illegitimately* to lessen the feeling of mystery with which the phenomena of nature, moral as well as material, affect the student. That entozoa should devour men, should subject to loathsome and torturing disease or madness the sensitive nerves and brain of the world's chief denizen, is a dark mystery. Face it fairly, see it a thing as much meant and designed, as much embodied in the whole scope and make of life, as cool water, or the breath of flowers, or the answering glance of eyes, and it becomes dark enough to be full of infinite suggestions. It has a meaning, fearfully attractive—perhaps yet destined to be

read; perhaps capable of bearing its part in raising our whole thought to a new level of moral elevation. Who knows what a felt mystery may not do for us in the sphere of morals as in that of knowledge? or how should it be less fatal to banish it, unsolved, in the one case than in the other? Evolution or no evolution, the moral problems of this great phenomenon, the world, form a book, the reading of which has yet to be re-attempted by mankind. Let us spare ourselves the task of whitewashing its solemn characters.

Perhaps in the ardour of his controversial zeal, Mr. Spencer is betrayed into speaking a little too contemptuously of the views men frame in ignorance. To us it has long appeared that the beauty of organic connexion and correlated evolution is nowhere more strikingly visible than in the development of thought from its earlier to its later forms, and that scarcely less beauty and adaptation are traceable in the first than in the last. Often it might surprise us, if a law were not recognisable in it, to see how an early thought anticipates the latest, or lays hold of the essential conditions of a problem, which subsequent ideas, framed with a greater amount of knowledge but less insight, fail to maintain. We may remind Mr. Spencer how early, on this very subject of evolution, his own doctrine was affirmed, and amid how much of ignorance it was nursed. So far from having arisen only in recent and scientific times, and driven out the opposite as light advanced, the process seems rather to have been the other way. In a dark and mistaken form, doubtless, the evolution of living organisms by natural force is as old as the most ardent lover of antiquity could desire. Nay, what could be more naturally suggested to an ignorant eye, by the teeming life of the warmer countries of the world? It was growing knowledge, accurate observation, that banished the conception, which now, in more reputable associations, again solicits our suffrages. This is a point worth remembering, especially perhaps with reference to the probable future of opinion, or even—which is more important—the correct estimate of our own. Did not *observation* of the heavens banish utterly, and put to route, the heliocentric doctrine of Pythagoras?—restored too, not by observation, but by private meditation in a cell. Those primitive ideas of life based upon the primordial impressions which it makes on us, and which led men to endow it with even superstitious self-directive and sustaining powers, are not without their justification, and will perhaps, hereafter, be invested with fresh meaning. We are the more confirmed in this opinion by noting, as we have done, not without some surprise, that not even so trained and guarded a mind as Mr. Spencer's is fully emancipated from their power. Surely in the doctrine of "Physiological Units," endowed with "inherent tendencies" to assume the form of each particular organism, we cannot be mistaken in recognising the identical lineaments, however shorn of their fair proportions, of our old friends the Archæus, vital principle, *nisus formativus*, and so on. Though yielding thus to a fascination too strong, and doubtless too firmly based on some

deep necessity, to be entirely overcome, Mr. Spencer has himself, in treating of another subject, most emphatically pronounced their condemnation. "In whatever way it is formulated, or by whatever language it is obscured, this ascription of organic evolution to some aptitude naturally possessed by organisms or miraculously imposed on them is unphilosophical. It is one of those explanations which explain nothing, a shaping of ignorance into the semblance of knowledge." In what way does "the tendency to assume the specific form, inherent in all parts of the organism" affirmed by Mr. Spencer, differ from the "aptitude for organic evolution naturally possessed by organisms," thus condemned by him? Unless it be in this, that the organism or the germ, to which the aptitude to evolve is ascribed, is a known phenomenon, while the physiological units are postulated for the occasion? The analogy of the crystal, to which reference is made, is not available, for two reasons: first, that it is equally unscientific to infer an inherent tendency to assume certain forms in the one case as in the other; and secondly, because the circumstances are radically different. The atoms of the crystal are simply deposited in a certain form, which, having once assumed, they passively retain, so that we might almost conceive that certain peculiarities of shape alone might account for the phenomena; but the living body in its development presents a long succession of *differing* forms; a continued series of changes for the whole length of which, according to Mr. Spencer's hypothesis, the physiological units must have an "inherent tendency." Could we more truly say of anything, "it is unrepresentable in thought?" When Mr. Spencer says (p. 181), "It seems difficult to conceive that a plant or animal of any species is made up of special units, in all of which there dwells the intrinsic aptitude to aggregate into the form of that species; but we see that it *is* so;" it is difficult to think where his extraordinary philosophical acumen could for the moment have been laid aside. Surely we see nothing but that it *appears* as if it were so. The truth is, simply, that in nature there is no "inherent tendency" whatever, nor can be. The idea is essentially one and the same, wherever, it appears, or under whatever guise; and is the one enemy with which science contends. It is simply the denial of causation. All tendencies whatsoever are manifestations of effects, are the results of operant forces, either present or past. The "inherent tendency" of a cannon ball under certain circumstances to crush an ironside is a type of all.

We have the more freely expressed our dissent on this point, because on the one hand it is a position quite in antagonism to the rest of Mr. Spencer's book, and seems to us by its indirect influence materially to detract from its perfection, as leading to the omission of certain physical elements involved in vital phenomena, which, if he had not held this phantasm before his eyes, he would necessarily have more fully recognised. And on the other hand, the inconsistency itself, when traced to its roots, is amply justified and most

significant. It is not given to Mr. Spencer, who has shown so many evidences of a truly religious nature—not yet, perhaps (if we may use his own formula), perfectly equilibrated with his scientific apprehensions—to discuss the phenomena of life on the basis of matter and force alone, without reference, express or latent, voluntary or involuntary, to that which is beyond. By his own statement, life is not truly reducible to these abstract and empty terms; it only seems to be so. These are not the actual verity, but conceptions unrealizable even in thought, and far enough from fulfilling the true conditions of the source of life. We feel reverently towards the “intrinsic tendencies of physiological units,” recognising in them a peering forth of the actual from beneath the phenomenal; obscuring its outlines indeed, yet witnessing to that for which alone it is of worth, by which alone it is. But we are treading here on forbidden ground, and must forbear. We cannot, however, but note the essential dependence of the scientific on the philosophical portion of Mr. Spencer's book. It is on condition that the terms in which he works are first expressly abandoned as known, and affirmed only as unknown quantities, that he can work with them. Life may be represented in terms of matter and force—because they are merely terms. It is expressible so, not thence derived. The mechanical elements in which the problem is resolved are *products*, not genuine *educts*, of the analysis. They are resultants of our mental processes, and rejected even by the faculties to which they owe their origin—a progeny devoured by its parent.

Probably it would have been well if this position, clearly enunciated at the outset of the work, had been more distinctly kept in the reader's view (as doubtless it has been in the author's) during its course. The language necessarily employed is so apt to seem to affirm more than it truly does affirm, that an occasional recurrence to principles might be more than pardoned. It need never be forgotten that, however vital phenomena may be formulated in these *x's* and *z's* of molecules and forces, what life is still remains open to all the emotions of the soul; it is uncrystallized and fluent as ever to the heart; and this above all is certain, that the greater can never be derived from the less. If personal elements of consciousness and will have been falsely introduced, their expurgation can leave no vacuum. There is an atmosphere which forbids a void—that from which conscience and reason are derived can never be expunged.

For this digression we make no apology. The twofold aspect of physiology cannot be ignored. Nor could more be done to facilitate and advance its scientific study than by pushing wholly aside the obstacles which result from the substitution of mechanical for vital terms. There are necessarily many minds to whom nothing but a clear apprehension of this point can make the physical treatment of physiology tolerable, far less induce their active co-operation; whereas, in truth, its interest and significance from the emotion-

al and poetic side are infinitely increased by this rigid formulation. That life, be it truly what it may, is susceptible of this ordination under the forms of the intellect; that besides what it presents to our perceptive and moral sensibility, it possesses also this boundless and almost incredible simplicity, is capable of being summed up in a few self-evident or rigidly deducible axioms, multiplies its wonder a hundredfold. Embodied in it, with all its variety of beauty and of use, are an absolute simplicity, an absolute necessity. It is, as it were, the bare and rigid pole that is clothed thus with flowers. There is no beauty of adaptation here, no grandeur of harmony, that is not necessary, rooted deep as the foundations of the earth, implied when we have said “existence.” Nor any defect or failure, no loss or seeming ruin, no sacrifice of myriad lives or slow wasting of a solitary frame, that does not root itself equally upon the centre and lay its hand upon the universal heart.

Before we turn to Mr. Spencer's definition of life, on which we have a few remarks to offer, we may present, in a summary form, a view of the phenomena of the organic world, which seems to us to exhibit, in a clear light, some of its most important characters. We do not say it is better than other representations, especially than that, given by Mr. Spencer, of a “Moving Equilibrium between Internal and External Forces.” Probably for its due exhibition life needs to be represented in many ways.

Evidently involved in the doctrine that force neither increases nor diminishes, is this consequence, that every change which takes place in nature must have two aspects: it must be, on the one hand, a new exhibition of force, and, on the other, it must involve the withdrawal of force from a previous mode of operation. The importance of observing this twofold bearing of all natural changes lies in this—that the withdrawal of force from a previous mode of operation is also practically an action, and involves a change. Every action in nature, therefore, is truly two opposite and equal changes, and, to be adequately apprehended, requires to be seen in both its aspects.

If one of the two constituents alone be recognised it is half unseen.

But, since we necessarily regard natural changes in their particular bearings, and with reference to special results, rather than from a point of philosophical abstraction, this result of the persistence of force presents itself to us under another form. Natural changes constitute two groups oppositely related in respect to force. Some of these changes exhibit the new operation of force, as when a weight is raised; others show the ceasing of the operation of some force, as when a weight begins to fall. It is true that in every case such action has somewhere its equal opposite; but this is often unseen by us, or is practically of no moment. The two classes of changes present themselves to us as opposites, and as such they need to be distinguished, and deserve to be marked by distinct names. We do indeed so distinguish them in special cases:

we speak of "rise" and "fall," and apart from mere direction, to represent the opposite dynamic relations of two processes. But we do not seem as yet to have thoroughly generalized the distinction. For these two kinds of change accordingly we propose here to use the terms "force-absorbing" and "force-liberating." The elevation of a heavy body absorbs force; the fall of it liberates force. All natural changes are of one kind or the other.

But again: there is an evident link between these two classes of changes—a logical order of succession. The force-liberating must precede the force-absorbing; the fall must produce the rise. This is practically so familiar that it needs no proof. In a balance, it is the fall of one scale which causes the opposite to rise; the sinking of the fluid in one leg of a syphon elevates it in the other. In every force-liberating change we have given to us the necessity for an equal change of the opposite character; for every force-absorbing change we must seek the cause in some equivalent force-liberating change. The simplest corollary of the persistence of force is, that ever fall produces some rise; every rise depends upon some fall. This law of course is universal; it applies to all forces, to all forms of change; and whenever, therefore, there are found in mutual relation two changes, or tendencies, thus opposed—one force-absorbing, the other force-liberating—there is *prima facie* evidence that they stand to each other as effect and cause.

It is further evident that force-liberating changes imply the presence of some force shut up or rendered latent in the form of tension. Gravity is the great, or at least the most obvious, form of tension in the universe; but there can hardly be any force that may not exist in that form, since force necessarily becomes tension in so far as it is balanced by resistance. In organic matter the tension is based upon chemical affinity. It presents two sets of changes, or tendencies, mutually related: one force-liberating—the ordinary chemical action or decomposition; the other force-absorbing—the vital action, or nutrition. These are true opposites in respect to force; they are bound up together in the living body, and they are bound up as cause and effect. That in life chemical force should be the cause of an opposition to chemical force is as simple as that the gravity of one weight should support another; the requisite adjustment being in each case supposed. Not that chemical force is to be assumed as the only source of the resistance in organic matter to chemical affinity; other forces doubtless share in the action: in plants light works visibly to this end. But to recognise chemical action as also working thus, seems to give an insight into many of the processes which characterize organic life, in the animal world especially, and may possibly aid us in judging how it should be defined.

For the fact which, almost more than any other, strikes the mind when vital phenomena are traced but a short distance below the surface, is this: that the total activity of the

body, its total existence almost, consists in the perpetual interweaving of these two opposite processes—nutrition and decay, the raising up, the fall, succeeding each other, or going on coincidentally in every part. Recognising the mutual dependence of these opposites, and that the chain which unites them is knit doubly close, we see that, though ultimately dependent on the external world, the body has within itself, to a limited extent, the source of its own life. Besides its power of external action, wrought through the fall of the raised molecules, it has in that same fall also a spring of renovated vitality; the chemical, the anti-vital, processes continually going on within it, do thus support and maintain its life. Where-soever is decay, the force of which is not expended as external function, or as heat, there is a focus at which the torch of life may be fresh kindled—a new turn of tension given to the relaxing textures. That the various activities of life have this connexion, is palpable. Take respiration, for example. The force-liberating process involved in the union of oxygen with the elements of blood (whether in the lungs or capillaries),* institutes and supports a force-absorbing process. It not only purifies (this is but a half view), it vitalizes the blood. Very significant in this respect is the fact that heat cannot be distinctly shown to be generated in the lungs.

A similar office may unquestionably be discerned in some, at least, of the secreting glands. A decomposition of the blood in new ways than one takes place in the liver, producing bile and other substances. Here is a force-liberating change. Is not the correlative force-absorbing change to be recognised in a higher vital tension of the fluid which has furnished them? The fact at any rate is to be accounted for, that from the less highly vital food, as the liver and the lungs successively fulfil their offices upon it, the more vital, that is, the more force-containing, blood is formed. To these may be added the fact, discovered by Bernard, that during active secretion (of saliva, for example), the blood that has traversed the gland passes out of a bright scarlet hue, while in the intervals of inactivity it presents the ordinary venous tint. Another familiar instance is the vitalization of the vegetable germ through the oxidation of the starch laid up in the seed. Even the process of nutrition itself presents characters which suggest the same interpretation. Amid the various tissues flows the blood, bearing elements for all. But all do not stand in a like relation to it. Some have (probably, for we are here on somewhat conjectural ground) a higher vital status, an intenser concentration, of force. Among these we may place brain and muscle. Others are lower than itself—bone, tendon, cartilage. Does not the blood, by sinking into the one, partly gain the power whereby it rises into the other class?

* The recent experiments of Professor Stokes on croicine, and its varying relations to oxygen, render it most probable that the blood undergoes a true oxidation in the lungs.—See Trans. of Royal Society, June, 1864. p. 355.

Is not the contemporaneous development of the various systems component of the body, each of which without the other were of no avail, in part determined thus? The frequent *wasting* of the internal portion of an embryonic tissue, while the circumference develops, might lend the idea countenance. It is true the use and renewal of brain and muscle vastly exceed that of the merely passive lower tissues; but the latter do waste, and are repaired. Their formation and maintenance claim place as one factor, though but a subordinate one, in the vitalization of the blood. And, finally, though our instances are but begun, may not the apparent renovating effect of some severe diseases find its explanation here? The excessive waste and fall of matter in the fierce pangs of fever, if, happily, they leave all vital parts undamaged, may they not transmit a remnant of the force thus violently freed to that portion of the blood and tissues which have preserved their balance? May not a fever sometimes be an act of respiration on a larger scale?

Let us now take up the definition of life proposed by Mr. Spencer. It is scarcely necessary to remark that he disclaims the pretence of giving anything more than an approximate definition; and we agree with him in the value he attaches to the attempt. Nothing can better serve to test our knowledge, and to give precision and completeness to our ideas. Previous formulas need not detain us now. Mr. Spencer's is, as we have seen "the definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with external coexistences and sequences." In framing this definition, Mr. Spencer proceeds upon the plan (which he counsels for general adoption) of taking two extreme instances, and finding the characters possessed in common. He chooses the lowest form of physical life as one element, and *reasoning*, as an example of the highest mental life, as the other, and frames a definition on that which they possess in common. It is, at least, interesting and valuable to see the result; but for our own part, we should prefer for physical life to take the narrower basis of physical phenomena alone; nor does it appear to us that in this relation Mr. Spencer's definition, ingeniously and scrupulously as it is constructed, will bear a rigid scrutiny.

It is obvious to remark, first, that it only includes dynamic and not statical phenomena. Not only does it exclude from the domain of life a seed, but even a tree in winter. These, we presume, are held as not possessing life, but only a capacity for life. Yet surely this is not satisfactory. It appears to us, rather, that not only seeds and dormant trees ought to be included in the definition, but also organic matter in its most indefinite form—a portion of white of egg, for example. The distinctive character of this substance is that it is living. Secondly, the definition affirms of living things that which is not universally true, even of those which it is meant to include. By the "correspondence between internal and external relations," Mr. Spencer expressly states, that he means not a mere succession of internal

changes directly answering to external, but that one change produced by external conditions in the organism institutes another change within it, which is in correspondence with another change about to ensue externally. He says (p. 78): "Let some change A impress on an organism a change C; then while in the environment A is occasioning *a*, in the organism C will be occasioning *c*; of which *a* and *c* will show a certain concord in time, place, and intensity." We cannot see that such consecutive correspondences are present in all living bodies—hardly, even in the majority. The amoeba surely responds simply to direct external impressions, in so far as it responds to them at all. What secondary process, answering to a future change about to occur around it, is set up in it by stimuli? or even in the hydra? Where are such secondary changes exhibited by plants?

Mr. Spencer does not furnish illustrations here, and we confess we cannot supply them. To us it seems that this description answers rather to the presence of a nervous system than to life. One of the chief functions of the nervous system is to institute such secondary adaptations, to enable one part to be modified by modifications of another. Thus such correspondent series of external and internal changes come to be characteristic of the higher grades of life, but they do not penetrate to the lowest strata. Mr. Spencer's own words imply as much. He says, "*If we take a living body of the requisite organization*" we shall find this nexus; but this gives up the definition. On the other hand, if this complexity of correspondence be given up, the definition ceases to be distinctive; for the motions of the earth furnish surely as complete a fulfilment of it as could be desired. These motions are definite, they are combined, they are in certain respects heterogeneous, they are both simultaneous and successive, and they take place in the strictest correspondence with external co-existences and sequences.

But further, even if it were granted that this succession of internal changes in correspondence to external, to which Mr. Spencer refers, were universally present in living organisms, the definition would still not be satisfactory; for if we could not discover anything else in nature answering to it, we could construct something. Let us suppose a water-mill, with a float placed upon the stream above, and so attached as to raise or lower a sluice as the amount of water varied. Would not Mr. Spencer's definition of life be perfectly fulfilled in this? Using electric wires for nerves, surely innumerable, such pseudo-living creatures could be manufactured. Nay, look at the chronometer. Does not here an internal change—expansion—produced by an external cause, lead to a second internal change, an adjustment of tension in strict correspondence with the external sequence?

Other objections of a different order might perhaps be urged: such as that the definition refers only to the external phenomena of life, and takes no note of its *becoming*, the process by which it is; that though recognising the

correspondence of the internal with the external, it ignores its identity and absolute dependence; that in it the individualization involved in life, which, as truly affirmed by Schelling and Coleridge, is its chief characteristic, sinks into the background; and finally, that it is not expansive, that it does not suggest, but gives rather a feeling of finality. These, however, are matters on which it is not worth while to dwell. The point of interest that arises from the discussion is in our view this: that what may be called a *qualitative* definition of life is not to be obtained, because the differences on which it could be founded do not exist. Sincerely we believe that if life could in its distinctive characters be defined by man, Mr. Spencer would have done it. As every definition in the past has broken down, so, we believe, must every definition in the future, which seeks to draw any other than a merely relative distinction between the organic and the inorganic. The difference is but relative; it is one of form and mode alone, and no definition can stand which does not recognise this fact.

It is hardly fair, perhaps, to criticize another man's definition without presenting an opportunity for return. We will venture, therefore, undeterred by the *disjecta membra* which lie around, though with no vague forebodings of the fate before us, to try another; keeping, however, within the humbler field of material or organic life. Our definition would be this: Organic life is the limiting, within certain forms determined by external conditions, of molecular changes, both force-absorbing and force-liberating; with the effects of such limitation. Or more briefly: Life is a local limiting of molecular change.

If there is nothing more in organic life than in the rest of nature—and we have seen that if there be anything it is impossible to discover it—may there not be, in spite of appearances, something less? may not the organic be derived from the inorganic, not by a *plus* but by a *minus*?

We intend here simply to suggest whether the idea of a limit might not be found useful in physiology, and cannot pursue the subject into detail; yet having exhibited our wares, we may perhaps, like other showman, be permitted modestly to praise them. This mode of regarding life answers precisely to that series of united force-liberating and force-absorbing changes, repeated within the same compass, which we have seen that organic bodies present. *Through* all inorganic bodies force passes; it enters them, affecting them more or less intimately, continuing in them for a longer or a shorter time, and then leaves them, being transmitted onwards to another recipient; but within organic bodies it *circulates*. Part of it is passed on in external function, but part of it is retained. The forces of the living body, besides being transmitted externally, are bent inwards on itself. They are limited in their circuit; and thereby establish those permanent yet ever-shifting centres of force which we call living. Nor could such centres be otherwise established save by a limit to the

circulating force, unless we imagined it endowed with the power to direct itself. An illustration will aid our conception here. Life was likened by Cuvier to a whirlpool, as being a constant form with ever-varying substance; but the idea will bear a deeper probing. Let us think not of a whirlpool simply, but of an *eddy* in a stream. All around it runs a large continuous current, from which it is marked off—individualized, we might almost say—by a certain difference of form and mode. Yet it consists of the very same elements, material and dynamic, as the stream around, upon which it is entirely dependent. That stream represents the great stream of force; that eddy the living organism. The eddy exhibits to us the current locally limited and turned upon itself. Save by such limit (be it from inequality of ground or whatever other cause) it could not be so turned; but a limit inevitably by the persistence of force must turn it so. The motion of the stream, being limited in its onward course, takes the reverse direction, becomes the opposite to itself, flows to a certain extent, measured by its momentum, upwards against gravity. The eddy presents to us opposite motions, down and up, united and mutually dependent. The force-liberating downward motion produces the force-absorbing upward, and they dwell together in one definite shape—definite yet transient; for the force in it, however long the circulation may continue, is given off into the outer stream at last, and the temporarily isolated fragment is resolved into the surrounding elements. But not until it may, serving as a new limit, have imparted its existence to another. Surely it is life in all but name.

Does our definition fail, then, by including too much? No. *Dynamically* an eddy answers to the simplest form of life, but not in respect to the nature of the changes involved. Life is a limiting of molecular changes—it might be simpler to say *chemical* changes, but that the term is open to objection—the eddy exhibits a limiting of mechanical ones. By laying stress upon the molecular character of the changes primarily concerned in life, the definition excludes those mechanisms which form in some respects the closest analogues of living organisms, and so greatly embarrasses any definitions which dwell most upon their mechanical phenomena. It places those mechanical phenomena in their right place, as secondary. Some other advantages also the definition proposed seems to possess. It lays hold not of the mere phenomena of life, but of the process which constitutes it; and so to a certain extent gives an account of its becoming. It embraces the statical as well as the dynamical phenomena involved; the things in which life is latent as well as those which exhibit vital activity. It puts the individualizing tendency in the foreground, and expresses in its terms the essential identity of the organic with, and its intimate dependence upon, the inorganic. It is true the correspondence between the organism and its environment is left out, but this is necessarily involved in its dependence, and is therefore implicitly included among the "effects of the limitation." It is probable, also, that its remarkable correspondence,

or adaptation to conditions, is only an apparent distinction of organic structure. Indefinite and more or less incoherent, from our point of view, as are inorganic phenomena, it would be a narrow conception that should refuse to allow them, under other aspects than those directly cognizable by us, at least as perfect a connexion and as definite and unitary a subordination, as are visible to us in the more contracted organic sphere. An entozoon—with whatever powers of reason endowed—would probably make little beyond accidental stratifications and aggregates out of the body of a man. Its sphere of definitely combined and correspondent changes would probably be pretty much confined to its own body and those of its compeers. Here again it should not be forgotten that evolution from homogeneous formlessness, though true according to some of the laws of our apprehension, is phenomenal only. According to other elements of our intellectual being, it would seem not less demonstrable that the adaptations which are seen in organic nature, must involve fully equal adaptedness in that from whence it flows. Nor probably are the two views, each maintained with due relations, at all contradictory. The multiform correspondence, with its results of use, characteristic of the organic world, is not introduced by the limiting on which the organic condition depends, but only the direction of that correspondence to certain limited and particular results. Another advantage, indeed, which the suggested definition of life possesses, is that it brings nothing out of nothing: does not derive the more from the less.*

But it is in the expansiveness and the many ulterior bearings of the conception of a limit, as applied to life, that perhaps its chief attraction lies. It seems to cast a light alike on the fundamental postulates of the theory of evolution, and on the most widely ramified vital phenomena. For example, Mr. Spencer's first great deductive law from the persistence of force, is, as we have seen, that of the instability of the homogeneous; or, that change must necessarily

commence whenever all parts are perfectly alike. But as he himself allows there is an exception to this statement, "one stable homogeneity only is hypothetically possible. If centres of force, absolutely uniform in their powers, were diffused with absolute uniformity through *unlimited* space, they would remain in equilibrium."†

Thus the idea of a limit is one around which evolution centres, in its widest as well as in its narrowest sphere.

And again in the same relation, the idea of a limit is equally suggested by the phenomena of force. Entirely unreconcilable with any complete dynamic theory is the idea of permanently fixed centres of force—any inherent powers. Gravity, for instance, refuses to be correlated with other forces; it remains as a permanent stumbling-block. What we rationally demand is an ever-current force always equal in amount, but never traceable to a final home:—a force which we might trace back and back under shifting forms indefinitely. Nay, this doubtless is the true theory of force; the mind can never be at rest under the incubus of supposed fixed centres, howsoever imagined, beyond or before which force is not. These fixed centres, these apparent primary foci of force, how then do they arise? Clearly by a limit. Limit force in time, and the phenomenon of "centres" of force is given.‡

But to descend to regions less remote. The influence of this relation to a limit is visible in other phenomena belonging to the organic body, besides those before referred to. Its effect may be traced in the progressive increase in the amount and complexity of life. Upon the evolution theory the organic world has grown up out of the inorganic; that is, more and more force has assumed the vital form, and become expended in producing that unstable union of certain molecules which constitutes matter organic. At the same time, the forms

* It seems worth considering whether the philosophical method used by Mr. Spencer might not be fruitfully extended. Matter and force, he says, can neither be destroyed nor introduced. When we seem to do either, we do but change the form. Nor does it invalidate this deduction, that to all appearance, and to all practical purposes, we create what was not, or annihilate what was. May not the same class of propositions be applied farther; for example, to such things as *order*. Can order come into existence, or cease from existing? Granted that, apparently, and to all practical purposes, it is created or destroyed, there is not in this the least presumption that such creation or destruction truly takes place. Is not the form merely of the order changed; from an apparent to an inapparent one, and *vice versa*? It is true that order is not an existence, is perhaps only a conception of our minds, a purely relative term. But this would not affect the argument, for force and matter are the same. It may be said that order is a mode or condition only; but the same is true of motion. Can we any more think *being* and *not-being* together in the one case than in the other?

† "First Principles," p. 386. Mr. Spencer goes on to say that "this, though a verbally intelligible supposition, is one that cannot be represented in thought; since unlimited space is inconceivable. All finite forms of the homogeneous—all forms of which we can know or conceive—must inevitably lapse into heterogeneity." But is it not remarkable that Mr. Spencer should make representability in thought a condition of his postulate, when he has himself taken so much pains to show that matter and force and motion are themselves not representable in thought. He says, for instance, p. 61: "It is impossible to form any idea of force in itself, (and) it is equally impossible to comprehend either its mode of existence or its law of variation." It would appear surely that the starting point at which Mr. Spencer legitimately found himself, was not a limited, but an unlimited homogeneity, in which, therefore, no evolution would occur, and that the one condition required to establish the whole process was precisely that of a limit—the very conception which we have found to constitute the starting point of that new evolution upon the old, the organic world. The coincidence here seems striking.

‡ And since "matter" is resolved into "centres of force," do we not, though somewhat vaguely, seem to trace *matter* to a limit?

into which this matter is built up assume more and more complexity of structure, and exhibit an increasing intensity of force. A limit is the general idea to which these phenomena point. That occurs in respect to the organic world which occurs when a fluid is pressed into a space from which there is no proportionate egress. There arises a continually heightening tension. The force being retained, and, as it were, turned inward on itself, becomes more intense. Possibly we may witness the results of this process in the highly complex structure of the organic molecules and the successive stages in which their decomposition takes place. None but the simplest organic substances are resolved directly into the ultimate chemical compounds. Almost all of them, in their fall from their unstable equilibrium, sink by successive slips, each containing less force than the preceding. In this complex structure and manifold process of decomposition, do we not see evidence of a complex process of upbuilding—successive impulses of force applied to the same molecules?

If we turn from development of force to that of form, the same view recurs. Without reference to the constant tendency to increase of organic matter, and a resistance to its mere expansion, the extremely involved and, as it were, convoluted structure of the higher animals, can hardly be explained. Mere modifications by external circumstances have no adaptation to make life more, though they may tend to alter its distribution; and simple differentiations and integrations do not account for the immense concentration of structure as well as force, the compressed and implicated variety of parts, which is characteristic of the more developed organisms. The general conception, which, as it seems to us, should be applied to the evolution of life, is one which recognizes a *pressure* of the natural forces tending to give rise to the organic state of matter, and a constant resistance under which this process is carried on, leading to a higher tension of the force, and a more involved structure in the forms in which it is exhibited. This view furnishes also a partial justification of the otherwise untenable doctrine of an inherent tendency in life to progress. There is not an inherent tendency; but there is, apart from changing circumstances, an external constraint.

This pressure from without, arising from increase of the vital form of force, Mr. Spencer does not expressly note as bearing on evolution; nor does it appear to us that he assigns it even by implication a due place. Without it, the causes he assigns for evolution appear insufficient to bear the weight which rests on them. Adaptations do not alter totals. It is possible that he may design to make more reference to phenomena of this class in the succeeding volume, to which the discussion of individual structure is deferred; but it seems to us that they should find a place in the treatment of the general doctrine of evolution. Nature becoming organic—that being so far the direction of least resistance for her force—we believe is the great element which lies at

the root of the whole process; nature becoming organic under limit.

And this balance of vital action and limit or control, again, has the most striking illustration in the life of the individual organism; in which the whole nutrition and every function seem to be thus held in check, a special nervous organization existing for this very end:—which organization itself, may we not say in accordance with Mr. Spencer's own views, is but the specialization of an universal function in the organic world? But into this point and many others equally full of interest which press upon us, we have not space to enter now. It is with regret we leave so great a topic so scantily treated, and see our task cut off at its commencement; but we hope to resume it at no very distant day.

ART. IV.—POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Principles of Political Economy, with some of the Applications to Social Philosophy. By JOHN STUART MILL. People's Edition.

It is with genuine satisfaction that we hail the appearance of a new edition of Mr. Mill's well-known volumes on "Political Economy." None of his writings, except, perhaps, his book on Liberty, have acquired so general a popularity, or exercised so wide an influence as this. Still, as the subject is even now but very imperfectly understood by the majority of our countrymen, we rejoice that Mr. Mill has made his work more universally accessible by publishing also a cheap edition at the very moderate price of five shillings. Very nearly ninety years have now elapsed since the publication of the "Wealth of Nations." During that period, the science that forms the subject of that treatise, has made no inconsiderable progress, and has exercised a conspicuous influence upon both the intellectual and political condition of civilized nations. It appears to us that a fitting opportunity has arrived for taking a general survey of the history and character of the new power that has thus arisen, and has acquired so marked a sway over the minds of educated men.

The name of political economy is far more frequently employed, by friends or foes, than its principles are understood, and we think it a matter of legitimate regret that a science which investigates and explains the laws of wealth, does not rank in more prominent place in the education of our countrymen. In the varied field of human learning, political economy occupies a peculiar position. Alone among all the sciences it assumes, as the acknowledged basis of its doctrines, a principle in human nature. It does not, like mental philosophy, make human nature itself the direct object of its investigations. It does not, like the physical sciences, confine itself to observing the phenomena of the external world, and thus discovering the laws which those phenomena

obey. Political economy takes what we may call a middle course between these extremes. Considering human nature as an established fact, it builds upon that foundation the whole of its elaborate superstructure. It is this feature to which it owes, so to speak, its strong individuality and its special attractiveness. A "Science of History" is the darling dream of modern thinkers. Whether or not such a science be possible, we do not venture to say; but we may say that a presumption of its possibility is afforded by the example of political economy. To Adam Smith and his successors belongs the honour of having indicated the road by which the scientific historian, should he ever exist, will have to travel. They have done on the small scale what the scientific historian must do on the large scale. Moreover, if the scientific historian will be compelled to deal with problems of far greater magnitude and complexity, political economists can at least claim to have succeeded in solving the comparatively simple problems with which it has been their duty to grapple.

But the science of which we speak possesses a still stronger claim to general attention in its preëminently practical character. In the words of a living statesman, written in 1819—"Political economy is an awful thing. It is appalling to think that the Legislature is often called upon to decide questions which involve the immediate happiness, perhaps the very existence, of millions of the people, by the rules of a science which changes from day to day. It is not a matter of very urgent or pressing necessity to know whether oxygen gets the better of phlogiston, or chlorine is a better founded name than oxymuriatic acid; but it is of another kind of importance to know whether a silver currency, of a certain standard, will prove a considerable benefit or certain ruin; whether an overflowing abundance of cheap foreign corn is a blessing or a curse to the nation which imports it." Deducting the hostile bias, this passage very fairly states the nature of the benefits which a knowledge of economical laws may be expected to confer. It is true that the advance of the science since 1819, and the universal acceptance among thinking men of that principle of free trade which its disciples have so long inculcated, has rendered the questions it discusses somewhat less absorbing in their interest to the general reader. But the subject with which it deals continues, and must continue, to be one of universal importance.

That subject, to sum it up in a single word, is Wealth—Wealth, not in the narrow sense of superfluous riches, but in the large sense of every object useful or agreeable to mankind, from the first necessities of life to the rarest and most costly luxuries. Now the wealth of a nation is a matter of national concern. No sooner does a community emerge from the lowest barbarism than its members become occupied in acquiring wealth. Nor has the highest civilization hitherto attained exempted any but an insignificant fraction from this occupation. To acquire wealth—by which expression we do not mean to get rich, but to earn the means of subsistence—is still the

main business of the vast majority of men; of all, in short, who are not either raised too high or sunk too low to feel the necessity of working for their bread. It is true that many of those who are engaged in modes of labour which have for their direct result the enjoyment of an income, are mentally engrossed in objects of a more ennobling character. Many of them are adding to the knowledge and comfort of mankind, either by scientific researches, or new inventions, or judicious improvements upon those already in existence. But what we here insist upon is simply the fact that the mainspring of the whole machinery of civilized life is the desire of wealth. Look around upon the busy mass of toiling people. What is it but this intense, all-pervading desire that fills the several professions, drives men to employ themselves in trade, and even compels them to undertake the severest kinds of manual labour? Political economy, in answering this question and others of a kindred nature, brings scientific processes to bear on the commonest phenomena of our daily life. Not only do the conclusions thus arrived at involve rules of the utmost consequence to human happiness, but it is impossible, so long as we are ignorant of these conclusions, to form any adequate conception of the world we live in. We can no more understand the social body without political economy than we can understand the natural body without physiology. And perhaps physiology is the only science which can be compared to political economy in practical importance.

Considering these things, we think it an improvement much to be desired that no young man in the upper classes should be allowed to regard his education as complete without an elementary acquaintance with the two above-named sciences; while even among the lower classes it would, we believe, be productive of good to recognise their existence. The claims of physiology, doubtless of more immediate urgency, have been ably enforced by writers conversant with the subject. Those of political economy have hitherto received less attention. We propose, in the present paper, to explain, so far as our limits may permit, the nature and objects of the science, and, if possible, to remove any feelings of aversion or indifference to it which may still unhappily linger in the minds of our readers.

Our investigation may properly begin by a brief allusion to the historical progress of our subject, and the principal steps by which it has risen to its present station. The origin of a science can rarely be fixed with absolute precision. There are generally some remarkable instances of acute, far-seeing intellects that have discovered truths the full significance of which it has been left to a later age more clearly to perceive. This is preëminently the case in the history of political economy. Various writers had distinctly or indistinctly apprehended many of its fundamental principles, but it was the special merit of the "Wealth of Nations" to give form and body to their floating and partial speculations. Thus, near

the end of the 17th century, Sir Dudley North had maintained the very enlightened propositions, that in trade "the whole world is but as one nation or people;" that no trade ought to be an object of favour; that no trade can be unprofitable to the public; and "that money is a merchandise whereof there may be a glut as well as a scarcity." About the same period Locke had arrived at the conclusion that labour is almost the sole cause of the value of commodities. In 1752 had appeared one of the brightest of those scattered rays of light that broke the almost universal darkness prevailing before the time of Adam Smith: we allude to the political section of Hume's Essays. In those Essays, Hume anticipated with the utmost clearness many of the leading principles that afterwards became the corner-stones of the most celebrated passages in the "Wealth of Nations." Adam Smith, for example, has declared that "Labour was the first price, the original purchase-money that was paid for all things." More than twenty years before these words were published, Hume had given utterance to the same great truth in the "Essay on Commerce." "Everything in the world," he had there written, "is purchased by labour, and our passions are the only causes of labour." It is the glory of Adam Smith to have utterly overthrown the mercantile system, which aimed at increasing the wealth of the country by increasing the amount of gold and silver imported into it. This fallacy was finally exploded in the "Wealth of Nations;" but Hume had already said, in the "Essay on Money," that "Money is not, properly speaking, one of the subjects of commerce, but only the instrument which men have agreed upon to facilitate the exchange of one commodity for another. It is none of the wheels of trade; it is the oil which renders the motion of the wheels more smooth and easy." It would be difficult to illustrate more aptly the functions of a circulating medium. There are several other points in which this philosopher evinces an acuteness of reasoning which renders the political section of his essays still worthy of an attentive perusal. Thus, in writing of "Interest," he explains with extreme accuracy the causes in consequence of which it is high or low. In another essay on the "Balance of Trade," he expresses sound views on the propensity of money to keep its level, and rightly conceives the principle by which it does so. Lastly, he exposes the folly of that narrow "jealousy of trade" which led his countrymen to dread the prosperity of other nations. "It is our interest," he argues, "that they should be rich;" our domestic industry "receives an increase from it."

Remarkable as are the views of Hume, it did not enter into his plan to compose a systematic work in illustration of these opinions. The honour of having been the first to bestow upon political economy the character of a science is assigned both by Mr. McCulloch and M. Say to a French physician, M. Quesnay. This distinguished man was the son of an agriculturist in Normandy, and having become Madame de Pompadour's physician, was raised by her in-

fluence to the post of surgeon to the king. He wrote in the middle of the eighteenth century, and was a strenuous advocate of commercial freedom, for which he deserves the higher credit, as he himself believed that agricultural labour alone was capable of increasing the national wealth. But, however great the merits of M. Quesnay's writings may be, it is not from them that we can date the origin of economical science, as at present understood. The well-known sect of French economists who followed in the footsteps of Quesnay were no doubt considerable in their day, but the opinions they represented, and therewith the principal value of their writings, have passed away. They were destined to yield to the more philosophic principles proclaimed in 1776 by Dr. Adam Smith.

The character of the "Wealth of Nations" is so generally known, and its place in English literature so irrevocably fixed, that no eulogy of ours could be other than superfluous, if not tedious. Cultivated readers do not require to be told that the author of the book collected the scattered fragments of economical wisdom to be found in previous writers, that he added many important principles of his own discovery, and fused the whole mass into one comprehensive system, destined by the mere force of its superior truth, to bring discredit and ultimate destruction upon the systems which then obtained general acceptance. In his speculations there is much which the progress of knowledge has shown to be erroneous or imperfect; but the great practical conclusion upon which he insists has been only ratified and strengthened by subsequent experience. This conclusion, which follows as an irresistible corollary from his reasoning, is, that freedom of trade is in nearly all cases to be preferred to restriction; for that the interference of Government will only force some portion of the capital of the country from a more profitable into a less profitable,—from a more productive into a less productive channel.

The seed thus sown has borne abundant fruit. In 1787, Bentham wrote his well-known "Defence of Usury," which we commend to those who have not read it as a model of clear and unanswerable logic. In this little book Bentham pushed the principle of non-interference somewhat further than Adam Smith had done, applying it in a case where the latter had failed to do so. He showed that nothing could be more injudicious than the attempt to protect borrowers by fixing a rate of interest which could not legally be exceeded. We forbear, however, to enter into the arguments by which this proposition was proved, for we must hasten to notice the other distinguished masters of economical science. In 1798, Mr. Malthus published the first edition of his "Essay on Population," which was republished in an improved and altered form in 1803. This book, which has been much discussed but little understood, deserves to be ranked as second only to the "Wealth of Nations" in the annals of the science. The theory of Rent, first propounded by Dr. Anderson, a Scotch farmer, in 1777, but nevertheless unrecognised by Smith, sprang

into renewed existence under happier auspices in 1815. In that year it was re-discovered independently both by Malthus and Sir Edward West. Two years later, another great economist—David Ricardo—added to the literature of the science one of its most striking and valuable possessions, his “Principles of Political Economy.” In 1820, a volume bearing the same title was given to the world by Mr. Malthus. Meanwhile, M. Say and M. Sismondi were pursuing kindred labours on the continent; M. Say having first published his “Cours d'Economie Politique” in 1802, and M. Sismondi his “Nouveaux Principes” in 1819. At this brilliant epoch in its history, the subject began to assume more and more distinctly its proper place as a special and peculiar branch of learning. The latest and hitherto most perfect development it has reached, is to be found in the work before us.

It is one of the distinguishing merits of Mr. Mill that he is never misled by a narrow partiality to its own subject. He treats political economy not only in the spirit of an economist, but in that of a philosopher. Hence he is saved from the error of attributing universal truth to doctrines which in reality are only true under given circumstances; while he is always able to write of economical questions from a larger, and therefore a more unbiassed point of view, than has always been attained by those who have been the exclusive devotees of such researches. It is, however, an error to suppose that an adequate knowledge of political economy can be acquired by the perusal of a single treatise, even though it be as comprehensive and complete as that of Mr. Mill. To appreciate the manner in which Mr. Mill closes some former controversies by a few decisive words—those, for instance, on productive and unproductive labour, and on a measure of value—it is necessary to refer to those writers who engaged in the thick of the conflict; for neither in this respect nor in others will it be possible to enter fully into his reasonings, except for those who have acquired the mastery of previous writings, especially the writings of Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and M'Culloch.

Such have been the literary results of the researches concerning the laws of wealth. The legislative results are well known to every educated man. The commercial history of the present century bears witness to the beneficial influence which political economy has exercised upon the minds of the public. Monopoly after monopoly, restriction after restriction, has disappeared under its teaching, till at length a state of things has been reached in this country such as Adam Smith in his wildest dreams of unfettered trade could scarcely have conceived. The present is a signal instance of the manner in which philosophical truth, first discerned by a few reflecting minds, is next admitted by far-sighted statesmen who endeavour to apply it in practice, and is then gradually adopted by the more liberal politicians, till at length even the rank and file of the Conservative party are compelled to admit it. In 1792 we find Pitt referring in terms of cordial admiration to the “Wealth of Nations,” and lamenting the loss

of its author; but the times were not then ripe for the adoption of just commercial principles. More than 50 years had still to pass before Sir Robert Peel, when proposing to the House of Commons the repeal of the corn-laws, could introduce his measure in the following language:—

“I am about, in pursuance of the recommendation contained in Her Majesty's speech from the throne, advised by her responsible servants—I am about to review the duties which apply to many articles, the produce and manufacture of other countries. I am about to proceed on the assumption adopted in that speech from the throne, that the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties is in itself a wise principle. I am about to proceed on the assumption that protective duties, abstractedly and on principle, are open to objection—that the policy of maintaining them may be defended—but that there must be shown to be special considerations, either of public policy or of justice, to vindicate the maintenance of them.”*

These words were spoken on the 27th of January, 1846. The proposal was not adopted without a hot discussion, nor was it till the twelfth night of the debate that the House divided. Yet the principle thus proclaimed by Sir Robert Peel—the principle thus angrily resisted by the “agricultural interest”—had been clearly and logically proved to be right by the Scottish philosopher in 1776; men of liberal opinions had for many years been ardent in their devotion to it; and it had received especially the energetic and eloquent advocacy of the statesman whose recent death has been the just occasion of universal lamentation.

Apart, therefore, from its other claims, political economy is invested with a deep historical interest as a power which, having arisen within the last century, has acquired so absolute a sway over the minds of men as to expel the strongest prejudices, snapping them asunder one by one in spite of the feeling of self-interest which upheld them, and substituting in the minds of educated people an entirely new class of convictions and ideas, such as our forefathers would have laughed to scorn as the startling paradoxes of ignorant theorists. It is not, however, in its practical aspect that we propose at present to consider the subject. We are rather anxious to speak of political economy as a science than as an art, for we believe that in this respect its nature and objects have been, and still are, much misunderstood. Of the manner in which the absence of a distinct terminology has contributed to this misunderstanding, we shall have occasion to speak in a later part of the present article. Another potent incentive of opposition is to be found in the fact that political economists have not always been sufficiently careful to separate the strictly scientific portion of their writings from the practical rules which are in some cases deducible therefrom; a confusion which adverse critics have always made a point of rendering worse confounded. Thus, a dislike to the individual

* “Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,” vol. lxxxiii. p. 239.

opinions of Mr. Malthus upon the subject of matrimony has led many to deny the Malthusian theory of population, one of the simplest and most incontrovertible among the doctrines of the science. In order to avoid these errors, it is essential to understand the principle upon which political economists have conducted their researches, as well as the scope and purposes of their undertaking. Upon this point the prevailing misapprehensions are so inveterate that we must be excused for dwelling a little on what may seem to some of our readers very trite and familiar facts.

Induction and deduction have of late years become household words among us, and the two different modes of arriving at knowledge which they represent do not require to be explained at length. It is open to the political economist—or at any rate it was open to him at first—to choose either of these roads in order to reach his conclusions. He might travel by the inductive road, in which case it would be his business to make a vast collection of economical facts; to trace, for example, the variations in the price of goods, or the wages of labour through a given period of history; to explain the various customs that prevail throughout the world with regard to the tenure of land and the distribution of its produce. Upon this wide survey—for upon such a subject it must be very wide—he must build, if he can, his scientific theory. Or he may, choose the deductive road, and starting with some broad undisputed principle, deduce his particular conclusions from it by a chain of reasoning. Mr. Jones' "Essay on Rent" is the purest specimen of the first of these methods; Mr. Ricardo's "Principles of Political Economy" is the purest specimen of the second.

Necessity, if not a deliberate preference, has long decided between the inductive and deductive schools of political economy. Induction, however proper in those sciences which depend on a nice observation of minute particulars, as all the physical sciences do, is of inferior value in one which is entirely concerned with the proceedings of human beings. Human nature is so complex a thing, and the phenomena by which it is manifested are so various, that there would be little hope of discovering the general laws that preside over the actions of men unless we can isolate one or more of the motives of which those actions are the result. This, however, is beyond our power, except by the process of abstracting a particular class of actions the motive, or motives, of which we already know. Having this knowledge, we are able to demonstrate the course which human beings, placed in a given position, will adopt, and thus to bring a particular class of actions under the dominion of regular and intelligible laws.

It is precisely such an abstraction which the political economist is compelled to make. The class of actions he selects for his investigations are those relating to wealth. The motive of those actions he knows, for it is nothing but the desire of wealth that can lead to its production and exchange. This, then,

being the motive, it becomes a matter of correct reasoning only to demonstrate the course which human beings, engaged in the production and exchange of wealth, will adopt in given cases. Wealth being their object, they will be anxious to sell as dear, and to buy as cheap, as they possibly can. This, then, is the principle of human nature upon which we have said that political economy is based. It is, in fact, the foundation of the whole system, for if this assumption be unwarranted, the very conception of a science of wealth falls to the ground. The facts regarding the production, distribution, and exchange of wealth may remain; but a scientific explanation of them is no longer possible. For a collection of facts upon this subject, however interesting, or however extensive, would not of itself be entitled to the name of science. Political economy, as now understood, is fairly entitled to that name; for it reveals a system of laws as distinct and as unchanging, though not so easily ascertained, as those which natural science has discovered in the material world.

We are aware that objections are entertained in certain quarters to the application of the term "laws" to the movements of human beings. Those who make these objections appear to us to be misled by a very grave confusion with regard to the meaning of the word when thus applied. They suppose that the discovery of regularity rather than chance, of order rather than anarchy in human affairs, will take away the freedom of mankind to act as they please. When it is said that we act according to law, they immediately conclude that this is equivalent to saying that we could not have acted otherwise. They dislike the notion of being able to predict events, for they imagine that an event, if predicted, would be obliged to happen.

Such views, if they rested upon anything more solid than a sentimental horror of applying mathematical and logical processes to men, would cut at the root of a science of wealth. The political economist, as we have already explained, considers human beings in the mass as desirous of selling dear and buying cheap. All his reasonings are based upon that axiom. Are we to say that he is not justified in taking so much for granted? Now, if there be no regular sequence in human actions, if it be illegitimate to assume a single principle implying that there is, if the actions of men and women be as capricious, as uncertain, as exempt from any kind of law as it is sometimes pretended, there would be no such thing as knowledge of character at all, and our sense of dependence upon each other would be utterly destroyed.

Let us consider a little the nature of the cases to which economical logic is applied, in order to see whether it be really unreasonable to suppose that even human actions may be brought within the bounds of so-called laws. Is it too much to assume that a sensible man will prefer investing his capital at six per cent. to investing it at three per cent., if the security in each case be equally good? Or that if

he have his choice between two butchers, in the quality of whose meat there is no difference, he will prefer the one who offers to supply him at the cheapest rate? Yet it is simply upon such cases, simply upon our knowledge of the fact, that sensible men will in general—it need not be always—choose the greater gain and the smaller expenditure, that we base our calculations concerning their mode of proceeding in the matters of wealth. It is a strange mistake to argue, that when we predict the conduct of our fellow-creatures we deprive them of the exercise of their reason, and treat them as machines bound by an iron necessity. We predict their conduct in reality, not because they have no reason, but because they have it; and because, assuming that they have it, we are able to foresee the course which the exercise of reason will lead them to adopt. Human nature need not be thought of as subjected to laws; for the laws themselves are the product of human nature.

In the present instance, it is a property of human nature to desire wealth. People will therefore take some trouble, and make some sacrifice in order to acquire it. Hence the phenomenon of labour, and consequently of production. There being, as explained by Mill, three requisites of production—land, capital, and labour—it follows that the produce must be divided between the owners of these three things. Hence the phenomenon of distribution. In all civilized countries, moreover, the various branches of industry are carried on by different members of the community, each man depending upon his neighbour for the supply of all his wants except the special want with which he is able to supply himself. But in order to gratify his desires he must give some of his own labour or of the commodities which his labour produces. Wealth being, by the supposition, an object of universal desire, no one will part with it without receiving what he considers a fair equivalent. Hence the phenomenon of exchange.

The preceding sketch will perhaps convey some slight notion to the general reader of the manner in which the laws of wealth are deduced from the simple principle upon which we have dwelt above. Strictly understood, the function of the political economist is confined to the task of tracing the relation of cause to effect, throughout the numerous operations attendant upon these three phenomena—the production, distribution, and exchange of wealth. This, however, would be a dry and barren office, and we are not aware that any writers, except, perhaps, Mr. Senior, have entirely restricted themselves to so limited a range. There are two considerations which appear to us to justify, while at the same time they partially explain, the usual mixture of scientific investigation with original speculation.

In the first place, it must never be forgotten, that the fundamental axiom so often mentioned—the wish to buy as cheap and sell as dear as possible—though an undoubted truth, is not a truth without exceptions, or rather without

limitations. Were the desire of wealth the sole desire of humanity, it would be absolutely true. But, although this is not the fact, we are obliged for the purposes of the science to conduct our reasonings as if it were. There could be no political economy in a scientific sense except by this process of abstraction. It would be impossible to take into account all the numerous motives by which men are swayed; hence the necessity of fixing upon a single one, and treating of society as influenced by that alone. Now the desire of wealth is, as we have shown, an almost universal, if not an universal feeling. Individual exceptions there may be, but these are of little consequence to conclusions which are only intended to apply to the community as a whole. To recur to the preceding illustration, it is quite conceivable that a person might be found who would choose the three per cent. investment rather than the six per cent.—the dearest butcher rather than the cheapest. Such eccentricities, however, are so rare, that they would not at all affect the assertions a political economist would make, namely, that if the usual rate of interest were six per cent., it would be impossible to obtain loans at three; and that if the two butchers sold in the same market, competition would compel the dearest of the two to lower his prices. Nevertheless it must be borne in mind, that in these expectations we take no account of the force of habit, the love of ease, or the carelessness which so often attends the expenditure of the rich. Yet so powerful are these motives in counteracting the levelling tendency of competition, that we often find a wide difference in the prices at which goods are offered in different shops. These are exceptions which cannot be overlooked; for they prove, that although the conclusions of political economy are perfectly accurate deductions from the premises, they require to be tested by an appeal to facts. For where the major premiss is only a partial truth, it is obvious that the conclusion can be no more. Hence the unwisdom of treating political economy as an entirely abstract thing, without regard for the notorious facts which limit, while they do not overthrow, its theoretical doctrines.

The received theory of Rent—the *pons asinorum* of political economy—furnishes an admirable illustration of what we mean. Rent, in the strict scientific sense, is that portion of a farmer's profits which is over and above the rate of profits usually obtained at the time and place in which the farmer lives. It is, in fact, a surplus profit. Now, it is obvious that if the average rate of profits be ten per cent., and a farmer receives fifty per cent., his landlord may claim forty per cent. as rent. Whether he will do so, however, is another question. Custom, or good nature, or indifference, may induce him to be content with thirty or twenty. Probably there are few landlords who exact the full rent which they might be able to obtain. This should prevent us from talking as if rents were really fixed exactly as the theory supposes. But it no more invalidates the definition of rent which the theory gives, than the fact that

we cannot draw a circle with all its radii precisely equal, invalidates Euclid's definition of that figure.

Another circumstance which gives an especially practical character to these inquiries, is the impossibility of separating in our minds the laws which regulate the distribution of wealth from their influence on human happiness. It would be at any rate extremely difficult, even if it were desirable, that political economists should abstain from discussing the various degrees in which the social arrangements of a country contribute to the comfort and prosperity of its inhabitants. Whether the system of large landed estates or peasant properties be the most commendable, whether it be right to allow land to be entailed, and if so, for how long, whether primogeniture or equal division be the better custom, what is the best mode of providing for the able-bodied poor—these and many other questions of the highest importance have been always justly considered within the province of political economy. They are, of course, liable to be treated from very opposite points of view, according to the mental tendencies of individual writers; but no difference of opinion, however great, on such points, can render the abstract principles of the science uncertain. Experience rather than theory must decide in the cases to which we have referred.

Meanwhile, we cannot at all agree with those who would desire to separate principle from practice. The "Applications to Social Philosophy" in Mr. Mill's celebrated work are fully as important, and far more interesting to general readers, than the "Principles of Political Economy." And we rejoice to find both in the title he has chosen, and in the preface, an explicit acknowledgment of his intention of treating the two branches of the subject together. His reasons for this course are worthy of attention:—

"The most characteristic quality of that work [the 'Wealth of Nations'], and the one in which it most differs from some others which have equalled or even surpassed it as mere expositions of the general principles of the subject, is that it invariably associates the principles with their applications. This of itself implies a much wider range of ideas and of topics than are included in political economy, considered as a branch of abstract speculation. For practical purposes, political economy is inseparably intertwined with many other branches of social philosophy. Except on matters of mere detail, there are perhaps no practical questions, even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premisses alone. And it is because Adam Smith never loses sight of this truth: because, in his applications of political economy, he perpetually appeals to other and often far larger considerations than pure political economy affords, that he gives that well-grounded feeling of command over the principles of the subject for purposes of practice, owing to which the 'Wealth of Nations' alone among treatises on political economy, has not only been popular with general readers, but has impressed itself strongly on the minds of men of the world and of legislators."

However little the abstract doctrines of po-

litical economy may have been understood, its practical teaching has been still more liable to misrepresentation and unfounded censure. Theoretical views, harshly and unsparingly reduced to rules of conduct, are especially distasteful to the English mind. This tendency to rebel against theory, so fatal in its extremest aspects, to the influence of the political economist, should make him peculiarly careful not to overlook those "larger considerations" alluded to by Mr. Mill—not to insist too exclusively upon his own favourite plans for the improvement of mankind—not to shock too rudely that rather blind aversion to logical consistency which is so often dignified by the name of "common sense." People will care very little whether his principles be true or false, if they do not like the precepts he deduces from them. A disagreeable truth is an object of far more rancorous hostility than a disagreeable falsehood. The latter dies in due season; the former continues to exist, and to excite the attacks of those whose interests it disregards or whose tranquillity it disturbs.

If political economists have occasionally forgotten these things, if they have sometimes been too purely and severely economical, it must be confessed that they have paid much more than a befitting penalty in the monstrous opinions for which they have been made responsible. Popular prejudice has not hesitated to fix upon them the most revolting narrowness of thought, and the most odious qualities of mind. Selfishness, hardness of heart, a preference of material good to moral goodness, and a desire that man should be absorbed in getting rich as the one great object of his existence—these have been supposed to be the characteristic marks of the votaries of social science, especially of that branch of it which relates to wealth.

Imputations of this description are the less excusable, because there are none who have shown themselves more truly and earnestly desirous of promoting the welfare of the poor than those who have thoroughly mastered the principles of political economy. Their philanthropy may indeed take a different form from vulgar charity; but it is a difference not between hardness and benevolence, but between scientific and unscientific ways of being benevolent. It is not a moral, but an intellectual distinction. It is not political economy on the one side, and the Christian religion on the other; but it is knowledge on the one side, and ignorance on the other.

How comes it, then, that the principles of those who possess this knowledge, and who have laboured so earnestly to extend its benefits to others, have been so grossly distorted that they have been made to appear inimical rather than friendly to the truest interests of mankind? The infection of this strange delusion has extended even to distinguished writers, seizing especially upon those minds in whom strong sympathies and generous feelings, rather than a clear understanding or a logical head, are the predominant features. The causes of their error lie, to a great extent, in individual mental peculiarities, and are in this case be-

yond the reach of explanation. If, however, there be any semblance of foundation for their attacks, we are inclined to think it may be found in the doctrine, so sedulously preached by political economists from Adam Smith downwards, which has received the appellation of "Laissez-faire." The expression, "*Laissez-faire et laissez-passer*" (originally due to Gournay), a disciple of Quesnay, has been seized upon as the one piece of morality clearly enjoined by economists, and has conveyed altogether mistaken notions to those who have made it the pretext of so much righteous indignation.

According to the common misconception of the sense in which "*Laissez faire*" is inculcated by political economists, this principle is assumed to mean that the proper business of an enlightened Government is to do nothing—nothing, that is, for the intellectual or moral welfare of the people in whose interest they govern. It is assumed to mean that the richer classes have no duties to perform towards the poorer, unless it be the duty of leaving them alone; it is assumed to mean that the social evils under which we suffer may be, and should be left to remove themselves, without the co-operation of human effort, human forethought, and human charity.*

This, or something approaching to this, is the portentous form under which we have some difficulty in recognising the features of a very simple and familiar economical truth. "*Laissez-faire*" may be regarded as the practical deduction from a principle known by the name of supply and demand. This principle does indeed assert that since, throughout the whole field of industry, demand is the natural stimulus to supply, and since it is the interest of every one to discover the most profitable employment of his capital or his labour, it is advisable not to create a factitious demand or a factitious supply. Men, it is contended, will pursue their own interest if they are left to do so without legislative interference. But the wealth of a nation being simply the aggregate of the wealth of the individuals who compose it, it is obvious that whatever they find to be the best means of increasing their own fortunes, will also be the best means of promoting the national prosperity.

It was on such grounds as these that Adam Smith established what we prefer to call, not "*Laissez-faire*," but the principle of industrial freedom. "Every individual," he observes, "is continually exerting himself to find out the most advantageous employment for whatever capital he can command. It is his own advantage, indeed, and not that of the society, which he has in view. But the study of his own advantage naturally, or rather necessarily, leads him to prefer that employment which is most

advantageous to the society."[†] What is here said of capital may, of course, be said equally of labour. It obviously follows that both capitalists and labourers should be left to their own direction with regard to the kind of employment they select, and that all attempts to protect individuals against the effects of competition can only be regarded as bad economy.

Undoubtedly it may sometimes happen that competition falls with excessive severity upon a particular class. Where labour is plentiful, and capital comparatively scarce, it is a necessary result that wages should be low. Whether it is the duty of Government to mitigate the distress arising in such cases, whether it should be our object to relieve the sufferers by temporary expedients, or rather to leave the evil to correct itself in time, are open questions, requiring the grave consideration of those who are interested in them. But the most unflinching enemy of artificial means for the relief of poverty can only maintain that the poor should be taught to help themselves, instead of trusting to the help of others. This theory, which is a natural corollary from the principles of political economy, certainly limits the province of Government in one direction, but leaves to it untouched the important functions of taxation, the punishment of crime, and the education of the people. Nay, the last of these three great duties becomes of more especial urgency if we desire to cherish among the labouring classes the spirit of independence and self-help. Such a spirit can only be advantageous or even safe when combined with education. And we believe it will be found that those who are the most strenuous in denouncing injudicious charity, are also the foremost in demanding that the means of receiving sound elementary instruction should be placed within the reach of every child throughout the kingdom.

This, however, is not the place for a general discussion upon the duties of Government. Our only object in alluding to them for a moment was to set in a clearer light the very restricted character of the principle of industrial freedom. That principle, in fact, only demands that the operations of trade should be exempted from interference, alleging for this modest claim the simple reason that interference, where it does anything, can only do harm. Nature has so provided, that the evils or inconveniences under which men suffer in regard to wealth have an inherent tendency to correct themselves. If only the natural laws be left to act as they inevitably do when human folly does not step in to thwart them, their results will be more beneficial by far than those of any artificial laws devised by Parliament. Or to speak more plainly, human nature is so constructed that in the pursuit of wealth, it acts as an unerring check upon its own excesses.

We have always thought it one of the chief merits of political economy that it teems with illustrations of this great truth. Were we inclined to insist upon the argument from design, we should certainly select as our proof

* Thus, the translator of Sismondi's "Essays on Political Economy," who might have known better, goes so far as to pretend that "all legislative interference with the modes of letting and tenures of land, is contrary to the maxim *laissez faire et laissez passer*."

† "Wealth of Nations," book iv. chap. 2.

the beautiful manner in which demand and supply balance and restrain each other. Every reader who possesses the most elementary acquaintance with the subject, is familiar with the *modus operandi* of this universal law. The best and simplest instances may be found in the process by which the supply of every article adjusts itself to the demand—an adjustment constantly being made throughout the civilized world. Let us suppose, for example, the supply of cloth to be in excess of the demand. In order to get rid of this excessive supply, the producers will be compelled to offer their wares at too low a price to yield them the ordinary rate of profit. Finding this, they will withdraw some portion of their capital, and thus diminish the supply, in consequence of which the price will again rise till it reaches a height sufficient to yield them average profits. Suppose, however, that the supply is now reduced so much as to fall short of the demand. The price will now be raised so much that the manufacture of cloth will become an especially lucrative business. Fresh capital will, therefore, be attracted towards it; the supply will again be increased, prices will again fall, and profits be again reduced to the common level.

There is thus a constant tendency to establish an equation between demand and supply, and though the equation may seldom, if ever, be fully established for more than a moment, it is plain that there can be no very wide departure from it, unless in consequence of some casual miscalculation on the part of producers. Mr. Mill, in his chapter on the "Equation of International Demand," has shown that the same principle extends to foreign trade. Exports and imports must of necessity balance each other; that is, the aggregate value of what we sell must equal the aggregate value of what we buy. The object to be aimed at, therefore, is that what we produce for exportation should be exactly enough, and no more than enough, to purchase what we ourselves require from foreign nations. If it is too little or too much, the balance must be made good by means of money.

If, however, nations may be compelled to make money payments to each other, it would appear that they, like individuals, might be drained of their gold and silver. Such, happily, is not the case. Money, like goods, provides for its own distribution amongst those who need it. A large transfer of gold from England to France would raise the value of gold in England, and lower it in France. Nothing but this is needed to make it speedily return from France to England.

One more example of the law of supply and demand we are tempted to add; it is taken from an able pamphlet on the Lancashire distress, the precise title of which we are at present unable to recall. The author stated that large masses of raw cotton were lying at Liverpool, but that they were worked up very slowly on account of the prevailing opinion that the supply would be exhausted if consumed quickly. On the other hand, it was not advisable to leave them altogether unused, lest

the supply might again be renewed, and the market be glutted. The requisite speed in the manufacture was obtained by the operation of a beautiful and simple law. The prices of the raw material and the manufactured article varied inversely as each other. If the price of the raw material rose, that of the finished article fell. This was a sign that, in the opinion of the best judges, too much of the former had been consumed, and too much of the latter had been produced. The manufacture was proceeding too fast. If, on the contrary, the price of the raw material fell, that of the finished article rose. This was a sign that too little of the former had been consumed, and too little of the latter had been produced. The manufacture was not proceeding fast enough. In the first case, it received a check; in the second, a stimulus.

In order to find the clue by which we may explain why it is that the law of supply and demand always produces the effect required by the state of the market, we must have recourse to a still more comprehensive principle, and one that should always be present to the mind in the discussion of these questions. We allude to the fact that every individual (having no monopoly) engaged in the competition for wealth, while ostensibly pursuing his own interest alone, does in reality promote the interest of the public. This great principle is the foundation of the practical teaching of political economy, as the principle that human beings desire to sell as dear, and buy as cheap as they can, is the foundation of its speculative doctrines. Political economy has always said to the rulers of mankind, "Do not interfere with the natural course of trade to protect this or that class of traders—to prevent this or that misfortune—to encourage the production of this or that article of consumption. Leave producers open to the free competition of the whole world. It is their business, not yours, to discover what they can produce with the greatest advantage. Their anxiety to produce their wares at the lowest cost will be a national economy; their efforts to exchange them at the highest price will be a national gain."

Apparent exceptions to the truth of this principle there doubtless are, but we believe a cursory examination will show them to be apparent only. Wherever free competition exists, we believe it will be found that the opposition of interest between buyers and sellers is only of a temporary character, and disappears the moment we transfer our gaze from the particular transactions in which we are engaged, to the mass of transactions throughout the country. As an *experimentum crucis* we may refer to the obsolete law against forestalling and regrating. One offence which the statute was designed to punish was that of buying corn and selling it again in the same market on the same day at a higher price. Now, when there is a scarcity of corn, it is natural that unreasoning people should lay the blame upon the corn-factors, who are seen to be making larger profits in consequence of the public distress. It is so easy to denounce the selfishness of those who take advantage of this calamity to

raise the prices against a hungry population, that we find it difficult at first to regard these men as taking the very best and surest course to mitigate the evil. Nevertheless, it has been clearly shown that even in this instance the dealers in corn, while consciously pursuing their own objects only, are unconsciously furthering those of the public. For the object to be aimed at in a scarcity is to render the suffering that ensues as light as possible. If the whole of the year's supply were to be sold off in the first nine months, the remaining three would be months of absolute famine. It would obviously be better to submit to greater privations during the first nine, in order to avoid so terrible a consummation. If we can spread the supply in equal proportions over the whole year, submitting to the want of plenty as unavoidable, we should not incur the risk of starvation at the end. But this equal distribution of the distress is the very thing the corn-factors make it their business to effect. It is their interest to sell the whole of the supply within the year, lest its value should fall with the next harvest. It is their interest also to sell it for the highest prices consistent with that object. These two interests will check each other. The first will prevent them from asking too much, for the consumption would not proceed rapidly enough; the second will prevent them from asking too little, for then the consumption would proceed too rapidly. Either of these mistakes would increase the evil; but the course self-interest induces them to take, is exactly the one which is calculated to reduce it to the lowest point.

From the preceding argument it would therefore appear that self-interest, being the principle upon which men naturally act in the pursuit of wealth, is also that which is most conducive to the general welfare. The happiness of others, it may perhaps be objected, would, if this be the case, be best advanced by attending to our own. If only we set our hearts upon getting rich, if only we take the proper means of becoming rich, we shall be doing at the same time what is most advantageous, not only to our immediate friends, but to our country, and even to mankind. To struggle for wealth would be, upon such a theory, not merely an excusable selfishness, but rather a sacred duty. The richest man would also be the most deserving of respect.

The bare statement of this *reductio ad absurdum* leads us, by a natural transition, to the consideration of a very interesting ethical question, which it is difficult entirely to overlook in treating of the practical part of political economy. That science, although it considers wealth as an object of desire, and inquires what circumstances are most favourable to its increase, lays down no doctrine whatever with regard to the moral propriety of devoting our energies to "making money." One of the most serious of the many confusions of mind existing upon this subject is the notion that the *science* of political economy is identical with the *art* of getting rich. It is not the business of the political economist to teach individuals how to augment their pri-

vate fortunes; neither is it his business to tell them whether they are right or wrong in endeavouring to do so, though of course he is at liberty to transgress the boundaries of his province, and consider this question as well as others. But it should be upon the distinct understanding that political economy, strictly so called, merely takes human nature as it finds it—namely, as desiring wealth—and proceeds to reason upon that assumption. Since, however, it is apparent from the writings of political economists, that they regard it as an object of some importance that the material comforts and luxuries of life should be abundantly supplied, since they always teach that people should not be interfered with in seeking their own material good, it is natural that we should be led to ask whether the tone of contempt for money and money-making, which we sometimes hear, is founded upon reason. True it is, that the theory which teaches men to despise and disregard the solid practicalities of the world, though often preached is seldom practised. But the milder form of this opinion is still extant in considerable vigour. It is still held that the occupation of adding to one's wealth is one of an entirely selfish, even sordid nature; to be tolerated, perhaps, but deserving no sympathy and no encouragement.

Now, there is an important distinction between self-interest and selfishness, which those who argue thus omit to think of. The feeling which prompts a man to labour for the sake of money comes properly under the former head. It has regard to his own interest, but it is not selfish. It may undoubtedly assume a selfish character, but this danger it has in common with the passion of love. To call any sentiment or any desire a selfish one is equivalent to saying that in that sentiment or desire the love of self is so strong as to induce a positive callousness to the good of others. But the desire of wealth does not contain in its natural and unexaggerated form any such unamiable elements. It is one of those innumerable feelings which have reference to our own personal welfare, but do not in the least diminish our regard for the welfare of those around us.

It is a little overlooked by those who hastily condemn the money-making spirit, that money is not always the ultimate object of those who are striving for it. They are seeking to obtain a larger share of the enjoyments and luxuries of life, and this desire, however remote it may appear from the sublimer aspirations of humanity, yet enters into and forms a part of some of the best and most honourable feelings of virtuous men. To wish to maintain a wife in happiness and comfort, to be able to afford a good education for one's children, to have the means of showing kindness and hospitality to friends, or at least to avoid the disgrace of sinking to an inferior station and coarser modes of life—this is not low or sordid, but praiseworthy and right. Yet all these wishes include the element of money as the supreme necessity; they all involve what amounts to a positive obligation

to make the acquisition of money (we use that word in its popular sense as representing wealth) one at least among the objects of life.*

That this object may easily obtain too exclusive a predominance, that men may easily become more entirely engrossed in it than is desirable either for the good of their own characters or for that of the state, we readily allow. Absolute devotion to making money, even for purposes in themselves unexceptionable, is no less to be condemned than absolute devotion to any other of the pursuits that engross mankind. But when we concede that it is equally deserving of censure, we have conceded enough. We cannot think it more selfish or more ignoble than absolute devotion to hunting, or racing; we cannot think the time that is spent in honest labour, even though money be its object, more completely wasted than that which is given to a course of frivolous amusements; we cannot think the pursuit of wealth, which adds to the security and comfort of the human race, more pernicious than the pursuit of glory in war, which destroys them both. And to say that our own interest is the motive of what we are doing is by no means to imply that we are acting wrongly. It only amounts to saying that we are not impelled by the very noblest feelings of which our nature is capable. And there must be occasions without end, in the life even of the most unselfish and excellent of men, when this is the case. Our own interest—either life, or health, or convenience, or comfort—must inevitably be the motive of by far the larger part of our daily actions. Moreover, there are very few who have the power of pursuing a continuous course of exertion throughout any considerable period without the stimulus of personal advantage. Some there undoubtedly are to whom religious enthusiasm, or a devotion to truth which has all the power of religion, or a disinterested love of the human race which annihilates self, are incentives not only to a life of activity, but even, it may be, to unintermitted labour and heroic deeds, such as any less exalted objects would be altogether incompetent to produce. Ordinary people, however, are not endowed with natures so superior to the all but universal longing for personal enjoyment. It is open to a reasonable doubt whether it would be better if they were. For if the feeling of self-interest too often induces a lamentable disregard to the condition of the labouring poor, it must be admitted, on the oth-

er hand, that it gives rise to a class of virtues with which no well-governed society could afford to dispense. What is it but the love of property and of that respectability which property, honestly acquired, naturally confers, which makes the mass of civilized men work more than is sufficient to earn a bare subsistence? The vast material improvements of our age, its daily increasing luxuries, its more rapid means of locomotion, its more extended commerce, are due to this potent cause. The sense of a common interest in the established condition of society, the abhorrence of crime, and much of that decided preference of peace to war which is now so visible in England, could not exist, or could exist only in much feebler measure, among nations indifferent to commercial prosperity. Nor could the philosopher, engaged in abstract meditations on the hateful meanness of the "Gospel of Mammonism," pursue his studies for a single day without the aid of that very love of Mammon which evokes his scorn. Men may devote their lives to the pursuit of truth from a pure regard for truth itself, but it is by no means probable that they will manufacture shirts or trousers from a pure regard for shirts and trousers. Benevolence alone may inspire the labours of the philosopher himself, but benevolence alone will not induce his butcher to kill the meat, or his baker to bake the bread required for the support of the philosopher's existence. He would find his studies brought to a speedy termination if he were compelled to provide for his own material necessities. The love of wealth must come first, and when a sufficient store of wealth has been accumulated, some will be left at liberty for other occupations. These latter will be the brain of the state; but the brain is not at liberty to despise the stomach.

Still, it may perhaps be urged, the foregoing argument, though it certainly proves the love of wealth to be a very useful thing, does not prove it to be a morally good thing. It would be better if the same advantages could be obtained by other means. Wealth may be a good stimulus to labour; but it is so only because men are selfish creatures. It would be quite possible, and far more desirable, to have all the benefits of civilization without this absorbing competition for the possession of money. To this objection we can only answer, Be it so: we gladly leave it to those who attack the existing constitution of human nature to prove that men might have been made on a better principle. We only urge, that considering how closely the desire of material wealth is interwoven with many excellent and honourable feelings—so closely that we can scarcely imagine these feelings to exist without it—material wealth is not a mean or a degrading, but an entirely proper and legitimate object of ambition.

Moral qualities, in short, are not evinced in the process of gaining money, but in that of spending it. The inborn fondness of acquiring property, which is almost as natural to men as hunger or thirst, forms no proper subject for praise or blame. The use that is made

* A slight obliviousness of these considerations pervades Mr. Harrison's able article on "The Limits of Political Economy" ("Fortnightly Review," No. III). "Political Economy," according to him, "has, as its postulate, not the predominance merely, but the exclusive supremacy, of one of the selfish instincts." This is a grave exaggeration. A man may be very generous, or even careless, in money matters, and yet prefer to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. If so, his generosity or his carelessness do not suffice to render him an exception to the application of economical laws.

of property when acquired decidedly does. Selfishness and unselfishness are seldom more markedly shown than by the way in which a person disposes of his wealth. If he consumes it all upon his own pleasures, if he reserves none of it for the purposes of kindness and benevolence, if he lives in luxurious indolence, we may fairly pronounce him to be, in this respect, a selfish character. But it would be altogether a mistake to fancy that those who are earnest in the pursuit of wealth may not evince the greatest generosity in its employment. And if we are obliged to regret that the relation between capitalists and labourers is too often of a purely mercenary kind, this is to be attributed, not to the peculiar inhumanity of the former, but to the fact that they, like those above them in rank, do not adequately feel the responsibility of riches.

The natural preference of generosity to meanness is apt, however, to carry us too far. Although it may be true that careless extravagance is much more amiable than rigid economy, we must not assume that the extravagant man necessarily does more good to the poor than the stingy one. It is in reality of much less consequence that a man should expend large sums in charity or upon luxuries than that he should be regular in paying his bills; for it is less desirable that he should encourage unlimited expectations than that he should contribute to increase the sense of security among the industrial classes. There is, indeed, no object whatever in mere expenditure, and the only reason we are able to perceive why it is commonly considered a better thing to spend than to save, is because the effects of money spent are immediate and palpable, while those of money saved are hidden behind the curtain that veils the operations of banks from the vulgar gaze. For money saved does not lie in coffers, but is left in the hands of bankers, and bankers make it their business to invest the capital in their hands productively; that is, so as to be returned to them with profits. The difference, then, that would arise if fewer luxuries were required would probably be that, while unproductive consumption would be diminished, productive consumption would be increased.

Those who fall into the common error of regarding direct expenditure as peculiarly advantageous to the poor, do not consider this important distinction between a productive and an unproductive employment of money. A very simple illustration will be sufficient to explain it. If a manufacturer distributes 10,000*l.* among his workmen in the shape of wages, he puts it in their power to consume wealth to the value of 10,000*l.* Assuming his profit to be 10 per cent., he himself receives his 10,000*l.* again, together with 1,000*l.* for his own share. And he may continue to employ the same number of workmen for any length of time, provided the manufacture continues to yield him a sufficient profit. But if a landed proprietor employs 10,000*l.* in adding to his house or embellishing his pleasure-ground, he may, no doubt, maintain as many labourers as the manufacturer until his money is exhausted,

but when that happens the fund is not replaced; it has become fixed in the improvements made, and thenceforth ceases to exist in any form available for the support of labour. The manufacturer, on the other hand, preserves his capital, and makes it the means not only of supporting labour, but of contributing a yearly value of 1,000*l.* to the wealth of the country.

We have adverted to these current fallacies, because in matters of this nature they can by no means be suffered to pass as innocuous, and also because they justify the regret expressed at the beginning of this paper, that political economy does not form an essential element in the higher kinds of education. As an instrument of general culture, we believe there are few subjects of equal value that would not require a considerably longer time for their advantageous study. It is capable of exercising a double influence upon the mind of the student; for it teaches both theoretical truth and practical wisdom. By means of its theories we are led to recognise the existence of law and regularity where without their help we should have seen nothing but caprice or accident. By means of its practical deductions we are enabled to avoid the errors that are still constantly committed in the well-meant efforts of charitable persons to benefit the poor. Dr. Chalmers urgently recommended the study of political economy to the clerical profession, rightly deeming that it is they who could best carry the most important of its lessons into practical effect. And there is abundant reason to lament that this injunction has been so generally neglected by a body who are certainly both able and willing to use the influence of their position in order to mitigate the evils of poverty, but who too often become the most active promoters of institutions by which those evils are much more likely to be aggravated and increased. We will not pause to dwell upon another advantage that might be secured by requiring that every clergyman should be familiar with the leading principles at least of political economy, namely, the greater probability that he would attempt to communicate the ideas thus gained to his poorer parishioners. It is, in fact, scarcely possible to say whether it would be productive of any considerable benefit to working men to teach them the elementary truths of economical science. We are, however, inclined to think that the more intelligent among them would decidedly profit by such lessons; while it is scarcely just that they should be left in absolute ignorance of the relation between capital and labour, and thus induced to attribute the lowness of their wages, as in the absence of knowledge they inevitably must, to no other cause than the selfishness of masters.

There is one circumstance which would greatly facilitate the introduction of these matters as subjects of general education; we allude to the exclusively popular terminology which economical writers are in the habit of employing. Other sciences guard their innermost sanctuaries by portals of technicalities sufficient in themselves to deter the careless portion of the reading public. Botany, for

example, meets us at the outset with monocotyledones and dicotyledones, with stamens and pistils, calyx and corolla, and requires as the first step in our progress, that we should learn to discover by the structure of flowers the class to which they belong. Of geology and physiology we do not speak, for everyone who has even looked into a book treating of those subjects knows the mass of scientific terms that must be mastered in order to understand them. The phraseology of chemistry, beautifully adapted to convey the most comprehensive ideas in the most compact form, and to indicate the composition of bodies by the inflection of words, is almost a study in itself. Even astronomy, though so many of its terms are in common use, makes no approach to political economy in simplicity of language. We do not mention these difficulties for the purpose of drawing any comparison unfavourable to the physical sciences, to which a special vocabulary is an indispensable and useful adjunct. But, undoubted as the advantages of such a vocabulary are, it would be useless to deny, that it cannot fail to form a rather harsh barrier between the initiated few and the uninitiated many.

Political economy offers none of these preliminary obstacles to the mind of the beginner. Treating of the common phenomena of ordinary life, it makes use of the common language of ordinary people. No preparation is required for it except a limited amount of general cultivation. Having this, the student may plunge at once into the most intricate problems of the science, with no further apparatus than good books and an attentive mind. He is not required to associate exact ideas with a long list of hitherto unknown expressions, which at first convey to him no idea whatever. He is asked, at the utmost, to accept more distinct definitions of terms with which he is already familiar. He must attach a less indefinite meaning than he has hitherto been accustomed to do, to such words as wealth and value, production and consumption. But this is a very easy process, and is soon accomplished. It would, we conceive, be difficult to find a science which conveys so great a stimulus to the intellectual faculties in so simple and so unpretending a manner.

It is true, no doubt, that what the political economist gains in facility of expression he loses in scientific precision. When we invent a new word, we are able to make it convey to others the very same conception which it conveys to ourselves. But when we apply old words in common currency to the purposes of science, we run the risk of failing in our efforts to rescue them from their natural vagueness. Hence it is that many of the controversies between political economists have turned, consciously or unconsciously, on the meaning of words. The word *wealth*, for instance, was understood by some as indicating only *material* objects useful or agreeable to mankind; while others claimed the right of extending it to everything, material or immaterial, that possessed a value in exchange. The former party would not admit the skill or talents of a person, however

valuable to himself, to be wealth; the latter contended that they were. Again, it was nothing but the want of a distinct conception of *value* that could lead such thinkers as Smith and Malthus to entertain the chimerical belief in a measure of value. For had they perceived that value is a purely relative term, they could not have expected to discover an object of which the value should never change. And in fact, we find Dr. Smith confounding in a single argument, the value of labour as an article of exchange with its cost to the labourer himself. "Equal quantities of labour," he maintains, "are always of equal value to the labourer," because "he must always lay down the same portion of his ease, his liberty, and his happiness." The employer may purchase his labour with a greater or a smaller quantity of goods, but it is the value of the goods which varies, not that of the labour. Here the word *value* is obviously used in two very different senses. The value of labour is measured by the labourer's feelings; the value of goods is measured by their power of purchasing. This is a confusion of ideas which does not occur in more recent books, and which by a little attention may easily be avoided.

Besides the difficulty of fixing the signification of words like these with the needful accuracy, political economists have to contend with another disadvantage resulting from the popular character of a portion of their subject, and from the fact that they cannot avoid mixing up their theoretical deductions with practical corollaries. Owing to these circumstances, many persons, who in reality know nothing of political economy, conceive themselves justified in giving currency to a variety of crude and undigested notions concerning it, which infallibly produce an entirely misleading impression of its nature among those who are, if possible, one degree more ignorant than themselves. Nothing is more common among such superficial talkers than to detach the ethical superstructure from the logical basis, and to speak of political economy as if it were a mere set of rules for promoting happiness.* These rules are quoted in their naked harshness, entirely detached from the reasonings on which they are grounded, and without which their true purport cannot be understood. Thus, the maxim, that it is best to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, is brought in evidence of the selfish greed recommended by economical writers, while the arguments by which they believe it to be proved that such a policy is best, not for one nation or individual, but for all, are quietly suppressed. Mr. Ruskin—a conspicuous type of illogical readers—takes up the work of Mr. Mill, fancies he understands it, and forthwith launches his invective

* Say long ago corrected this error. "*M. de Sismondi nomme l'économie politique, la science qui se charge de veiller au bonheur de l'espèce humaine. Il a sans doute voulu dire, la science qui devrait posséder ceux qui se chargent de veiller au bonheur de l'espèce humaine.*"—Cours d'Economie Politique, Neuvième partie.

tives against the "disgraceful" science which openly enjoins the worship of Mammon.

It would, however, be too much to expect that those who attack political economy should make a serious effort to know anything about it. There are two subjects upon which men still consider it becoming and right to judge without evidence, and to condemn without examination. Those subjects are social science and theology. Even physical science is not exempted from this summary process, where its speculations are supposed to trench upon the domain of some cherished theological belief. Such questions as the origin of species and the antiquity of man are selected as fitting topics for a display of mingled ignorance, the presumption and absurdity of which is barely hidden by its religious garb. In social, as in theological controversies, there are many who do not hesitate to pronounce their hasty and superficial judgments without reason and without reserve. Since both these subjects deal in some aspects with matters of universal interest, everyone conceives himself entitled to have an opinion upon them; while in sociology, as in theology, it is generally those who are most completely destitute of knowledge who are at the same time the most positive, the most dogmatic, and the most intolerant.

ART. V.—IMPERIAL HISTORY.

1. *Histoire de Jules César*. Tome premier. Paris: Henri Plon. 1865.
2. *History of Julius Caesar*. Vol. I. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1865.

SINCE the Revolution the French people have held to the belief that the mantle of the Romans has fallen on themselves. This conviction is expressed in small matters no less than in great ones. They have adopted Latin names in their institutions and official acts. They have reproduced in Paris many of the public buildings of Rome. They have incorporated into their jurisprudence the entire body of the civil law. If a French author wishes to criticise his Government, he writes an essay on the decline of liberty under the Cæsars; if a French artist desires to lash the vices of Parisian society, he paints the Romans in the time of their decadence. It is on the great Roman arts of administration and war that the French people especially prides itself; nor are those wanting among them who dream of a confederation more durable than the Roman empire, whose centre and leader will be France.

The book which the Emperor Napoleon has lately published is intended to express in another form the late subtle connection between the destinies of the two nations. He is determined that the liberal party shall not have a monopoly of this subject. There are two sides to an historical parallel as to everything else. If the triumphs of the Commonwealth furnish a pretext for Republican institutions, its collapse may be pleaded in aid of despotism. If

the vices of the empire may be used as a cover for attack, the glory of its founder is equally good as a weapon of defence. Such is the belief of the Imperial historian.

But another and a stronger motive led him to this task. The family to which he belongs is distinguished from other families by having a mission to accomplish. They are a family of ideas. This at least is their language. By Providence, or by destiny—the two conceptions are not very clearly distinguished in the Napoleonic philosophy—they have been called, elected, and sent. The founder of their house was not merely a distinguished general and a successful gambler in European politics. So to regard him is profoundly to misconceive his spirit and genius. He is a member of a much higher brotherhood—one of the few who have sacrificed themselves for the sake of a great doctrine. When he advanced upon the stage of the world he saw that it was his part to carry out the principles of '89, to be the testamentary executor of the French Revolution. He accordingly struggled with consistent self-denial to embody its principal results, to reunite his country, to break down the feudal powers which were leagued against him, to heal the wounds inflicted on society by a too precipitate attempt at reconstruction; in a word, to do for Europe what the Revolution had done for France. The consciousness of this lofty purpose supported him throughout the disappointment of his non-success, and he saw with patriotic regret his projects misinterpreted, his family exiled, and the sacred cause of the French people abandoned to the grovelling ambition of Louis XVIII. Far from being a military man with rather confused notions of right and wrong, he was the first to unveil a profound scheme of political philosophy, and he adopted warfare solely as a means of making known the faith that was in him, and because of the hardness of men's hearts. As great a moralist as Socrates, as profound a thinker as Aristotle, it was only the force of circumstances which compelled him to be a greater general than Alexander.

Such, traced by the loving hand of his nephew, is the historical picture of the first Napoleon. The prophetic soul of the French Emperor recognises in his uncle the regenerator of Europe, the sublimest genius of modern times, the descendant and the complement of Moses, Mahomet, Cæsar, and Charlemagne, and above all and including all, the discoverer of an extremely curious and valuable system, which under the name of "the Napoleonic idea," was made known to the world by a special revelation in the year 1840. Such being the mission of Napoleon the First, the mission of Napoleon the Third is, and has been, to explain it. He plays Boswell to his uncle's Johnson. "To enlighten public opinion by developing the thought which presides over his high conceptions, to recall the memory of his vast projects, this is a task which gladdens my heart and consoles me in exile. The fear of encountering adverse opinions will not deter me; ideas which are under the ægis of the greatest genius of modern times may be

proclaimed without circumlocution; they cannot be subject to the variations of the political atmosphere. Enemy of all mere abstract theory, and of all moral dependence, I am bound to no party, to no sect, to no Government; my voice is as free as my thought, and the love of my heart is liberty.* The life of Cæsar is therefore no mere biographical study. It is this indeed, but it is also something more. It teaches us the doctrine of political progress as conceived by the greatest genius of modern times. A fertile and regenerating idea underlies it—an idea which Europe has been slow to recognise and appreciate, and which even now can be made fully known through one channel only. We were very lately told that to be able to apply to the present time this idea it is necessary to have passed through the severe trials and responsibility of power.† No one but the Emperor can expound an Emperor's policy. As it cannot but be good for us to know what this policy is, we may think ourselves fortunate that the Emperor has thought fit to write a book.

Most readers are by this time aware that the "Life of Julius Cæsar" is at present in an incomplete state. The volume before us only carries his history down to the year of his first consulship, A.U.C. 695. Our means of judging in what way his character and career will be estimated are therefore at present somewhat imperfect. But the life of Cæsar forms the least important part of the present instalment of his biography. Two-thirds of the book are occupied by a summary review of Roman history from the earliest period to the death of Sulla. And there is a preface which states in a few pregnant sentences the principles which have guided the writer in his interpretation of the past, and, we may fairly assume, which influence him in the view which he takes of the present. This introduction—the preface and the review—is the part which alone possesses much interest for the inquiring mind, for in it the Napoleonic idea is most visible, and the historical generalizations which support it are most complete.

The Emperor approaches his task in the most elevated spirit; with a mind penetrated by religion and refined by philanthropy. He has a very grave opinion of the responsibility incurred by an historian. To tamper with facts, or to draw from them an inference which they do not really justify, is not merely immoral, it is irreligious. "Historic truth should be no less sacred than religion. If the precepts of faith raise our soul above the interests of this world, the lessons of history, in their turn, inspire us with the love of the beautiful and the just, and with the hatred of whatever presents an obstacle to the progress of humanity."‡

The writer of these lines must be allowed to be an exceedingly good judge of what is due to religion, for he has protected it for many years.

* From the Preface to "L'Idée Napoléonienne," by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. July, 1839.

† Letter of the Emperor to Prince Napoleon. 27th May, 1865.

‡ Preface, p. i.

Next to our own Chancellor, whose spiritual graces won the admiration of the Christian young men of Wolverhampton, some short time back, we take Napoleon the Third to be the man in all Europe most likely to rise superior to temporal interests in whatever he undertakes. Truth, which has been the passion of his life, is also the object of his book. Unfortunately, the events of the world have not always found a chronicler equally earnest and sincere. There are who collect facts without due care, and without arranging them in the order of their philosophic importance; who do not sufficiently remember the providence which shapes our ends; who represent the events of history as spontaneously produced; and who fail to recognise the preëminence of the great heroes and able men. Against such, the Emperor lifts up his voice and cries with an exceedingly great cry. "The lessons of history," he tells us, "to be profitable, require certain conditions. It is necessary that the facts be produced with a rigorous exactness, that the political or social changes be analysed philosophically, that the exciting interest of the details of the lives of public men should not divert attention from the political part they played, or cause us to forget their providential mission."* Having warned us what to avoid, the Emperor next proceeds to describe, in a few sentences, the true historical method. "In writing history, by what means are we to arrive at truth? By following the rules of logic. Let us first take it for granted, that a great effect is always due to a great cause, never to a small one; in other words, an accident, insignificant in appearance, never leads to important results without a preëxisting cause, which has permitted this slight accident to produce a great effect. The spark only lights up a vast conflagration when it falls upon combustible matters previously collected."†

The French Emperor certainly has a way of putting things which is not the way of other men. We recognise thus early the fine Roman hand which penned the proclamation of the 2nd of December. To say as little as possible, and make as much fuss as may be in saying it, is an admirable rule in writing a state paper. But history, and especially the philosophy of history, requires altogether another style. Neat little sentences constructed on the model of "L'empire c'est la paix:" "Soyons logiques, et nous serons justes;" "Cæsar seul représente un principe," mean too much or too little, generally too little, and in the passage quoted above, absolutely nothing at all. "Mais, en écrivant l'histoire, quel est le moyen d'arriver à la vérité? C'est de suivre les règles de la logique." We scarcely require an Emperor to tell us that we must follow the rules of logic if we would arrive at truth in history; for it is only by following these rules that we arrive at any truth whatever. But the sentence reads as if the author wished to say, that whereas in the different sciences, there are various means of arriving at truth, logic is the special organon of history.

* Ibid. p. ix. (E. T.)

† Ibid. p. x.

This comes of adopting the diplomatic style, and putting in limitations which separate nothing. A certain Mayor of Exeter, who seems to have formed himself on imperial models, once produced a sentence nearly as good as the Emperor's own. "Nothing," said the mayor in passing judgment one day, "is more wicked and disgraceful in a free country, than playing pitch and toss on Sunday." *Secus*, of course, where the country is not free.

From this summary account of the method to be pursued, we are led to some general reflections on the lesson which history teaches. The view which the Emperor adopts is certainly assuring. From the Tuileries, as from the centre of our system, he takes a comprehensive view of the past and present condition of things and pronounces it to be very good. The progress of humanity, so this simple-hearted enthusiast conceives, is the final cause of all existing governments and laws. Were it otherwise, the governments would be overthrown, and the laws would cease to exist. "Just as logic proves to us, in important events, the necessity of the fact of their existence, in like manner we must recognise in the long duration of an institution, the proof of its goodness.*" Were it otherwise, the governments would be overthrown, and the laws would cease to exist. For there is in the moral order, a paramount law which assigns to institutions a necessary limit determined by their usefulness.† Until this term has been arrived at, in other words, until a given institution has produced the utmost good of which it is capable, all opposition is powerless; it is preserved by the irresistible force of destiny against which all human efforts are directed in vain. But so soon as it ceases to further the welfare of the human race, then it becomes as impossible to preserve it as it was before to destroy it. Neither the power of tradition, nor courage, nor the memory of a glorious past, can delay for a single day its predetermined fall.‡ Thus all things work together for our good. With destiny at the helm of affairs, the duty of mankind is only to watch and wait. What is more idle than to contend against a supreme law, and what more foolish than to take this superfluous trouble when the

fates are arranging everything for us in the best possible manner. Let us therefore eat and drink, and go to the play, and leave politics to the direction of those powers whose province it is to superintend them.

It would be worth while to know how the French Emperor became acquainted with this singular law of human progress. Did he generalize it from the facts of history, or was it revealed to him by Mr. Home? It has many of the marks of a Napoleonic idea, and may possibly be a prophecy of the captive of St. Helena—one of those which have been in course of fulfilment since 1815.* Wherever it comes from, it is not fated to be of much use to the readers of *Cæsar's Life*, for it is shown for a moment, and then withdrawn. No sooner have we resigned ourselves to the force of destiny, than we find that there is a second and perfectly independent power at work more active than destiny itself. It appears that certain men have "an incontestable influence on their age." We learn too soon that the amelioration of society which we had been led to hope was inevitable, depends after all on the action of a human will.

"Since the creation of the world, progress has always been going on. To be satisfied of this we have only to measure the route followed by civilization; its track is marked out by the great men who are, as it were, its military outposts—each higher in degree than the other, as he brings us nearer the goal; we advance from Alexander to Cæsar, from Cæsar to Constantine, from Constantine to Charlemagne, from Charlemagne to Napoleon.†" "For centuries the nations on the shores of the Jordan obeyed the laws of Moses. The institutions of Mahomet founded that empire of the East, which still resists all our attempts at civilization. In spite of Cæsar's assassination, his policy and his measures maintained the unity of the Roman empire for 600 years, repelled the barbarians, and extended the limits of the empire. For eight centuries, the feudal and religious system established by Charlemagne has governed Europe, and served as a transition between Roman manners and the social condition which sprung up in '89." "When in the history of past ages, we find a great man appearing upon the stage of the world, who united in himself the double character of founder and warrior, we always see his successors resuming the institutions he had sanctioned, and following the measures he had indicated." These remarks, which we have borrowed from a work by M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte,‡ illustrate the Emperor's aim in writing this biography. That aim, as he states in the preface, is to prove that when Providence raises up men like Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, it is that nations may know the path they ought to follow; such men are brought into the world that they may stamp with the seal of their genius a new era, and accomplish in a few years the labours

* Preface, p. iil. "De même que la logique nous démontre dans les événements importants *leur raison d'être impériale*, de même il faut reconnaître dans la longue durée d'une institution la preuve de sa bonté." The English translator thus renders it:—"Just as logic demonstrates that the reason of important events is *imperial*, in like manner we must recognise in the long duration of an institution the proof of its goodness."—p. xi.

† "Il existe, on le dirait, dans l'ordre moral ainsi que dans l'ordre physique, une loi suprême qui assigne aux institutions, comme à certains êtres, une limite fatale marquée par le terme de leur utilité."—Jules Cæsar, p. 23.

‡ "Si, un état de choses, inébranlable en apparence, cesse d'être utile aux progrès de l'humanité, alors ni l'empire des traditions, ni le courage, ni le souvenir d'un passé glorieux, ne peuvent retarder d'un jour la chute décidée par le destin."—*Ibid.*

* See Preface, *ad fin.*

† Louis Napoleon's Works, vol. i. p. 257.

‡ "L'Idée Napoléonienne."

of centuries. "Happy," exclaims the imperial writer, "the people who comprehend and follow them! Woe to those who misunderstand and combat them! They do as did the Jews, they crucify their Messiah; they are blind and culpable; blind, for they do not see the impotence of their efforts to suspend the definitive triumph of good; culpable, for they only retard progress by impeding its prompt and fruitful application."*

The theory of the divine right of monarchs thus enters upon another phase of its existence. It no longer rests on the fact that the Jews asked for a king, and were punished by being allowed to have one, or that St. Paul bids the Roman church subject itself to the higher powers. Not all the powers that be are ordained of God. The monarchy of Louis XVI., the reformed constitution of the 4th Brumaire, the rule of the Orleans dynasty, and the Republic of 1848, were mere worldly experiments at self-government. They might be resisted as they were resisted, without drawing down upon their enemies the prophetic curses of the imperial Sibyl. But there are kings who have a real mission. When Providence raises men like Cæsar, Charlemagne, Napoleon, and we hope we may add the present ruler of France, their legitimacy is apparent from the superiority of their powers. They place the impress of their genius on a new era, their existence proves their title, and resistance becomes not only a blunder and a crime, but a sin.

There are no two men who, in essentials, have less in common with one another than Napoleon the Third and Mr. Carlyle. But theory makes strange bedfellows; and it is curious to compare the language of the biographer of Frederick with that of the biographer of Cæsar.

"As I take it," writes Mr. Carlyle, "universal history—the history of what man has accomplished in this world—is, at bottom, the history of the great men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, those great ones—the modellers, patterns, and, in a wide sense, the creators of whatever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain. All things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment of thoughts that dwelt in the great men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these."† "Hero-worship means much more than an elected Parliament or stated aristocracy of the wisest; it is the summary ultimate essence and supreme practical perfection of all manner of worships and noblenesses whatsoever. Hero worship, done differently in every different epoch of the world, is the soul of all social business among men; and the doing of it well, or the doing of it ill, measures accurately what degree of well-being or of ill-being there is in the world's affairs."‡

Both writers agree that it is wrong to dwell on any irregularities in the character of the man adopted as a hero. "On the whole," says

Mr. Carlyle, "we make too much of faults; the details of the business hide the real centre of it." "But of a great man, especially of him, I will venture to assert that it is incredible he should have been other than true. No Mirabeau, Napoleon, Burns, Cromwell, no man adequate to do anything, but is first of all in right earnest about it; what I call a sincere man." The Emperor is equally outspoken on this point. "When extraordinary facts attest an eminent genius, what is more irrational than to ascribe to him the passions and sentiments of common men? What more false than not to recognise the pre-eminence of those privileged beings who appear from time to time like luminous beacons dispelling the darkness of their epoch, and throwing light into the future?"* And again: "Grand causes require an historical figure to personify their interests and tendencies. The man once adopted, we forget his faults, and even his crimes, in order that we may only remember his great actions."† We are inclined to pay some attention to the Emperor Napoleon's views of great men; for we think that, on Mr. Carlyle's showing, as well as on his own, he is entitled to rank among the number. He is, in the first place, one who has had, during the whole of his public life, a singularly definite aim. This aim has been associated with a strong belief. Strange as it may seem that anyone should seriously have adopted the so-called "Napoleonic idea" for his creed, we think that Louis Napoleon has, in fact, adopted it. All his writings and all his acts converge to that one point. In exile, in prison, on the throne, he has clung to the idea that the policy inaugurated by the First Consul is the one means of saving France, and that his mission is to carry it out. He announced this view, with every appearance of conviction, thirty-five years ago, at a time when it seemed little short of impossible that he should ever realize it. He repeated it amidst universal ridicule four years later. For its sake, he undertook the most Quixotic expedition that sane man ever engaged in. In a letter from Strasbourg, addressed to his mother, on the eve of his attempt, he repeats his confidence in the nobleness of his cause, and in its ultimate success. From the moment of his election as President he bent himself resolutely to the task of establishing a military despotism which was to be the counterpart of the first empire. By means which no one can justify he raised himself to the place which his idol had occupied, and from that time to this his policy has been steadily guided by the "idea" which he announced from England in 1840. "Find me," said Mr. Carlyle, "the true kunning, king, or able man, and he *has* a divine right over me." If this be so, the right of Napoleon the Third over the French rests on a secure foundation. He is essentially a man adequate to do something: he has realized an idea, lived for it, been true to it at a time when it had no single adherent but himself. He has been what Mr. Carlyle would call in right earnest

* Preface, p. xv.

† "Lectures on Heroes," i. p. 186.

‡ "Past and Present," p. 45.

* Preface, p. iv.

† "Cæsar," p. 282.

about this notion of his. We may almost say that he has been sincere. The idea itself may not be worth much; but neither were the ideas of Dr. Johnson valuable, which does not prevent the doctor from being one of the hierarchy of great men. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte must have put some pressure on himself, as he has undoubtedly not forborne to sacrifice others for the sake of working out his conviction. Probably the details of his life will not bear looking into. But Mahomet was not what we call a scrupulous man,—nor Cromwell, nor Napoleon the First; who are all typical examples of the species *könning*. On the whole, the French Emperor has as good a right to the title as any of the three. The theory of heroes and of the heroic in history is thus confirmed by the highest possible authority—that of the Able Man himself. In the language of the French Emperor, as well as in the dialect of Mr. Carlyle, hero-worship is the summary, ultimate essence, and practical perfection of all things. They both agree that universal history is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here. They both think that when one of these privileged beings has been once revealed to us public duties and public interest are from that moment suspended. Nations have no longer anything to do but to sing hosannas to their ablest man. "Find in any country," cries Mr. Carlyle, "the ablest man that exists there; raise him to the supreme place, and loyally reverence him: you have a perfect government for that country; no ballot-box, parliamentary eloquence, voting, constitution-building, or other machinery whatsoever, can improve it a whit. It is in the perfect state; an ideal country."* We may fairly congratulate our neighbours. The French have undoubtedly solved the difficult problem of political perfection. No Utopia or Platonic republic can be in a more ideally perfect state than France at this moment, according to the heroic doctrine. They have placed their most *canning* man at the head of affairs, and invested him with large powers. He tells them exactly what to do; and which is more, sees that they do it. *Soyons logiques et nous serons justes*. Let us all betake ourselves to France, with Mr. Carlyle at our head, and read contemporary history in the columns of the *Moniteur*.

It is no longer necessary seriously to criticise the opinion that the history of the world is the history of its great men, for its most thoroughgoing supporters have not ventured to rely on it as a self-sufficient explanation of the facts of history. It is at best a sentimental way of expressing what every one admits, namely, that men of extraordinary powers and will obtain an ascendancy over common minds which enables them to act with the accumulated force of many human beings. Such men are every day becoming more and more rare. They are the product of an early and rude civilization. For the tendency of all the changes which constitute civilization, is to extend to the many the

opportunities and advantages which were formerly the privilege of the few. So that where a highly endowed man springs up, although he may not be inferior to any of his great predecessors, he has much less plastic materials to work on, and therefore effects less. There is, of course, a pre-eminence still to be gained by becoming the representative and mouthpiece of current ideas. But this, which is frequently mistaken for power, is not power in the sense in which the adherents of the heroic theory understand it. It would be absurd to say that people are to be blessed or cursed as they do or do not follow out a course indicated by themselves. When we are referred to Odin, Mahomet, and Napoleon, we are bid to look up to them as teachers, and not as representatives. The chief objection, however, to which the views of the Emperor and Mr. Carlyle are liable, is that their explanation fails to account for the phenomena. It does not require much reflection to perceive that while the history of the world is continuous, the appearance of great men is intermittent. The ideas of even so great a man as Charlemagne are scarcely sufficient to account for the progress of European civilization from the ninth century to the eighteenth. There are even some phases of thought in the nineteenth century which cannot be referred to the ideas of the Emperor Napoleon. Some half-consciousness of this hitch must have led to the interpolation of destiny. It cannot be regarded as a happy way of settling the question. When a man talks of fate, it is at best an admission that there are facts which he cannot explain, but which, nevertheless, are deserving of explanation. It is not a philosophical manner of stating the difficulties presented by individual and social life, but it is at least an intelligible one. History is a chaos, and somewhere or other resides a power whose mode of operating no one can understand, which disposes of events after a fashion which it is impossible to follow; to which the obvious reply is—why, then, write history? But to speak in the same breath of fate, and of laws of fate, is, if we may take leave to say so, simple nonsense. "It is well worthy of our attention," says the last of the Cæsars, "that when destiny is driving a state of things towards an aim, there is by a law of fate a concurrence of all forces in the same direction. Thither tend alike the attacks and the hopes of those who seek change; of those who would put a stop to every movement." If such were the fact, it would indeed deserve remark. The picture which is here presented to us is perfect for its repose and harmony. It is quite a happy family of forces and of historical theories. We have in the first place the grand central figure of destiny compelling, or, as the Emperor prefers to think of it, driving events to a certain end. In the foreground are several other forces, running all together in the direction in which destiny is driving; and in an intermediate place, partly directing fate, and partly directed by it, is the mysterious law which provides that things shall happen in the way in which they necessarily must happen. In the admitted difficulty of accounting for national

* "Lectures on Heroes," vi. p. 332.

progress, every author has a right to his own speculation. The more consistent he is with himself, the more likely is he to carry his readers with him. When we hear of destiny, we think of some dark, all-powerful, and unknown agency; a law implies uniform operation, and leaves room for explanation and for prevision. If there are powers other than destiny with an independent action regulated by law, we are obliged to assume two co-existent forces, each of them sufficient to account for the phenomena, and each obeying a different impulse; one arbitrary, the other uniform; one the subject of knowledge, the other beyond knowledge as it is beyond all things else. But Napoleon the Third does not stop here. With that wealth of ideas which is hereditary in his family, he throws out a third explanation, alone perfectly sufficient and satisfactory. Things are as we see them owing to the fertile and decisive influence which a few gifted beings have exercised. Do we seek to account for the philosophical and political development of Europe in the nineteenth century? The germ of this growth is to be found in the ideas of the Emperor. For the history of the Middle Ages, we have only to understand Charlemagne. The first seven centuries of Rome's history are due to institutions founded by her kings; the last five are the work of Cæsar. We shall be happy to allow to the majesty of France the utmost possible latitude of speculation: it is the only return we can make for his permission to speak freely of his book. We do not require him to be original, accurate, or even particularly intelligible—

"Quum tot sustineat et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tutetur, moribus ornet—"

that would be too much to ask. But some degree of consistency is requisite. If "there exist general reasons which by fatality" cause events to turn out in a particular manner, what is the use of great men? If Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon are the efficient causes of civilization, what room is there for destiny? The Emperor's theory is carefully worked out, but it destroys itself.

Next to the difficulty of understanding the philosophical principles of this book, comes the difficulty of comprehending why Roman history should have been selected as an example of them. The annals of the city furnish, in good truth, about the worst text that can be conceived from which either to read the lesson of fatalism, or to enforce the duty of submitting ourselves to the rule of geniuses. They exhibit, on the contrary, an almost typical illustration of what may be called the natural laws of national development. We see a city expanding into a nation, and that nation finally including under its sway the greater part of the known world. The constitutional crises incident to these stages of growth are forced upon our attention by the extreme difficulty with which Rome survived them. The struggles of the non-free population to share the rights of citizenship very early imperilled the existence of the state. Centuries later, when Rome had learned to look on the peninsula as

her own, came the demand of the Italian allies for comprehension in the civic franchise—a demand long resisted, which was put to the issue of the sword, and conceded in the moment of victory by the triumphant party. But it brought with it consequences which led to more than one civil war, and ended by breaking up the republic. The institutions which had been framed for the city were unable to contain the larger community. The theory of the constitution was that every burgess was a citizen; the fact was that the citizen could at any time be swamped by the alien burgesses. On principle, those who by their residence within the city walls were most interested in the welfare of the state, had the right of electing to its magistracies and the duty of defending its territory. In practice, a mob of needy adventurers, the refuse of the allies, rushed to Rome to sell their votes to the highest bidder, or their sword to the general from whom they had most to expect. From the time when Rome owned provinces and a standing army, such men always found a market. Place meant wealth, and wealth meant an almost absolute power of doing as you liked. For the wealthy Roman there was scarcely any law. The constitution of the tribunals was such that however guilty he might be, if only he had money enough, he had a very fair chance of acquittal. We believe the condition of Rome in the earlier half of the first century a.c., hopeless as it was, to have been the necessary result of attempting to reconcile the forms of a town community and the requirements of a great empire. Yet, notwithstanding the difficulties which were experienced, the principle of comprehension—the idea of the indefinite expansibility of the state—retained a firm hold over the minds of Roman politicians. "I maintain," says Cicero, "an universal proposition that there is no nation in the whole world—none so far removed from us by hostile feeling—none so near to us in its confidence and good wishes—from which we may not take a citizen, or to whom we may not make a present of the freedom of our own city."* The principle is not to be questioned, but the way in which it was worked out led to the dissolution of the empire. We must decline to accept these changes as the handiwork of fate, partly because they can be accounted for on a much more intelligible hypothesis, and partly because their analogies are perceived wherever there is a substantial agreement in the conditions—in Athens in the fourth century, in Venice during the Middle Ages, and in our Australian colonies to-day. Still less can the career of Rome be traced to the fertile and decisive influence of heroic men, for nothing is more remarkable in her annals than the rareness of those who saw beyond their times, and the slightness of the impression they left behind. Some great generals there were, and some men who, like Marius and Sulla, united the genius of war to shrewdness in understanding the necessities of the situation, not forgetting their own interests; but Sulla destroyed the arrangements of

* "Pro L. Cornelio Balbo," xiii.

Marius, and the Sullan ideas were set aside by Cæsar. The Gracchi, perhaps the most lofty and disinterested of the Roman statesmen, were too limited in their views, and their reform, if effected, would have been quite inadequate to their avowed purpose. Even the French Emperor, who is keen to recognise genius, is fain to go back into the pre-historic time for examples that will serve his turn.

So much on the general question. We shall now advert to one or two peculiarities in carrying out the theory of which we have attempted to give a sketch. The narrative of the growth of the Roman power is in its main features accurate. We think it probable that pains have been taken to grasp the essential facts, and lay them clearly before the reader. Nor do we deny to the hand which has drawn this outline sketch some freedom and boldness of touch. When the Emperor forgets that he is addressing the world, he can write intelligibly enough. But his style has been spoilt by diplomacy, and he has got a most unfortunate habit of generalizing when he has nothing to say. Of the principles of historical criticism we must confess he seems perfectly innocent.

In the first book we get an account of Roman history before the time of Cæsar, written in six chapters, the first of which deals with Rome under the kings. Scarcely any period of history has undergone a more searching criticism than the annals of the city during the first three centuries. That the events of the earliest part of this period, as related by Livy and Dionysius, are "*poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis*;" that the chronicles of Nævius and Pictor, which form the basis of the narrative, are in matters of detail utterly valueless; that Numa Pompilius and Ancus Martius are historical persons only in the sense in which King Arthur and Brute the Trojan are so—no one, since the time of Niebuhr, who is capable of weighing evidence, has attempted to deny. Were other evidence wanting, the chronology of the royal era would enable us to infer that it had been shaped in later times.

From the foundation of the city to its destruction by the Gauls is 860 years. This period has been divided by assigning 240 years to the kings, and 120 years to the republic. The reign of the fourth king, Ancus Martius, the creator of the plebeian order, according to the legend, falls exactly in the middle of the 240 years during which the monarchy is said to have lasted. We have thus three equal divisions of 120 years, each marked by an important constitutional change; the first by the commencement of the royal power; the second by the enfranchisement of the commons; and the third by the foundation of the republic. Add to this, that while experience gives an average of about six reigns to a century, the story stretches seven reigns over nearly two centuries and a half, and it becomes pretty evident that whatever truth there may be in the early Roman history, the account of the kings is in its main outlines fiction. The story is in short, a poem of great dramatic beauty, one of those which, as Livy well remarks, may be ex-

cused for its want of truth by the halo of grandeur which it throws over the beginnings of the Roman people.* Accordingly, modern scholars have contented themselves with pointing out the obscurity which hangs over the earliest annals of the city, and with furnishing, chiefly by inference from language, and from later institutions, some general outlines of the constitution as it probably existed at that remote time.

The history of this period, which by the way is not very immediately connected with the life and times of Julius Cæsar, is written by the Emperor Napoleon exactly as it has been written by Goldsmith. No suspicion seems to have crossed his mind that the events he relates are absolutely without any historical foundation. We are told that the kingly power lasted 244 years. It stands recorded how under Romulus each clan was obliged to furnish 1000 soldiers; how colonies were sent to Cæcina and Antennæ; how Numa Pompilius regulated religion, and how generously he distributed to the poorer plebeians the lands which Romulus had conquered; how Tarquinius Superbus assembled the Hernici, the Latini, and the Volsci; how Servius Tullius ordered a general report of the population to be made, in which everyone was obliged to declare his age and the number of his children; how the kings introduced the plebeians into the senate, and how happy, and above all, how good the Roman people were under the fostering care of their monarchs. It is a pity that the writer did not go on to relate the exact year of Romulus' apotheosis, the day and year on which Servius Tullius triumphed over the Etruscans, and the precise numbers given by the Servian census. In a chapter written, as this appears to be, for children, such details are strictly in place, and would have been just as instructive as the legend stripped of its imagery and rewritten for a political purpose in particularly flat imperial prose. Although this part of the book might easily have been made accurate and scholarlike, it could scarcely have been made instructive consistently with its avowed purpose. The Emperor warns his readers that they are not to expect too much information from him. He writes only for the sake of reminding them that the kings laid the foundations of the institutions to which Rome owed her greatness. "*L'homme a créé les institutions*;" this is the vital fact of the first two centuries and a half, shaped into the form of a Napoleonic idea for the benefit of all the normal schools of France. The institutions formed, and the mission of the kings thus accomplished, they disappear by the order of fate, and we are asked to observe next how "*les institutions vont former les hommes*." The worst of this principle is that it ignores the only facts which are at once important to remember in the early history of Rome, and tolerably certain. In very remote times there was an incorporation of two distinct communities occupying adjacent territory. In the

* "*Datur hæc venia antiquitati ut miscendo divina humanis primordia urbium augustiora facit*."—Livy præfat.

state thus formed a series of changes were introduced, by virtue of which a large class, intermediate between the burgesses and the slave population, gradually acquired political rights. Then, by a reform in the constitution, which is associated with the name of Servius Tullius, certain state burdens which formerly had been thrown on the burgesses alone, were made charges on property instead of being personal obligations. A land-register, or Domesday Book, was formed at the same time, in order that the assessment might be fairly carried out, as was done in England by William the Conqueror. Now, that these changes depend on purely general causes, that something analogous to them takes place sooner or later in every country with the gradual acquirement of property, is as certain as any proposition in political philosophy can be. They have nothing to do with the existence or the character of kings; they result from the growth and distribution of wealth, and from the principle, soon recognised in the rudest state of things, that the owners of property are the persons who ought to protect it. A change, similar in its general features to that brought about by the Servian constitution, took place nearly at the same time in Athens and in the Greek states of Lower Italy. Some eighteen centuries later, the feudal communities of Europe, in passing through a like constitutional crisis, exhibited analogous phenomena. The Emperor sees in all this only another proof of the far-seeing policy of kings. It was not the struggle of property against the exclusiveness of birth which enfranchised the Roman plebs; it was that "*la politique des rois consista à fondre ensemble les différentes races, and à abaisser les barrières qui séparaient les diverses classes;*" nor was it the counter claim of the burgesses that those who shared with them the privileges should also divide the burdens of the state, which produced the reformed organization. The paternal wisdom of their rulers effected this critical alteration for the Romans before they were aware that they wanted it. "*Servius Tullius voulut faire peser sur les plus riches le fardeau de la guerre, ce qui était juste. Patriciens et plébéiens furent mis sur le même rang si leur revenu était égal.*"

The nature of the changes by which the monarchy was converted into a republic, and which is described in the second chapter, is related with unequal want of appreciation of the real conditions of the problem. We may with certainty infer that this important modification of the constitution was brought about by the union of two great political parties for a common purpose against a common danger. The metæc population, composed of the originally unprivileged classes, had by this time become numerous and wealthy. The Servian reform, by giving to it a quasi-political status, had also given it an interest, which formerly there was little room for, in the limitation of the kingly power. Duties involve rights, and rights imply obligations. The metæcs had been compelled to serve in the armies of the state. As the price of this service they had obtained a share, subordinate indeed, but not

wholly insignificant, in what we might call the popular representation. They naturally desired to strengthen their position, and took advantage of the abuses which the exercise of a royal prerogative is pretty sure to afford in order to do so. The old burgess body, with much more extended privileges, was more nearly affected by the encroachments of the kingly power. But they would, in all probability, never have been able to accomplish their object of abolishing the monarchy without the co-operation of the class below them. The combination of these two bodies—the metæcs and the burgesses—effected the revolution by which two yearly kings were substituted for one life king. In the redistribution of power which then took place we might expect each of the confederates to secure something. The burgesses obtained the higher magistracies created by the separation of the royal functions; the metæcs obtained the admission of their own body to direct electoral privileges in the curies. Thus much was gained by the people as the result of their co-operation with the aristocracy. At the same time it was felt by the richer members of the class of metæcs as well as by the burgesses themselves, that the result of this extension of the franchise might be to give too much power to mere numbers. We accordingly find that by another alteration in the constitution, the real weight of political power was thrown into the hands of the owners of property, or, in the language of the Roman constitution, vested in the *comitia centuriata*. The old privileged classes still remained strong enough to protect themselves in the enjoyment of several important and lucrative rights in the monopoly of certain offices, and in the exclusive enjoyment of the state lands. Still, with whatever restrictions and compromises it was impeded, the important step in the direction of constitutional liberty was taken, and the commonalty, who formerly had only served in the levy, was now admitted to vote in the assembly and the council, and was placed, equally with the freeborn, under the protection of the law. This it is which gives to the reform movement of that time its historical importance. It was avowedly aimed at the kingly power, which both parties had reason to distrust, and in so far as it substituted two supreme magistrates holding office for a year, for one who reigned for his life, it was a step in the direction of popular liberty.* But the details of the arrangement show that no great abridgment of the chief governing power was thought necessary, although its duties were somewhat differently distributed. The alteration which was really significant was that by which the non-free members of the state were admitted into the wards as burgesses, and that by which the monied interest sought to protect itself against the loss of power which this reform implied, by immediately transferring all

* The limitation of time is noticed by Livy as the only important part of the change. "*Libertatis autem originem inde magis, qui annum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate numerus.*"—Liv. ii. 1.

the really important business to another assembly—that of the hundreds—in which the richest citizens held the commanding or prerogative vote.

Of all this the author of the "Life of Cæsar" sees nothing. He shows his usual aptitude in fixing his attention at once on the most unimportant fact. A practical statesman, not unacquainted with the movements of popular force, might have been expected to discern, even through the pages of Livy and Dionysius, some of the bearings of this momentous crisis. And had he been describing the reform movement in England, or the course of that revolution in which he himself played a part, it is not likely that he would have been so utterly blind. But of Roman history he knows nothing. *Comitiâ curiata, comitia centuriata, populus, plebs*, mean no more to him than they do to a schoolboy. They are Latin terms which have to be translated into a modern language, but which he cannot translate into their meaning. Armed with his theory of the divine mission of kings, and with a neat little aphorism from Montesquieu about men creating institutions and institutions forming men, he disposes of the matter in one vigorous sentence: "Un homme abuse d'une femme, le trône s'écroule, et, en tombant, il se partage en deux: les consuls succèdent à toutes les prérogatives des rois." Here we have the whole of it: *le voilà, le chameau*.

The explanation which the Emperor adds from his own store of reflections to this luminous account is not a little remarkable, and it has the merit of being perfectly original. In substance it is this. The Roman state, in passing through the series of changes which were ultimately to lead up to Cæsar, had extracted from the kings the utmost good of which it was capable. Fate required that the political education of the aristocracy should be next provided for. "L'important était de créer une race d'hommes d'élite, qui se succédaient avec les mêmes principes et les mêmes vertus, perpétuaient, de génération en génération, le système le plus capable d'assurer la grandeur de la patrie." Therefore, in the nature of things, the kingly functions were handed over by destiny to the nobles, in order that their faculties might be developed, and a race of men created, who by taking their turn at the sovereign power, should be rendered typical examples of aristocratic virtue. This was at once the cause and the object of the revolution in question—a revolution which was accomplished by Providence independently of human agency, in which the people took no part which the writer thinks it worth while to mention, and whose upshot was the production of certain *hommes d'élite*. The grandeur of Rome is traced directly to this fortunate modification of the constitution. "Power was destined to remain with the patricians so long as they showed themselves worthy of it; and it cannot but be acknowledged that without their perseverance in the same policy, without that elevation of views, without that severe and inflexible virtue, which is the distinguishing character of the aristocracy, the work of Roman civilization

would not have been accomplished."—p. 65. "During three centuries we see at Rome, notwithstanding the annual renewal of the magistracies,* such a perseverance in the same policy, such a practice of the same virtues, that it might have been supposed that the government had but a single head, a single thought, and one might have believed all its generals to have been great warriors, all its senators experienced statesmen, and all its citizens valiant soldiers."—p. 72. There are, then, in the history of a nation, times and occasions when an oligarchy is necessary to its fortune, and the proposition that we are to submit ourselves to a superior genius has to be taken with yet another limitation. Indeed, in a subsequent passage, the writer goes so far as to draw a comparison between the work of a single man, or, as he expresses it, "the rapid creation of a man of genius," and the action of an aristocracy, positively unfavourable to the former. "Alexander the Great, he observes, having conquered Asia, died at Babylon. His fertile and decisive influence, which had introduced Grecian civilization into the East (which, by the way, it entirely failed to do) survived him; but at his death the empire he had founded was broken up. The Roman aristocracy, on the contrary, continuing itself from age to age, pursued more slowly but continuously the system which, by connecting the various nations with a common centre, was destined by slow degrees to assure its dominion firstly over Italy, and then over the world." This explanation does not appear to be particularly fortunate. The Macedonian empire in Asia was merely the military occupation of a foreign land. The Roman conquest of Italy was the gradual absorption of neighbouring and outlying states into a central power. The instances differ in so many respects, that the difference in the form of government becomes of no moment. The inference which is drawn might with equal probability be turned the other way. It is not likely that an oligarchy could have continued for a moment the kingdom of Alexander. On the other hand, had a Cæsar arisen at the conclusion of the Social War, Rome would probably have been spared the most bitter and disgraceful events of her history. Historical parallels are not this writer's strongest point. There is a passage at the end of the second chapter which contains the oddest comparison we have ever seen. It is between Rome in the fifth century B.C. and England in the earlier part of the present century. On this occasion we will allow the translator to use his own language:—

"The condition of Rome then bore a great resemblance to that of England before its electoral reform. For several centuries, the English constitution was vaunted as the palladium of liberty, although then, as at Rome, birth and fortune were the unique source of honours and power. In both countries the aristocracy, master of the elections by solicitation, money, or *rotten boroughs*, caused, as the patricians at Rome, the members of the nobility

* "Malgré le renouvellement annuel des pouvoirs"—"in spite of the annual renewal of powers."—E. T. p. 72.

to be elected to Parliament, and no one was citizen in either of the two countries without the possession of wealth. Nevertheless, if the people in England had no part in the direction of affairs, they boasted justly, before 1789, a liberty which shone brightly in the middle of the silent atmosphere of the continental states. The disinterested observer does not examine if the scene where grave political questions are discussed is more or less vast, or if the actors are more or less numerous; he is only struck by the grandeur of the spectacle. Thus, far be from us the intention of blaming the nobility, any more in Rome than in England, for having preserved its preponderance by all the means which laws or habits placed at its disposal."—p. 64.

We pass over the boldness of comparing two countries in such entirely different stages of their career—one a mere town community, with a body of burgesses and a fauxbourg population; the other the mistress of a considerable empire: one in that embryo state when it is fighting for more territory—when its commerce has not sprung into existence, and there is, in truth, no middle-class to carry it on; the other, the parent of innumerable colonies, having long stretched itself to its utmost geographical limits, having long abandoned all schemes of foreign conquest, the chief trader of the world, and possessing a highly complicated social structure. We turn to the political situation. The question at Rome was, Who shall be citizens? the question in England was, among the citizens, Who shall be entitled to elect a member of Parliament? In Rome every citizen was a representative; he appointed the state officers, he enjoyed a monopoly of many social and political rights. In England there was absolute equality so far as the law or the theory of the constitution went, and the contest was, who should have the privilege of appointing those under whose guidance the Government was to be carried on? No two cases can be more unlike.

We have no space for the chapters which treat of the conquest of Italy and the Macedonian and Carthaginian wars. That which describes the reform of the Gracchi, and the successful attempts of Marius and Sulla, will be read with more interest by those who take up Cæsar's life in the hope of finding a clue to the policy of the Napoleons. As a study in Roman history this part of the book is disappointing. No one whose knowledge of the time was founded upon it could correctly understand the character and projects of the chief actors, or how they came to play the part they did. We will illustrate our opinion by a single example only. Perhaps the most considerable change which took place in Rome during the seventh century, was the alteration of its military organization from a burgess levy to a general enlistment of the lower classes in the ranks of the army. From a very early period in the history of the city up to the time of Marius, every soldier was a citizen. Such, at least, was the principle, and it had this effect: that the interests of those who fought for the republic, and of those who constituted it, were identical, and that no attempt at forcing a revolution at the point of the sword could possibly have suc-

ceeded. The change from this system to that of a standing army, composed of men not necessarily members of the state, but who took up arms as a profession, was one almost certain to occur at some time or other, but the occurrence of which at any time deserves to be dwelt on even in the most superficial survey. For from the moment when it takes place it becomes possible for a successful general to use the army as a weapon of political warfare, and in fact, the revolutions of Marius and of Sulla were accomplished in great measure by this very means. The condition of the soldier is totally changed. He no longer looks forward to the end of a campaign with the hope of returning to his customary avocations and comforts; his only home is the camp, his only means of livelihood his pay, the dispenser of all he can expect or fear is his general. No one can suppose that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is unacquainted with the political meaning of such a change; from his language, however, he might be as innocent as a child of what can be effected by gaining the army. This is all that he says:—

"After this oration, in which is revealed the legitimate ardour of those who, in aristocratic countries, demand equality, Marius, contrary to the ancient system, enrolled more proletaries than citizens."—p. 263.

The ancient system, be it observed, having been that proletaries were not enrolled at all, but that they accompanied the army as unarmed substitutes and workmen.

The period of Roman history which the last part of this volume embraces, and on which it professes to throw new light, is the twenty years which separated the death of Sulla from the first consulship of C. Cæsar. It is in all respects a memorable and instructive epoch. It contains the record of various attempts to re-constitute the republic in accordance with the necessities of the times. The old constitution had broken down under the weight of its additions. Planned originally as a mere town community, the forms which were suited to a self-governing body within narrow limits, were unable to comprehend the wider circle of imperial interests. By revolution, by a series of wars, and by treaty, the Italian allies had been added to the commonwealth, and a large body of Greek cities and of states outside the peninsula were being gradually merged into the political body. Neither the representative nor the administrative system, as originally settled, was large enough to include these foreign elements. The burgesses were swamped by a class of citizens whose interests were no longer identified with the city, and who used their power for the narrowest purposes of self-interest. The Government of the provinces offered such enormous temptations that men were always found who would make any sacrifice to popularity for the sake of obtaining it. The massacres of Marius, and the proscriptions of Sulla, had left a breach between the popular and the aristocratic parties which nothing but the necessity of combining for some common, urgent purpose—a Gallic invasion, or a Car-

thaginian war—could have healed. The middle class was completely broken down, and between the nobles and the monied men on one side, and the pure mob on the other, there was nothing. By one of these three classes the Government, it was evident, must be carried on henceforth, for there was little chance of their reunion. Power might fall into the hands of an aristocratical oligarchy, or into the hands of a body of capitalists, or into the hands of some one man who could bend to his purpose the passions or interest of the rabble.

It may be admitted that it is not easy to write the history of this eventful period with perfect impartiality. As much political feeling has been imported into it, as if it were a matter directly affecting the interests of the present time. Take the case of Cicero. To the friends of popular liberty he appears a time-server; to the partisans of absolutism a fool. Between the estimate of Drumann and that of Middleton there is room for almost every shade of opinion. In a lower degree the same may be said of Julius Cæsar. He was a very much greater man than Cicero; and as to his ability, and the wide range of his accomplishments, there are not two opinions. But we scarcely know where to turn for a critical and just account of his career. And, so far as can be judged from his first volume, the French Emperor is not destined to supply the want.

There are two explanations of Cæsar's conduct: one is to represent his policy as a mere motion in the direction of the least resistance—a necessary compromise brought about by the pressure and position of the other parties in the state. Those who take this view of it, of whom the most distinguished is Niebuhr, describe Cæsar himself as an open-hearted, careless being, knowing nothing of intrigues, placing implicit confidence in others, lively and cheerful, and led by his frank and cordial disposition to do and to sanction many things of which he would otherwise have disapproved. The other explanation, which is partially sanctioned by the authority of Mr. Merivale, represents Cæsar as conscious from the first of the real nature of the revolution on which he was embarked. Those who have adopted it picture to us an astute far-seeing man; affable from policy, an intriguer who affected the exquisite to ingratiate himself with the nobles, and the profligate that he might conciliate the mob. On either of these hypotheses an intelligible account of Cæsar's political life can be written; nor is it very easy to say which would come nearest to the truth. But the two cannot stand together. We may deny him fixed principles and a definite aim in life; but if we admit his political action to have proceeded on a settled plan, such a plan could only have had the object which was ultimately realized. If, on the other hand, he never looked forward to the throne, we cannot suppose that he knew what he was doing in taking the steps which led him to it. Not the least among the numerous inconsistencies of this book is, that its writer deliberately seeks to reconcile these antithetical views. Cæsar "was at once the arbiter of elegance, the hope of the democratic party, and the only public

man whose opinions and conduct never varied." (p. 344.) He "laboriously pursues the course of his destiny." "Political influence does not depend solely on military successes, or on the possession of immense riches; it is acquired especially by a conduct always in accord with fixed principles. Cæsar alone represents a principle." (p. 483.) At the same time the French Emperor will by no means allow that the fixed principles which regulated Cæsar's conduct, or the destiny which he laboriously pursued, had anything to do with the subversion of the constitution. "Such an interpretation results from the too common fault of not being able to appreciate facts in themselves, but according to the interpretation which subsequent events have given them." (p. 486) Both in the beginning and at the end of the book he protests in solemn and impressive language against this paltry view.

"Too many historians find it easier to lower men of genius, than, with a generous inspiration, to raise them to their due height, by penetrating their vast designs. Thus, as regards Cæsar, instead of showing us Rome, torn to pieces by civil wars and corrupted by riches, trampling under foot her ancient institutions, threatened by powerful peoples, such as Gauls, Germans, and Parthians, incapable of sustaining herself without a central power stronger, more stable, and more just; instead, I say, of tracing this faithful picture, Cæsar is represented, from an early age, as already aspiring to the supreme power. If he opposes Sylla, if he disagrees with Cicero, if he allies himself with Pompey, it is the result of that far-sighted astuteness which divined everything with a view to bring everything under subjection. If he throws himself into Gaul, it is to acquire riches by pillage or soldiers devoted to his projects; if he crosses the sea, to carry the Roman eagles into an unknown country, but the conquest of which will strengthen that of Gaul, it is to seek there pearls which were believed to exist in the seas of Great Britain. If, after having vanquished the formidable enemies of Italy on the other side of the Alps, he meditates an expedition against the Parthians, to avenge the defeat of Crassus, it is, as certain historians say, because activity was a part of his nature, and that his health was better when he was campaigning. If he accepts from the senate, with thankfulness, a crown of laurel, and wears it with pride, it is to conceal his bald head. If, lastly, he is assassinated by those whom he had loaded with benefits, it is because he sought to make himself king; as though he were not to his contemporaries, as well as for posterity, the greatest of all kings. Since Suetonius and Plutarch, such are the paltry interpretations which it has pleased people to give to the noblest actions. But by what sign are we to recognise a man's greatness? By the empire of his ideas, when his principles and his system triumph in spite of his death or defeat."—Preface, pp. xii—xiv.

And at the end of the volume:—

"We have shown Cæsar obeying only his political convictions, whether as the ardent promoter of all popular measures, or as the declared partisan of Pompey; we have shown him aspiring with a noble ambition to power and honours; but we are not ignorant that historians in general give other motives for his conduct. They represent him in 684 as having already his plans defined, his schemes arranged, his instruments all prepared. They attribute to him an absolute prescience of the

future, the faculty of directing men and things at his will, and of rendering each one, unknowingly, the accomplice of his profound designs. All his actions have a hidden motive, which the historian boasts of having discovered. If Cæsar raises up again the standard of Marius, makes himself the defender of the oppressed, and the persecutor of the hired assassins of past tyranny, it is to acquire a concurrence necessary to his ambition; if he contends with Cicero in favour of legality in the trial of the accomplices of Catiline, or to maintain an agrarian law of which he approves the political aim, or if, to repair a great injustice of Sylla, he supports the restoration of the children of the proscribed to their rights, it is for the purpose of compromising the great orator with the popular party. If, on the contrary, he places his influence at the service of Pompey; if, on the occasion of the war against the pirates, he contributes to obtain for him an authority considered exorbitant; if he seconds the plebiscitum which further confers upon him the command of the army against Mithridates; if, subsequently, he causes extraordinary honours to be awarded him, though absent, it is still with the Machiavellian aim of making the greatness of Pompey redound to his own profit."—pp. 485-6. (E. T.)

This criticism is, on the whole, just; but if we accept it we must abandon the notion that Cæsar foresaw, more clearly than other public men, the course and issue of events. We must read in a different sense the grandiloquent phrases in which he is described as pursuing the course of his destiny, obeying a profound conviction, and alone representing a principle. He may have been a disinterested patriot or an ambitious schemer; but he can scarcely have been both. There is, however, a very good reason why the Emperor Napoleon should have adopted this not very promising thesis. He has himself suffered from the want of appreciation against which he protests. Certain historians have not been slow to impute to him the meanest of motives. They recal his election as president, and the oath which he took to be faithful to the constitution; then they trace the history of the next three years; they describe the events of the 2nd of December, not less famous than the *idus illæ Decembres* of which Cicero speaks so often, and they conclude that the author of the *coup d'état*, having become president, aspired to the sovereign power. Since Hugo and Lamartine, such are the paltry interpretations which it has pleased people to give to the noblest actions. Others acquit him of any policy. He is, say they, a man who has had the sense to keep his own counsel, and the cunning to seem profound. *Cunctando restituit rem*. Precisely because he has always followed in the wake of events, he has seemed to the world to lead them. It is not our business to offer any opinion on these theories of imperial conduct. They exist; and we think that they are indirectly replied to in the "Life of Cæsar." The Emperor, of course, cannot admit that he has not been guided by a profound prescience. He is a Napoleon, and therefore a man of ideas. Still less can he have been capable of the motives which M. Hugo's theory would imply. That would impute to a pre-eminent genius all the passions of mediocrity. Accordingly in

his life of Cæsar he offers an explanation which reconciles his history with his pretensions, and leaves us to conclude that to the wisdom of the serpent may well be united the harmlessness of the dove.

On the whole it cannot be said that the Emperor discloses in this book any capacity for historical generalization or any power of picturesque narrative. Even his flatterers can scarcely suppose that he has added anything to the researches of Niebuhr and Mommsen. His sketch of the six centuries from the foundation of the city to the death of Sulla, besides being little relevant to the subject, is flat and uninteresting in an extraordinary degree. It contains an array of names, dates, and statistics, in which history and romance are indistinguished and indistinguishable. There is not the slightest attempt to discriminate between the various authorities, or to measure the credit which should be given to each. Facts borrowed from the ballad poetry of Rome, and facts related by an eye-witness—what Livy says of the kings, and what Cicero says of the Catiline conspiracy—are appealed to with equal confidence. Dionysius, Appian, Polybius, Florus, Eutropius, Suetonius are scattered about the notes in admirable confusion. The Emperor does not forget to mention, on the authority of the last writer, that Cæsar owned an extraordinary horse whose hoofs resembled a human hand. "César seul avait pu dompter cet étrange animal, dont la docilité, disait-on, lui présageait l'empire du monde."—p. 386. The greatest part of the book is made up of matters which have no relation whatever to Cæsar or to his times. Horace's laugh against the cyclic writer who began his history of the Trojan war with the birth of Castor and Pollux may be turned against the imperial historian with perfect justice. Here and there are scattered some of those pompous generalities which second-rate French writers especially delight in—thoughts of the "L'empire c'est la paix" school—the moral of Roman history condensed into a few sententious apophthegms, and like nothing so much as the remarks which Richard makes at the end of a chapter in Mrs. Markham's history. Judging the work merely by the appearance which it presents to the eye, it might be a very carefully written and learned memoir. The notes are tolerably full, and they contain plenty of references, quotations, and so forth. Their quality, however, is scarcely equal to their quantity. The translations are especially unfortunate. Readers of Cicero do not like to see the well-known "letters to his friends" (*epistolæ ad familiares*) invariably quoted as "familiar letters," and everybody would feel it to be harsh to translate "mille" by "million," and to make twenty-two million sesterces out of twenty-two thousand.* The more the

* "Simul illud cogitare debes, me omnem pecuniam quæ ad me salvis legibus pervenisset, Ephesi apud publicanos deposuisse: id fuisse H—S xii milia."—Cic. ad Diver. xx. 9. "Faites attention, s'il vous plaît, que j'ai déposé à Ephèse, entre les mains des publicains, une somme qui m'appartient très-légit-

book is read the more convinced the reader becomes that the air of research and critical accuracy which is thrown over it, is merely assumed. Sometimes the references do not support the text—and frequently they have little to do with it. Many of the notes have either been added at hazard or have got misplaced. We read that Cæsar passed several valuable laws, and especially some which subjected to the most rigorous restrictions the contributions in kind which were to be furnished by the provinces to the proconsuls.* Any information respecting the Julian laws being of interest, we proceed to examine the passages referred to; not one of them says anything about restraining the contributions in kind; the first shows that contributions of corn were not restrained, but forbidden; the others show that certain contributions were permitted by the law in question. During Cæsar's first consulate we are told that he caused a number of laws to be passed, the greater part of which have not been handed down to us, although we possess precious fragments of the most important of them. The only one which is cited in the text as an example is the Julian law regulating the priesthood, a precious fragment of which is quoted and mistranslated in a note.† The authority given for the existence of the law in question is a passage from one of Cicero's letters to Brutus. That is, in truth, the only authority which could have been given, for the law is nowhere else mentioned. But every one who makes it his business to know anything at all of such matters knows perfectly well that the authenticity of these letters of Cicero's is a matter of dispute among scholars, and that one of the grounds on which the letter in question is thought to be spurious is precisely the very reference made in it to this unknown and unheard of *lex Julia de sacerdotiis*. It makes little difference in our estimate of Cæsar's character whether he did or did not carry the law referred to, but it is certainly bold for a writer to infer the existence of a fact on the sole authority of a document which is supposed to be spurious because it contains a reference to that fact.

What the Germans, Italians, Russians, Swedes, and Hungarians—all the nations and languages to which the imperial proclamation has gone forth—will think of this book remains to be seen. We hope they will have a better opportunity of judging it than Messrs. Cassell, Petter and Galpin have afforded to us. For the form in which it is presented to the British public is not attractive. We will not venture to criticise the Emperor's French. It is formed on the model of Reuter's telegraphic

despatches, and is, no doubt, everything that can be wished. But of the English version we can pronounce with some confidence that it is the very worst we have seen and about the worst we can think of. To begin with, there is no attempt at idiomatic expression. We read of "the vanquisher of Sertorius dominating the situation" (p. 332); of everything being "struck with decadence;" of "the silentious atmosphere" (p. 64); of "adopting a tactic;" of the "law Icilia" and the "law Julia;" of "peoples" doing so and so, and of the object being "to create a race of men of choice" (p. 29). Throughout the whole book the form and construction of the French sentences has been retained, the translator evidently thinking that his duty was to give word for word and clause for clause, and thus to remind his readers as much as possible of the language of the original. For example: "the tribuneship, abolished during three years, was re-established" (p. 40); "Just as we have seen under the kingly rule, the principles begin to show themselves which were one day to make the greatness of Rome, so now we see the first appearance of dangers which will be renewed unceasingly" (p. 45). The following sentence is barely intelligible: "With no intention of clearing up whatever degree of fiction these earliest ages of history may contain, we purpose only to remind our readers that the kings laid the foundations of those institutions to which Rome owed her greatness, and so many extraordinary men who astonished the world by their virtues and exploits" (p. 1.) So conscientious an imitator can hardly be expected to correct any of the mistakes of his original. We find the "familiar letters" of Cicero and the "millions of sesterces" religiously reproduced. Sometimes, however, he does venture on a blunder on his own account, as in p. 463, where a passage from Cicero's letters, to which the correct reference is given in the French, is quoted as from the speech against Piso; and in p. 2, where we read that the kingly power lasted 144 years—the Emperor having in this case held more nearly to the received chronology. The writer of the original having occasion to translate the following line:—

"Eandem virtutem istam, veniet tempus, quam graviter gemes—"

does so in this manner:—

"Un temps viendra où tu gemiras profondément sur ta malheureuse puissance."—p. 396.

This is not so good that it can afford to be made worse. The translator, however, being seized with a little fit of poetical enthusiasm, does contrive to make it worse by rendering it in this way:—

"A time shall come, when thou thyself shalt weep
That power of thine so deadly—"

If the gentleman who did this had been rash enough in early youth to have confided his charming rhythmical version to the master of a public school, he would very soon have been made to weep his deadly power of blundering over so exceedingly simple a sentence.

timement, 22 millions de sesterces."—César, p. 389, n. 134.

* César, p. 389; quoting Cic. in Pison. 37, and Cic. Epist. ad Attic. v. 10. 16.

† p. 387. "Car dans la loi Julia, la dernière sur les sacerdotés, il est dit: Celui qui demande, ou celui dont les titres ont examinés." "Est enim in lege Julia, quæ lex est de sacerdotibus proxima, his verbis, Qui petit conjusse ratio habebitur."—Cic. Epist. ad Brut. i. v.

In reality it matters little how the book is translated. The worse the better, for it is not one of those which it will do anyone good to read. There are many reasons why the Emperor Napoleon should have produced a very indifferent work. We have already observed that he does not possess the preliminary requisites for his task. He is no scholar; he is unacquainted with the mode of life and habit of thought of the ancient world, and his literary antecedents are not calculated to give dignity to history. But even had he possessed the qualifications in which he is conspicuously deficient—intellectual ability, familiarity with the Latin writers, and critical and narrative powers—he would have failed, as Polybius has failed, in giving a satisfactory narrative of the times he has undertaken to describe. There are moral problems in history which it is not given to every Emperor to understand. A man who is either unable to perceive or unwilling to accept the truth which underlies events has a disqualification which no mere learning can remove. He may see, as a Napoleon sees, the outside of things; he may write ingenious essays and throw light on isolated facts, but he can never become an historian. The defect of intention and scope is seen in every page of *Cæsar's* life. It is written with the vulgarest of all possible motives, that of serving a private and political purpose. Seven centuries of the world's history are read backwards, in order to prove how necessary the Napoleons are to France. The whole history of that great revolution which wrested political power from the hands of the Roman aristocracy and founded a line of emperors on the ruins of the republic, is carefully misconceived, that it may appear to the world that there is an historical parallel between Julius Cæsar and the writer's uncle. Government by geniuses—a theory narrower, if possible, than government by heroes—is presented to us as the consummation of all things—not without a hint of where we are to look for the greatest living genius. We hope the French people will lay to heart the counsels of their imperial guide, philosopher, and friend. Let them be kind to his faults, remembering how contrary to good sense it is to ascribe to him the passions of mediocrity. Let them reconcile themselves to his government by the reflection that it is an insult to humanity to believe that it will submit to a domination which is not truly great and unquestionably useful. Poets will hereafter arise to glorify the Augustus of the French Juli. At present Augustus is compelled to blow his trumpet for himself. He has done so in this book after sounding a long note of preparation, and calling upon all Europe to hear him.

This attempt to make out a case in favour of the divine right of despots has few chances of success. It would probably have miscarried had its purpose been concealed, had it been illustrated by more learning, supported by a far wider generalization, and entrusted to a less partial advocate. The present writer is too much interested in his conclusion not to be suspected in his argument. The theory which

makes it so necessary to comprehend preëminent geniuses is perfectly satisfactory only to the geniuses themselves. Accept for a moment the imperial position. By a bold stroke, or in his own more forcible language, by taking a courageous initiative, he has proved to us that he is the creature of Destiny, and that his fate is to arrange our future in accordance with the Napoleonic ideas. It is a poor look out. Take the most favourable view. Assume the ideas to be reasonable, wise, and easily comprehended by the people. How do we know that we shall in fact be governed after these excellent principles? *Cæsar's* Life is not as yet complete. The testamentary executor of the revolution may happen to find a codicil which revokes all the beneficial clauses of the will. Such things have been. We are to give up our liberty of thought and action. *He* is to live in a palace, receive our homage, and regulate our affairs. It is all very well for him, but where is the security for the future of Europe?

"O ihm ist wohl! Wer aber weiss was uns
Die nächste Stunde schwarz verschleiert bringt!"

ART. VI.—AMERICAN NOVELISTS: THEODORE WINTHROP.

The Works of Theodore Winthrop. 5 vols.
Boston: Ticknor and Fields. London:
Trübner and Co.

A VERY spirited sketch, entitled "Our March to Washington," appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1861. Another paper, in the next number, on "Washington as a Camp," was even more masterly. The writer handled his subjects with the dexterity and neatness which are only acquired after considerable practice in the art of literary composition. When it was discovered that their author was a private in the famous 7th New-York regiment, and that he was wholly unknown to the world of letters and of readers, the surprise was great and undisguised. Theodore Winthrop, the private who had proved himself so well able to use his pen, did not return home with his regiment when it was thought improbable that Washington would be attacked. He entered the army as a volunteer, and received the appointment of military secretary to General Butler, who was then in command at Fortress Monroe. He took part in the expedition against Great Bethel, an expedition which was among the most disastrous and ill-planned of the war. During the combat, Theodore Winthrop displayed great gallantry, and strove by his example to inspirit the soldiers when they wavered. At the moment when he was calling on them to advance, he was mortally wounded. One of the first who fell in the bloody civil war, he was chief among those whose loss his countrymen have had good reason most sincerely to lament. They have

since ascertained that he was something still more admirable than a brave soldier; that, had he lived, he might have added to the roll of American authors a name not less memorable than many of those which adorn it.

His friends became aware, after his death, that he had been an assiduous writer. Among his papers were several works in manuscript evidently prepared for the press. It was decided that these should be published. A similar decision is often come to, but seldom on grounds more rational than those of personal admiration and friendly confidence. The usual result is, that the public takes an opposite view, and blames the folly of those who conclude that what pleases them, on account of their fondness for its author, must necessarily be intrinsically valuable. The case is still stronger against the well-meaning friends of the deceased, when the works which they think worthy of publication have been offered to publishers and declined by them during the author's lifetime. Publishers are generally the best judges of what will sell; consequently, when they have given an adverse decision, it is hazardous in the extreme for an author's executors to appeal from their verdict to the judgment of the public. Disregarding such considerations, the surviving friends of Theodore Winthrop gave to the world nearly every paper he had left behind him. As the result proved, they acted with a boldness which is the truest wisdom. His writings filled five volumes. Of these, three were novels, and two sketches of travel and adventure. The novels are entitled, "*Cecil Dreeme*," "*John Brent*," and "*Edwin Brothertoft*." Within the short space of three years, seventeen editions of the first have been called for, fourteen of the second, and seven of the third. The number of editions through which a book passes, proves nothing in its favour. Not unfrequently the worst books sell most rapidly. But a book of which a new edition is issued nearly every month, deserves at least careful examination. To our readers, the present inquiry will be the more interesting, seeing that the name and works of Theodore Winthrop must be alike strange to them. It is very questionable if ten Englishmen are familiar with the fact that he has written a line. We think it certain, that even those who possess this knowledge are wholly ignorant of the contents of the volumes which have excited so much interest in America.

Theodore Winthrop ventured to attempt what none of his countrymen have yet done with success; to embody, in a work of fiction, true pictures of his country at the present day. Americans consider that to European readers these pictures would be unintelligible, and consequently unattractive. The favour and the praise of English critics, American authors naturally aspire to gain. In the preface to his exquisite "*Romance of Monte Beni*," Mr. Hawthorne candidly confessed that "*Italy, as the site of his romance, was chiefly valuable to him as affording a sort of poetic or fairy precinct, where actualities would not be so terribly insisted upon as they are, and must needs*

be, in America." He proceeds to state the difficulties which he had encountered in making the attempt. Moreover, he expresses a too confident hope that America will never become the favoured country of romance. In the following passage he showed himself unnecessarily timorous and distrustful; we cite the passage, because it evidently expresses not only his own opinion, but also that of his fellow-countrymen, on the subject:—"No author, without a trial, can conceive the difficulty of writing a romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a commonplace prosperity, in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with my dear native land. It will be very long, I trust, before romance-writers may find congenial and easily handled themes either in the annals of our own stalwart republic, or in any characteristic and probable events of our individual lives. Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers, need ruin to make them grow."

If proof were needed that in America, even before the war, the materials for romances, as thrilling as any ever written, existed in unexampled profusion, it would be furnished by one of Theodore Winthrop's novels. In "*John Brent*" are depicted, with a vigour which convinces us of their truthfulness to nature, the pioneers of western civilization, the Californian diggers whose lives are like those of the adventurers of the Middle Ages, and the Mormons who, on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, are building up what may become, politically as well as socially, a second Constantinople. No man can write a novel worth a rush who is not himself the hero of a romance. Here are some of the qualifications of Theodore Winthrop.

Born at New Haven in 1828, he entered Yale College at the age of sixteen. Mental philosophy and Greek were his favourite studies. The information he acquired was extensive, and his assiduity extreme. Prize after prize fell into his hands. But his was the usual lot of those students who strive for, and attain to intellectual distinction. His health was irreparably impaired at the very time when it was necessary for him to exert himself in order to reap the fruit of his studies and his triumphs.

At twenty he took his degree, and repaired to Europe, there to seek, in change of scene and occupation, the strength of body which had departed from him. England, France, Germany, and Italy he visited in succession. After a time he returned to New York, and entered the counting-house of Mr. Aspinwall. But it was not long before he set out on travels again, residing for two years in Panama, then journeying through California and Oregon, visiting Vancouver's Island, Puget Sound, and the Hudson Bay Company's station there. Then he revisited New York, and re-entered Mr. Aspinwall's counting-house. In 1855 he began to study law. Next year he canvassed the most secluded districts of Pennsylvania on behalf of Mr. Fremont. The following year he went to practise law at St. Louis. The notoriously bad climate of that town dis-

agreeing with him, he returned to New-York. Here he failed, not on account of the climate, but because of his inaptitude for legal pursuits. Having plenty of spare time, he occupied it in literary composition. A man of his fine culture and large experience could hardly fail to write something noteworthy. To many of us a life passed like his would seem to be valuable time recklessly squandered. Were the son of English parents to follow a similar course, he would probably be disowned by them. Even if they pardoned his folly, they would lecture him, at least once a day, on the text of a rolling stone gathering no moss. American parents, on the contrary, think it both natural and proper that a youth should endeavour to discover the sphere of life in which nature has qualified him to excel. They rightly suppose that a few years so employed are turned to better account than if occupied in what we are taught to regard as the very sensible occupation of "sowing wild oats." In one of Theodore Winthrop's novels, the American view is stated in an exaggerated, yet not untruthful manner. Robert Byng being asked his age, and answering twenty-six, his questioner remarks, "the judge, in the name of the American people, demands, 'Why, then, haven't you been five years at the bar, or ten years at the desk? Why are not you in command of a clipper ship, or in Congress, or driving an omnibus, or clearing a farm? Where is your door-plate? Where is your wife? What school does your eldest son go to? Where is your mark on the nineteenth century?'" A young Englishman cares less about making a mark on the century than about making his living. His ambition is bounded by the possession of a fixed income, a wife, and a small family. He is trained to consider as akin to a deadly offence, the hankering after improving his position in the world by changing the profession for which he has been educated, or which he has embraced under compulsion. The principle of caste flourishes in England, although the thing itself is denounced as unchristian. That is one of our especial privileges. We may act as heathens, so long as we condemn whatever the heathens practise. A finer and freer life is within the grasp of our American brethren, and they enjoy it to the full. Their aspirations are as vast as their continent. Their failures do not deter them from resuming their attempts. Poor laws and workhouses are unknown to them. Starvation is a name, not a fact. With them, to persevere really means to succeed. The practical result is to render them self-denying and self-reliant, willing to labour and wait, because certain to prevail in the end. In the case of Theodore Winthrop, his training and his opportunities contributed to make of him one of the most original of modern American authors.

"Cecil Dreeme," the first of his novels, is open to adverse criticism as regards the construction of the plot. The tone is morbid. Some of the personages are untrue to nature. What is very remarkable is, that notwithstanding these grave short-comings, the novel is a

fascinating one. This is attributable to the liveliness of the dialogue, to the wonderful condensation and energy of the language. The personages converse like human beings. They say the most natural things in the most pointed way. This, we need hardly add, is of itself sufficient to counterbalance very weighty defects.

Robert Byng is the hero, Cecil Dreeme the heroine. The scene of action is New-York. Robert Byng, returning thither after a visit to Europe, finds that Clara Denman, with whom he had once been passionately in love, had been engaged to a Mr. Densdeth, and had committed suicide a short time before the day appointed for the wedding. He suspected foul play, chiefly because he thought Densdeth capable of committing any crime. About Densdeth there is an air of mystery akin to that which would surround a modern Mephistopheles. He is drawn in a style which causes us to read, as it were, between the lines. This is the fashion in which his character is analysed. After reading the passage, we feel that Densdeth, though not a flesh-and-blood creation, is not wholly a stranger to us. "He was a keen, hard analyser of men, utterly sceptical to good motives. There is always just such a proportion of selfishness in every man's act; there must be, because there is a man in it. It may be the larger half, the lesser half, a fraction, the mere dust of an atom that makes the scale descend. Densdeth always discovered the selfish purpose, put it in focus, held up a lens of his own before it. At once it grew, and spread, and seemed the whole. Densdeth was the Apostle of Disenchantment. No Paradisiacal innocence where he entered. He revealed evil everywhere. That was at the core, according to him, however smooth the surface showed. Power over others consisted in finding that out. And that power was the only thing, except sensuality, worth having." "The memory of Densdeth's laugh misrepresented to me all laughter. Laughter, if I took that as its type, was only the loud sneer of a ruthless cynic. Such a laugh made honour seem folly, truth weakness, generosity a bid for richer requital, chivalry the hypocrisy of a knave."

The first thing Robert Byng does after landing is to take rooms in Chrysalis College, an edifice which, having been constructed to serve as a college, had been converted into chambers. It is kept by a man named Locksley, who is pictured very much in the style of a well known novelist. Locksley was "a bristly little man. His hair and beard were so stiff that I fancied at once he could discharge a volley of hairs, as a porcupine shoots quills at a foe. This bristliness, and a pair of keen black eyes, gave him a sharp, alert, and warlike look, as if he were quick to take alarm, but not likely to be frightened. I detected him as a man who had seen better days, and hoped to see them again, by his shirt-collars. They were stiff as Calvinism and white as Spitzbergen. Such collars are the badge of men who, though low in the pocket, are not down in the mouth. So long as there is starch in the shirt, no matter how little nap the coat wears; but

limp linen betokens a desponding spirit, and presently there will be no linen, and despair."—pp. 46, 47.

In Chrysalis College lives an artist named Cecil Dreeme. Before meeting this artist, Robert Byng feels interested in him. He says, "The melodious vagueness of the name greatly attracted me. It was to mine what the note of a flute is to the crack of a rifle. Cecil Dreeme—Robert Byng. There is a contrast to begin with, I thought. Our professions, too, are antagonistic. Chemistry—Art. Formulas—Inspirations. Analysis—Combination. I work with matter; he with spirit. I unmake; he makes. I split atoms, unravel gases; he grafts lovely image upon lovely image, and weaves a thousand gossamers of beauty into one transcendent fabric." With this artist Robert Byng becomes acquainted: the acquaintance ripens into a fast friendship. Meantime Byng renews his intimacy with the Denmans, and falls in love with Emma, the sister of her who had come to an untimely end. Over this household Densdeth exercises a strange fascination. Every one seems to fear him. They obey with trembling. Mr. Denman, one of the richest merchants of New York, appears to Byng to be oppressed by some brooding care, or with remorse for a secret crime. He regards him as "an overbusy man—a man over-weighted with social responsibilities. Too many banks choose him director. Too many companies want his administrative power. Too many charities must have him as trustee. One of the Caryatides of society. No wonder at his air of uneasy patience, or perhaps impatient endurance and eagerness to be free."—p. 196.

These, with the exception of a Mr. Turner, a victim of Densdeth's, and a Mr. Churm, are all the characters. The parts they play may be described in a few sentences. Robert Byng becomes engaged to Miss Denman, but he finds that the more intimately he knows her the cooler does his passion become. There is something about her which perplexes him. One evening he observes a look of intelligence between her and Densdeth, which excites suspicions he can neither quiet nor verify. He ceases to be the lover. When he does this, Miss Denman gives no token either of surprise or vexation. Cecil Dreeme, who has done wonders as an artist, and has become more and more attached to Byng, suddenly disappears. It turns out that the artist had been spirited away by Densdeth, and placed in a private asylum. Moreover, it is discovered that Cecil Dreeme is the Clara Denman whose death by drowning had been the subject of disappointment to Densdeth and of mourning to her family. The winding-up is as tragical as the last act in "Hamlet." Densdeth is stabbed to the heart by a former victim, while the slayer is himself numbered among the dead, and Emma Denman poisons herself. We are led to infer that this sombre ending is eventually relieved by a brighter prospect, and that Clara Denman and Robert Byng eventually marry, and, we suppose it must be added, thereby become happy.

The improbabilities of the story do not re-

quire to be pointed out. It is in detached sentences and sketches, rather than in the construction of the plot, that we perceive its author's uncommon power. Of the concentration of his descriptive passages, we have already given examples. We shall only add a few bits which, of themselves, betoken the writer of genius. An obvious thought is very happily put as follows:—"Life cures, and Death renews. But Life should be a feast, not a medicine." (p. 95.) How apt and yet how fresh is the following epithet: "The insolent monotony of ocean." (p. 104.) In describing Emma Denman, it is said: "Grace she had—exquisite grace. Grace is perhaps a more subtle charm than beauty. Beauty is passive; grace is active. Beauty reveals the nature; grace interprets it. Beauty wins; grace wooes." (p. 189.) American life is characterized as "an indefinitely adjourned-to-morrow." Here is the American view of history, a view which is very similar to our own: "Give the world results, the means by which those results were attained cease to be of any profound value or interest. Everything ancient is perpetually on its trial whether its day has not come to be superannuated, and so respectably buried. Antiquity deserves commendation and gratitude; but no peculiar reverence or indulgence. The facts and systems of the past are mainly rubbish now; what is precious is the spirit of the present which those systems have reared, or at least failed to strangle, and those facts have mauled strong, and tempered fine." (pp. 282-3.)

That there are plenty of plums is certain; unfortunately, however, abundance of plums does not always insure a good pudding. The story is the backbone of a novel. In "Cecil Dreeme" the story is the weakest and least satisfactory part. It was on another field that Theodore Winthrop was qualified to conquer. His next novel, "John Brent," is the one we like best, and chiefly because it is among the most original of contemporary works of fiction.

A healthful tone pervades this romance. It seems to have been composed while the author was still elate with the full life of a wanderer among the mountains and the plains which stretch from the Pacific to the Atlantic oceans. Not only do the incidents occur in a new country, but some of the characters have never before figured in a novel. Of California we have heard a great deal. The very name has come to be almost a synonym for auriferous. San Francisco, the capital of the Gold State, we know by repute as a city quite unequalled for its luxury and dissoluteness, as a city outstripping even the most notable of European capitals in the recklessness with which wealth is gained and lavished, in the effrontery with which all the vices are paraded and practised. But the gold-digger, as he is when pursuing his exhausting task, is more unfamiliar to us than the Esquimaux and his country of ice. New circumstances call into being new types of men. The backwoodsman of the United States is a man as unlike any other, as the domestic cat is to the same animal in its savage state. For a new kind of man we must have a

new name. Accordingly we find the Californian digger rejoicing in the strange one of "Pike." Theodore Winthrop remarks, concerning him: "America is manufacturing several new types of men. The Pike is one of the newest. He is a bastard pioneer. With one hand he clutches the pioneer vices; with the other he beckons forward the vices of civilization." "He is a terrible shock, this unlucky Pike, to the hope that the new race on the new continent is to be a handsome race. I lose that faith which the people about me now have nourished, when I recall the Pike. He is hung together, not put together. He inserts his lank fathom of a man into a suit of molasses-coloured homespun. Frowzy and husky is the hair nature crowns him with; frowzy and stubby the beard. He shambles in his walk; he draws in his talk; he drinks whisky by the tank; his oaths are to his words as Falstaff's sack to his bread. I have seen Maltese beggars, Arab camel-drivers, Dominican friars, New York aldermen, Digger Indians; the foulest, frowziest creatures I have ever seen are thoroughbred Pikes."

Among these very unattractive companions, Richard Wade's lot was cast. He had been engaged in working a quartz mine, till he found that to sink gold in it was easier than to discover ore rich in the precious metal. The quartz was nearly everything that an adventurer could desire. Never had there been seen quartz in which "the matrix was better defined, better shaped to hold the gold that was not in it. For Macadam, what royal material it would have been. Park roads made of it would have glittered gayer than marble." Unfortunately, however, "the precious metal was to the crude mineral in the proportion of perhaps a hundred pin-heads to the ton. My partners down in San Francisco wrote to me, 'only find twice as many pin-heads and our fortune is made.'" But the pin-heads could not be found, and something had to be done. He decided upon returning to New York, and journeying thither overland. In order to do this, he parted with his share in the profitless quartz mine for a magnificent black horse, of which the fame was spread abroad among the Pikes, chiefly because none of them could tame or mount him. The owner, a wealthy Pike, was only too happy to dispose, on any terms, of an animal which was virtually worthless. The account of the capture and taming of this stubborn steed is a stirring passage. Gerrian, the owner of the horse, sent his Mexican servant to catch him; this he was to accomplish either by ensnaring him in a lasso, or else by driving the whole band into a corral:—

"We halted to pass the coming army of riderless steeds in review.

"There they came! Gerrian's whole band of horses, in full career! First, their heads suddenly lifted above a crest of the prairie; then they burst over, like the foam and spray of a black, stormy wave when a blast strikes it, and wildly swept by us with manes and tails flaring in the wind. It was magnificent. My heart of a horseman leaped in my breast. 'Hurrah!' I cried.

"They were just upon us, chased and chaser,

thundering down the slope, when the vaquero, checking his wrist at the turn, flung his lasso straight as an arrow for the black's head.

"I could hear the hide rope sing through the summer air, for a moment breezeless.

"Will he be taken? Will horse or man be victor?"

"The loop of the lasso spread like a hoop. It hung poised for one instant, a few feet before the horse's head, vibrating in the air, keeping its circle perfect, waiting for the vaquero's pull to tighten about that proud neck, and those swelling shoulders.

"'Hurrah!'

"Through it went the black.

"With one brave bound he dashed through the open loop. He touched only to spurn its vain assault with his hindmost hoof.

"'Hurrah!' I cried.

"'Hurrah 'tis!' shouted Gerrian.

"José dragged in his spurned lasso.

"The black, with elated head and tail waving like a banner, sprang forward, closed in with the cabalada; they parted for his passage, he took his leadership, and presently was lost with his suite over the swells of the prairie."

Eventually the horse was caught and subdued. He was named Don Fulano. This name, rather than that of "John Brent," should have been given to this novel, for the noble Don Fulano is its hero. Richard Wade tells us that he had put a whole mine into that horse. "He represented to me the whole visible, tangible result of two long work-a-day years, dragged out in that dreary spot among the Pikes, with nothing in view except barren hill-sides ravaged by mines, and the unbeautiful shanties of miners as rough as the landscape." The fame of the horse, and name of his master, were noised abroad. John Brent, a man who, having failed at home, had sought another and a fuller life among the Indians, heard of the adventure, and recognised the horse-tamer's name as that of a schoolfellow. He sought out Richard Wade, and the pair set off on their long ride across the vast continent.

Richard Wade and John Brent suited each other exactly. "Camp life tests a man thoroughly. Common toil, hardship, peril, and sternly common *viaticum* of pork, dough-cakes, and coffee *sans* everything, are a daily ordeal of good nature. It is not hard for two men to be civil across a clean white tablecloth at a club. If they feel dull, they can study the *carte*; if spiteful, they can row the steward; if surly, they can muddle themselves cheerful; if they bore each other finally and hopelessly, they can exchange cigars and part for all time, and still be good friends, not foes. But the illusions of sham good-fellowship vanish when the *carte du jour* is *porc frit au naturel, d'après discrétion* and *café à rien*, always the same fare, plain days or lucky days, served on a blanket, on the ground. Brent and I stood the test. He was a model comrade, cavalier, poet, hunter, naturalist, cook. If there was any knowledge, skill, craft, or sleight-of-hand, or brain wanted, it always seemed as if his whole life had been devoted to the one study to gain it. He would spring out of his blankets after a night under the stars, improvise a matin song to Lucifer, sketch the morning's view into

cloudland and the morning's earthly horizon, take a shot at a grey wolf, book a new plant, bag a new beetle, and then, reclining on the lonely prairie, take our breakfast, whose Soyer he had been, so full of Eden, Sybaris, the holocausts of Achilles, the triclinia of Lucullus, the automaton tables of the *Ceil-de-Bœuf*, the cabinets of the *Frères Provengaux*, and the dinners of civilization, where the wise and the witty meet to shine and sparkle for the beautiful, that our meagre provender suffered 'change into something rich and strange;' the flakes of fried pork became peacocks' tongues, every quoit of tough roasted dough a *vol au vent*, and the coffee that never saw milk or muscovado, a diviner porridge than was ever supped on the sunny summits of Olympus. Such a magician is priceless."

They reached Utah, stayed there a few days, then set forth again on their journey. Before long, they overtook the party carrying the mail eastwards. It was led by Jake Shamberlain, who, after being a policeman, acolyte, man-of-war's man, and Yankee husband, had become Mormon, and one of the leaders of the Saints. They joined the party. Two other additions were soon made to it. The one man was lank and long; the other short and stout. They prove to be gamblers. They are strongly suspected of being blackguards. "I've seen villains just like those two, said Brent, in every hell in Europe and America. They always go in pairs; a tiger and a snake; a bully and a wheedler." "Sam Smith the gaunt affected a rough frankness of manner, Jim Robinson was low comedy; his head was packed with scurvy jokes and stories; he had a foul leer on his face whenever he was thinking his own thoughts. But either, if suddenly startled, showed the unmistakable look that announces worse crime than mere knavery."

The party halted at Bridger's Fort. While there, they beheld the approach of a caravan of Mormons. It consisted of two hundred wagons, containing about one thousand converts. The majority were from Lancashire, and had been persuaded by Elder Sizzum to exchange their native land for the shores of the Salt Lake, and abandon the religion in which they were educated for that attested by the miracles of Joseph Smith. Sizzum was one of the most successful of all the Mormon missionaries. He was half-pioneer and half-apostle. In appearance he was the type of the dissenting deacon. Over his proselytes he ruled like a tyrant. They believed that he held, as he declared, the keys of Heaven in his hand. His proselytes consisted of "the poorest class of townspeople from the great manufacturing towns—puny tradesmen, indoor craftsmen, factory operatives—a puny, withered set of beings; hardly men, if man means strength; hardly women, if woman means beauty." As John Brent and his friend were turning away in disgust from the contemplation of the dirty wagons and their squalid occupants, they remarked one which contrasted very strangely with the others. An old gentleman who had once been richer, and a girl whose face and manner were alike charming, were the occupants of this wagon.

The former was named Clitheroe, and had once been master of Clitheroe Hall, Lancashire; his daughter was called Ellen. They were among the choicest prizes that Elder Sizzum had made. To him Sister Ellen was more than a lovely proselyte; being a lovely girl, she was destined to become an addition to his well-stocked harem. There was one, however, who would not assent to this arrangement: the lady herself. She obeyed her father, and followed him; but she did not believe in Mormonism. In addition, an obstacle to the consummation of Sizzum's hopes suddenly arose in the person of John Brent. He became madly in love with Ellen Clitheroe.

Life in the camp is vividly depicted. Among the amusements was a ball. "Dancing is enjoyed in the Latter-Day Church. They cite Jephtha's daughter and David dancing before the Ark as good Scriptural authority for the custom." Both the ball and the invitations to it were very different from those of civilized countries. A drummer and a fifer accompanied Jake Shamberlain, and while the former attracted notice, the latter issued his invitations. To John Brent and Richard Wade it was couched in these words:—"We're going to give a ball, gentlemen, and request the honour of your company in ten minutes, precisely. Kids not allowed on account of popular prejudice. Red flannel shirts and boots with yaller tops is rayther the go for dress." After the ball, Smith and Robinson, or, as they ought to be called, Murker and Larrap, plied their trade, and won large sums from the half-drunken Mormons. When morning broke, the travellers left the camp and proceeded on their journey. They had not gone far before they were overtaken by a tall, gaunt man on a white horse. He was on the track of Murker and Larrap, who had murdered his brother, and tried to murder him also. He was named Armstrong, and was known to Jack Shamberlain, who characterized him in this very original style. "I've olluz said, ef the world was chock full of Armstrongs, Paradise wouldn't pay; and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob mou't just as well blow out their candle and go under a bushel-basket, unless a half-bushel would kiver them." They were soon joined by Elder Sizzum and Mr. Clitheroe, who announced that Miss Clitheroe had been carried off, and who suspected that the two travellers were the culprits. When Elder Sizzum learned that Murker and Larrap had done the deed, he exclaimed, before riding back to his flock, "Ef them devils has got her, that's the end of her. I haint got no more interest in *her* case. I believe I'll go. I've wasted too much time now from the Lord's business." Mr. Clitheroe was left under the care of Jake Shamberlain, while Armstrong, Richard Wade, and John Brent set off in pursuit of the scoundrels, the former intent to revenge, the two latter resolved to save.

They made for Luggernel Alley, an opening in the Rocky Mountains, and the only pass through them by which the criminals could hope to escape pursuit. Murker and Larrap had seven or eight hours' start, but the others did not despair of overtaking them. The ride

is one of the most thrilling passages of the kind we have ever read. It is too long for quotation here. To abridge it is to deprive it of half its interest. We will try, however, to condense it so as not to mar the effect of the more salient points:—

"We galloped abreast, Armstrong at the right; his weird, gaunt white horse held his own with the best of us. No whip, no spur for that deathly creature. He went as if his master's purposes were stirring him through and through. That stern intent made his sinews steel, and put an agony of power into every stride. The man never stirred save sometimes to put a hand to that bloody blanket bandage across his head and temple. He had told his story; he had spoken his errand; he breathed not a word; but with his lean, pallid face set hard, his gentle blue eyes scourged of their kindness, and fixed upon the distant mountains, where his vengeance lay, he rode on like a relentless fate.

"Next in the line I galloped. O, my glorious black! The great, killing pace seemed mere playful canter to him, such as one might ride beside a timid girl, thrilling with her first free dash across a flowery common, or a gold beach between sea and shore. But from time to time he surged a little forward with his great shoulders, and gave a mighty writhe of his body, while his hind legs came lifting his flanks under me, and telling of the giant reserve of speed and power he kept easily controlled. Then his ear would go back, and his large brown eye, with its purple black pupil would look round at my bridle hand, and then into my eye, saying, as well as words could have said it, 'This is mere sport, my friend and master. You do not know me. I have stuff in me that you do not dream of. Say the word, and I can double this, treble it. Say the word! Let me show you how I can spurn the earth!' Then, with the lightest love-pressure on the snaffle, I would say, 'Not yet! Not yet! Patience, my noble friend! Your time will come!'

"At the left rode Brent, our leader. He knew the region; he made the plan; he had the hope; his was the ruling passion—stronger than brotherhood, than revenge. Love made him leader of that galloping three. His iron-grey went proudly, with white mane flapping the air like a signal flag of reprieve. Eager hope and kindling purpose made the rider's face more beautiful than ever.

"So we galloped three abreast, neck and neck, hoof with hoof, steadily quickening our pace over the sere width of desert. . . . On we galloped, the avenger, the friend, the lover, on our errand, to save and to slay."

The heat became intolerable; the ground harder and more trying for the hoofs of the horses; of water, not a drop could be found. At length they espied a well, at which the steeds quenched their thirst. This had been dug by the murderers. They knew by this, and by a lady's glove, that they were on the right track. When attempting to leap a chasm, Brent's horse fell and broke his legs. The rider escaped unhurt, and mounted beside his friend on Don Fulano.

"Fulano stood steady till we were firm in our seats. Then he tore down the defile. Here was that vast reserve of power; here the tireless spirit; here the hoof striking true as a thunderbolt, when the brave eye saw footing; here that writhing agony of speed; here the great promise fulfilled, the great

heart thrilling to mine, the grand body living to the beating heart. Noble Fulano!

"I rode with a snaffle. I left it hanging loose. I did not check or guide him. He saw all. He knew all. All was his doing. We sat firm, clinging as we could, as we must. Fulano dashed along the resounding pass.

"Armstrong pressed after, the gaunt white horse struggled to emulate his leader. Presently we lost them behind the curves of the Alley. No other horse that ever lived could have held with the black in that headlong gallop to save. . . .

"It seemed one beat of time, it seemed an eternity, when between the ring of the hoofs I heard Brent whisper in my ear, 'We are there!' The crags flung apart right and left. I saw a sylvan glade. I saw the gleam of gushing water. Fulano dashed on, uncontrollable! There they were—the murderers—arrived but one moment! the lady still bound to that pack-mule, branded A and A. Murker just beginning to dismount—Larrap not dismounted, in chase of the other animals as they strayed to graze. The men heard the tramp, and saw us as we sprang into the glade. Both my hands were at the bridle. Brent, grasping my waist with one arm, was awkward with his pistol. Murker saw us first. He snatched his six-shooter, and fired. Brent shook with a spasm. His pistol arm dropped. Before the murderer could fire again, Fulano was upon him! He was ridden down; he was beaten, trampled down upon the grass—crushed, abolished. . . . Fulano, and not we, had been executioner. His was the stain of blood."

Armstrong pursed and shot Larrap; and thus the guilty pair met their righteous doom. The remainder of the story may be despatched in a few sentences. Brent had a hard tussle with death; but triumphed. Miss Clitheroe reciprocated his love. However, her father would not suffer her to remain in America. They returned to England. Brent and Wade started after them. By an accident they were discovered, and the result, though not stated by the author, may easily be guessed by the reader. As for Don Fulano, he met his death from a shot by a slaveholder. He had been lent by his master to a fugitive slave when hard pressed by bloodhounds. The slave gained his freedom; and the good horse met his death.

"Edwin Brothertoft" is a novel of a kind totally dissimilar to "Cecil Dreeme" and "John Brent." It treats of the time antecedent to the establishment of American independence. The incidents are, for the most part, drawn from, or connected with the revolutionary war. The hero is a descendant of a Lincolnshire gentleman, who had fought with Cromwell against his King. Colonel Brothertoft resolved to emigrate as soon as the advent of the Second Charles had restored all that was detestable under the First. The state of things which then prevailed is tersely depicted in one pregnant paragraph. "Time passed. Kingly Oliver died. There was no Protector blood in gentle Richard Cromwell. He could not wield the land. 'Ho for Cavaliers! hey for Cavaliers!' In came the Merrie Monarch. Out Puritans, and in Nell Gwynne! Out crop-ears, and in love-locks! Away sad colours! only frippery is the mode. To prison, stout John Bunyan; to office, slight Sam Pepys! To your blind study, John Milton, and indite Paradise Lost; to Whitehall,

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, and scribble your poem, 'Nothing!' Yes, go, Bigotry; your jack-boots smell unsavoury; enter, Prelacy, in fine linen and perfume! *Procul, O procul, libertas!* for, alas! English knees bend to the King's mistress, and English voices swear, 'The King can do no wrong.' Disgusted with the new order of things, Colonel Brothertoft sold his goodly manor-house among the Lincolnshire fens, and went to build another mansion, and to perpetuate his race on the banks of the Hudson. His resolution held good; but he ceased to be the same man, as an exile, that he had been as a citizen of his native country. His sons inherited all his virtues and all his shortcomings. They were perfect gentlemen; but they wanted that energy, without which the settlers in a new country cannot attain to the pre-eminence to which their ancestors rose in the land of their birth. The fifth of the race is the hero of the story. He had been sent to Oxford to be educated, but before the appointed time, he was recalled by his dying father. Before his death, the latter told his son that the property was hopelessly involved; that after his death it would pass into the hands of a Colonel Billop, a man who had accumulated a large fortune under circumstances which would not bear minute investigation. Colonel Billop had an only daughter, who was the beauty, as well as the heiress of the country. Nearly at the same time as the body of the fourth Brothertoft was laid in the family vault, Colonel Billop went to his long home. His daughter became an orphan almost simultaneously with the son of the man whom her father had ruined.

"Handsome Jane Billop wanted a husband. She looked into the glass, and saw beauty: into the schedules of her father's will, and saw heiress. She determined to throw her handkerchief, as soon as she could discover the right person to pick it up." Her choice fell on Edwin Brothertoft. If she had the purse, he had the pedigree. He had the position, and she the money for enabling him to support it. Having determined upon marrying him, she found the means for succeeding in her object. He thought she loved him as he loved her; whereas her heart was fixed on the lord of Brothertoft Manor. The marriage was a mercenary one on her part. It proved a miserable union for them both.

Shortly after their marriage, Edwin Brothertoft, to the great joy of his wife, was commissioned to proceed to England as the bearer of a petition against the threatened undue interference of Parliament with American affairs. He was received with open arms by the liberal statesmen. Even Doctor Johnson liked him. Everybody admired his wife. "She was a new sensation, with her bold, wilful beauty, and her imperious Americanism." "The Brothertoft embassy was a social success, but a political failure." It was a double failure. The wife desired to remain in England, there to be the cynosure of every eye and the mark for the most fulsome compliments. But her husband would not gratify her in this particular. Immediately after their return, a daughter was born to them. Instead of cementing

a union which was rapidly parting asunder, this event served to widen the breach. The downfall of affection was not the worst. Love was succeeded by guilt.

Several years elapsed before the wrong was consummated. Not satisfied with being an unworthy wife, Mrs. Brothertoft became an unnatural parent. She poisoned her daughter's mind, persuading the innocent Lucy that her forgiving and long-suffering father was the greatest of scoundrels. The daughter learned her lesson only too well. In vain did her father try to induce her to show him that affection which it was his right to expect. Sickened at heart, he said farewell to his child, and quitted his home, as he then thought, for ever. Those who had treated him with such inhumanity professed to believe that he was dead. His wife bore his absence with fortitude. The society of several distinguished officers in scarlet uniforms served to cheer her loneliness, if not to banish her grief. She remained in Brothertoft Manor-house, and did her utmost to aid the cause of King George, as well as to solace his faithful servants. Meantime, her husband had enlisted among the rebels, of whom the general was George Washington.

The interest of the war centered for a time in the Brothertoft Manor-house. The rebels resolved to effect the capture of some of the fine soldiers who were accustomed to make merry there, chief among whom was a Major Kerr. Edwin Brothertoft wished to hinder a marriage which was about to take place there between Major Kerr—a rake whom his wife thought would become an eligible son-in-law—and his daughter. The latter loathed the very sight of her destined husband. Through the medium of Voltaire, a faithful negro-servant, the father and daughter communicated with each other. They resolved to take Major Kerr prisoner the night before the wedding.

The plot was skilfully planned and as skilfully executed: Major Kerr was carried off in triumph to the head-quarters of General Putnam. By accident, Brothertoft Manor-house was set on fire, and Mrs. Brothertoft's life was in danger. Her husband learned this only in time to make a desperate effort to rescue her. He succeeded in saving her from the very jaws of death, but not till she was so severely burnt that she could only live long enough to acknowledge her error and receive his pardon. Having been rescued from the clutches of a lover she detested, Lucy Brothertoft soon found one whom she could ardently love, in the person of Major Peter Skerrett. He was one of the most valorous and skilful among the rebel officers. He it was who had planned the expedition which aided in the capture of Major Kerr. His good service met with its reward in the shape of Lucy's true love.

The minor characters are numerous and well-drawn. They are well-distinguished the one from the other, and each fills his part in an appropriate way. Voltaire, the negro butler, is the most remarkable among them. The author says:—"Christy's Minstrels dance out their type negro, Jim Crowe, an impossible

buffoon. Mrs. Beecher Stowe presents hers, Uncle Tom, an exceptional saint. Mr. Frederick Douglass introduces himself with a courtier's bow and an orator's tongue. The ghost of John C. Calhoun rushes forward, and points to a stuffed gorilla." In Voltaire, Theodore Winthrop presents us with his typical negro. He is a more life-like personage than Uncle Tom; but, like him, he is rather too good for this world. The same objection may be urged, indeed, against other characters in fiction, besides negroes. Voltaire does not greatly offend us by his barbarous lingo. As the author well says—"Black babble has become rather a bore in literature." We have given several specimens of this author's style, but have not yet quoted anything to show that, in addition to writing well, he had the gift of seeing the humorous side of things. The following passage will both exemplify this, and also furnish those unacquainted with his writings with a new definition of faith. Sappho, the wife of Voltaire, says to him:—

"If you was a cook, you'd have more Faith. Just taste that soup, now. How is it?"

"Prime!" says Voltaire, blowing and sipping.

"You taste it, Plato," she repeated, dipping another ladle from the pot, and offering to her son, who had his father's philosophic dignity, and his mother's Socratic visage. "How is it?"

"Prime!" says the second connoisseur.

"Now, what you guess is the most importantest thing in this soup?"

"Conundrums is vulgar, particular for ladies," says Voltaire, loftily.

"That's because you can't guess."

"Poh! it's easy enough," says he. "Beef!"

"No. You guess, Plato."

"B'ilin' water," cries he, sure of his solution.

"Sappho shook her head."

"Turkey carcasses!" propounded Voltaire, with excitement.

"Onions!" offered Plato, with eagerness.

"No," says Sappho; "it's Faith!"

"I was jest a goin' to say Faith, Plato unblushingly asserted.

"You see," Sappho explained, "I takes beef—very well! and b'ilin' water—very well! and turkey carcasses, and onions, and heaps of things, and puts 'em into a pot on the fire. Then I has Faith."

"Poh!" cried Voltaire. "'Twasn't a fair conundrum; you has the Faith into yourself."

"Then I takes Faith," repeated Sappho, without noticing his interruption, "Faith, that these 'gredients which is not soup is comin' soup, in de Lord's time, and dey alluz comes soup."

"And the primest kind!" Plato interjected, authoritatively.

"So," continued Sappho, improving the lesson, "soup and roast geese, and pies and pancakes risin' over night, has taught me dis yer proverb, 'Wait, and things comes out right at last.'"

The "Canoe and the Saddle" is a book of travels, and like all good books of that class, is quite as entertaining as a novel. It contains a very interesting notice of the most imposing feature of Oregon—the majestic, and as yet untrodden Mount Tacoma. What Mont Blanc is to Europe, and Fusiama to Japan, that Tacoma is to America. Theodore Winthrop styles it a virginal mountain, "distant from the possibility of human approach and human

inquisitiveness, as a marble goddess is from human loves." He writes of it, in truth, with the warmth and force of one to whom Nature's grandest scenes teach the noblest of lessons. He cannot believe that the shadow of giant mountains stunts men's minds. The reflections he makes on this head merit attention; few speculations are more curious than those relating to the influence of natural scenery on the human species. Theodore Winthrop says: "Our race has never yet come into contact with great mountains as companions of daily life, nor felt that daily development of the finer and more comprehensive senses which these signal facts of nature compel. That is an influence of the future. The Oregon people, in a climate where being is bliss,—where every breath is a draught of vivid life,—these Oregon people, carrying to a new and grander New England of the West a fuller growth of the American Idea, under whose teaching the man of lowest ambitions must still have some little indestructible respect for himself, and the brute of most tyrannical aspirations some little respect for others; carrying there a religion two centuries farther on than the crude and cruel Hebraism of the Puritans; carrying the civilization of history where it will not suffer by the example of Europe,—with such material, that Western society, when it crystallizes, will elaborate new systems of thought and life."

Quite as attractive as the account of his travels and escapes in Oregon is that of his expedition through the woods and on the lakes of Maine. This fills the first part of the volume entitled "Life in the Open Air." Next comes a tale, "Love and Skates," then the papers of which we gave the titles at the opening of this article; and lastly, an elaborate criticism on Mr. Church's picture, "The Heart of the Andes."

As a tale, "Love and Skates" is very clever. Had the author worked out his subject at greater length it might have become the best of his novels. The subject is the success of the Dunderbank Iron Company, owing to the exertions of an energetic manager. Like all the works of Theodore Winthrop, it contains an episode of a thrilling kind. In "Cecil Dreeme" we have the abduction of Cecil Dreeme and the pursuit and death of Densdeth; in "John Brent," the ride after the two murderers; in "Edwin Brothertoft," the night-ride of the hero to save from death by fire the wife who had grievously wronged him. In "Love and Skates" is an episode as well told as any of these. This time, Mary Damer, who had gone to skate during a thaw, was carried off on a fragment of ice, and was in danger of drowning. Her lover, perceiving her peril, makes a vigorous and successful attempt to save her from death. The scene is depicted with the skill of an artist and the truth of an eye-witness.

This, in short, is the characteristic of all Theodore Winthrop's writings. He gives us the impression of always relating what he had witnessed. His heroes and heroines act as human beings who have really passed through the adventures in which they are made to figure.

This impression of reality is produced without any straining after effect. He had experienced what life really is, before attempting to depict it in a novel.

The possession of this qualification for writing novels is much rarer than is generally supposed. We have authors and authoresses in abundance, who are renowned for their skill in photographing some phase of society, or a particular class of persons. Doubtless, these pictures are drawn with care. Sometimes, they are truthful as well as minute; but in general they will not bear analysis. We can readily perceive how artificial and how false the picture is as a whole. We feel that the touches, which are accepted by some as proving the accuracy of these sketches, are little bits taken at second-hand. Indeed, some of the most successful novel-writers are the greatest of plagiarists. They set to work in this fashion. Having chosen a striking title, and decided upon introducing certain incidents, they carefully read all that may give them information about the kind of personages they mean to portray. The best source for such information is the works of preceding or contemporary novelists. By judiciously commingling the ideas derived from reflection, and those acquired by reading, they can sketch characters which are accepted as true to nature, chiefly because they are perfectly unlike what are met with in real life. If the mistakes contained in fashionable novels were extracted and exposed, the result would be surprising. The occupation would suit anyone having the ambition to compose an amusing "Dictionary of Blunders."

The truthfulness of Theodore Winthrop's pictures is their most striking characteristic. But his range is limited. His heroes and heroines are modelled after one type. It was wise in him to refrain from depicting what he did not know personally. That he should always have done so, indicates, however, the weakness of his imagination. For instance, we have, in Clara Denman, Ellen Clitheroe, Lucy Brothertoft, and Mary Damer, the repetitions of the same original—all of them being gentle, and ladylike in manner; but stern and determined in character—one-half Juliets, and one-half Lady Macbeths. The men are more varied. But all may be ranged in one of these opposite classes—the open-hearted, broad-chested, resolute and successful adventurer, and the smooth, oily, false, and crafty being who seems to have been created solely to meet his death at the hand of one whom he has duped and ruined. Villains are the most difficult of all characters to draw with fidelity. The man who acts a wicked part is not necessarily a villain, in the generally accepted sense of the word. The worst man, like the blackest cloud, has his bright side. The true artist should indicate this. He should also show that the good man has a spice of devilry in him.

What chiefly attracts us in Theodore Winthrop's writings is the definiteness of view and aim which characterises them. He is always in earnest. He writes as if he had reflected on the subjects he treats. There are few second-hand opinions advanced by him. It is always

evident that he thinks for himself. His thoughts are generally those of a man for whom we can feel respect, even when we are obliged to express our disagreement with his opinions. Perhaps the most remarkable of his minor writings is his critique on "The Heart of the Andes," by Mr. Church. It contains views of art which are well worthy of attention. In it is manifested a genuine sympathy with the beautiful in nature. This is often professed, but very rarely felt in sincerity and truth. Some of the sentences we are about to quote might have proceeded from Mr. Ruskin when writing in his best style. Had not Theodore Winthrop given so many tokens of his thorough originality as a writer, we should, in the present case, have been disposed to style him a copyist. The coincidence is extraordinary; but we are convinced that it is merely a coincidence. In the first place, we have the following statement as to the position of American thinkers as regards art. They are said to have much to learn, but little to unlearn.

"Young artists, errant with Nature, are not caught and cuffed by the despotism of effete schools, nor sneered down into inanity by conservative dilettantism. Superstition for the past is feeble here, to-day. We might tend to irreverence, but irreverence is soon scourged out of every sincere life. We have nearly a clear field for Art, and no rubbish to be burned. Europe has been wretchedly impeded and fettered in Art by worshipping men rather than God, finite works rather than infinite nature, and is now at pains to raze and reconstruct its theories. Our business is simpler, and this picture is a token of inevitable success—a proof and a promise, a lesson and a standard. The American landscape artist marches at Nature with immense civilization to back him. The trophies of old triumph are not disdained, but they are behind him. He is not compelled to serve apprenticeship in the world's garrets of trash for inspiration, nor to kotou to any fetish, whether set up on the Acropolis, or the Capitoline, in the Court of the Louvre, or under the pepper-boxes of Trafalgar Square."

The foregoing paragraph places before us in the clearest style the views which Americans, who think for themselves, are generally led to entertain. By the staid worthies of our own and other European countries, these opinions would be scouted as heretical. Yet such men would probably be equally severe were the Americans to give up thinking and acting for themselves, and to copy or accept with eagerness the views and systems elaborated for them in Europe. As to the final result, we will not prophesy. Concerning the propriety of the means for attaining it, we see nothing to which exception should be taken. To speak of finality in Art is as absurd as to speak of perfection having been reached in any political arrangement or branch of science. We are too glad to welcome what is done well, to care much about the exactness with which the doer has been influenced by the maxims of preceding workers, or by the injunctions of living teachers.

Here is another example of the kind of writing in which Mr. Ruskin indulges. It requires little skill to perceive that, as it resembles many a passage in "Modern Painters," the difference is even greater than the resemblance. Mr.

Ruskin's vigour consists mainly in words; in the volume and force of his epithets he shows himself a very woman. Theodore Winthrop, on the other hand, is a deep thinker, as well as a vigorous writer. He tells us :

"Habits of mind are in every man's power, which will make him an infallible judge of artistic excellence at once. Does any one ask how to form those habits for comprehending landscape art? If we are pure lovers of the world of God; if we have recognised the palpitating infinite of blue sky, and loved to name it Heaven; if we have been thrilled with the solemnity of violet dawn, and are rich with remembered pageantries of sunrise, and have known the calm and the promise of twilight glories over twilight glooms, and have chosen clouds to be the companions of our brightest earthly fancies; if we have studied the modesty, the stateliness, and the delicate fiery quietness of the world of flowers, and have been showered with sunbeams and shadows in the tremulous woods; if we have watched when surges come, with a gleam on their crest, to be lavish of light and music on glittering crags; if, with the simple manly singer of old Greece, we deem 'water best,'—best for its majesty in Ocean, best in the brave dashes and massy plunge of a waterfall; best in every shady dingle where it drifts dimples full of sweet sunlight, and best in twinkling dew-drops on a lily, tossed into showers of sparkles by a humming-bird; if we have felt the large grandeur of plains sweeping up to sudden lifts of mountain, and if mountains have taught us their power and energy, and the topmost snow-peaks their transcendent holy calm; if we have loved and studied Nature thus, and kept our hearts undebased by sense and bewildered by mammon, then it is to us that noblest Art appeals, and we are its scholars and its tribunal. Then we have no mundane errors to recant, and will not keep up a shabby scuffle with our condition, and chuckle punily over some pinchbeck treasure-trove of our conceit, some minor fault in a noble work; but, finding that a bold lover has gone nearer to Nature than we, will choose him for our guide, and follow straight in his track to the penetralia of beauty."

Far more surprising than the high character of these works is the fact that their author should have gone on producing them, in spite of the rebuffs he met with from those through whom he wished to give them to the world. It is easy to write in order to obtain applause; but, to write without the prospect of ever attracting the notice of a single reader, is as difficult and dispiriting as to walk without an object. If other testimony were wanting, we should argue from this that Theodore Winthrop was a man of uncommon determination and energy. He was one of the men very much needed by his country. In America, bold and unscrupulous adventurers are as plentiful as brigands in Italy. They can easily force themselves before the public, and they can as easily climb to place and fortune. Their drawbacks contribute to their success. Were they better educated they would be more retiring. Were they more refined they would be less audacious.

The polish which culture gives to the mind, combined with native force of character and large experience of men and countries, are all manifested in Theodore Winthrop. He is, in our opinion, one of the most original of Amer-

ican writers, without being either vulgar or offensive to men of education. One-half of the best American writing is a pale reflection of English models; the other half the coarse product of a rich but uncultivated soil. Judging from Theodore Winthrop's works, we may yet expect to receive from America something which is at once perfectly fresh and exceedingly attractive. We regret that he was not spared to do the work for which he was so well fitted. Our regrets, however, may be childish, as well as vain. Had he lived longer he might have acquired fame; but this would not have added to his enjoyment. If to die early be a sad lot, for an author to outlive his reputation is a still less enviable fate. Theodore Winthrop was spared long enough to learn what life is worth. Had his days been prolonged, his country would have been the gainer.

ART. VII.—THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR INDIAN POLICY.

A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58. By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE.

THE first only of the three volumes in which the author proposes to narrate the history of the Sepoy war in India is before the public, bringing the course of events up to but the outbreak of the great mutiny. It might seem, therefore, at first view, premature to enter upon a review of the subject at so early a stage; but a careful consideration of the preliminary chapters, in which the author develops his view of the predisposing causes of the mutiny has satisfied us that the most important part of his task has already been completed, and that, guided by the beacon lights he has afforded, we are already in a position to deduce valuable practical lessons for the conduct of our future policy in India from the experience of the past. "The thing that has been, that it is which shall be," is a pregnant historic truth as well as the preacher's homily text; and it will be equally profitable to the statesman and instructive to the student, while considering the several independent causes of dissatisfaction in India with our rule, to mark their concurrent action, and the cumulative force with which they operated to lead up to a state of things calculated to render rebellion in India first desirable to the people—then possible—at length inevitable. It may be premised that the lesson taught by this review we propose to apply especially to the present administration in India, and to take Sir John Lawrence's leading measures as the crucial test, whether the lesson of the rebellion has been read aright.

The practical importance of the subject will at once be conceded, if only in regard to its bearing on the question of the vast European force in India, the retention of which in undiminished permanence is necessitated by the character of our policy. There is a growing

conviction in the public mind in England that it is impossible for us to hold India by a permanent garrison of 80,000 men, including the depôts. The diversion of so large a proportion of the British army from its ordinary fields of service to one notoriously deteriorating to its efficiency, both in respect of the physique of the men and the morale of the soldier, is felt to be becoming a national question of importance. Under any circumstances there is no doubt but that in the event of England becoming involved in war in Europe, many of the India regiments would be withdrawn to meet the exigencies of the occasion. What then would become of India if a policy of repression be persisted in up to the eleventh hour? Well said Prince Schwartzburg: "Vous pouvez tout faire avec les bayonnettes—excepté s'asseoir."

The predisposing causes of the rebellion as detailed by Mr. Kaye, may be summarized as follows:—

First. The annexation policy framed and inaugurated by Lord Dalhousie. The doctrine of the right of lapse on which he based that policy, while aiming at the absorption of all the native principalities of India, involved, incidentally, as is ably shown by our author, a religious question of the last moment to the Hindoos at large.

Second. Settlement and Resumption operations under the revenue administration, involving the destruction of the native aristocracy and the ousting of the Talookdars; the above operations, in pursuit of the "Dead-level," being assisted in the great war of extermination by the operation of the civil courts.

Third. Moral and material progress. Social reforms. Supposed attack on caste. Proselytism apprehended under the mask of secular education.

Fourth. Deterioration of discipline in the native army, and alienation of the attachment of the Sepoys individually by the measures of Government.

It will not be necessary to our purpose to notice the several instances adduced by the author in illustration of his views, under each of the above heads. It will suffice to indicate their general character and effects to enable us to proceed to the practical application of the lesson.

The annexation policy framed to effect the absorption of all the independent native states in India, was suggested to its author's mind by political considerations having reference to consolidation. Lord Dalhousie believed, and placed on record his conviction, that the existence of independent states within the boundaries of our Indian empire must necessarily be a source of weakness to our Government, and consequently that to sweep them away must conduce to strengthen and consolidate our power. "To get all India within a ring-fence" was a favourite expression of the annexation school. But while enunciating this plausible doctrine, several important considerations bearing on the question of its safe and profitable accomplishment were entirely lost sight of. The breach of public faith involved in disallowing suc-

cession to states according to the terms of treaties, as understood by the original contracting parties, and corroborated by the universal usage in India, was naturally calculated to destroy the confidence of the people of India at large in British good faith and justice. But on our reputation for these qualities was built up our power in India from its earliest foundation. The inauguration of a policy, then, the inevitable tendency of which was to undermine that foundation, ought logically to have been accompanied by a large accession of material force in the form of European troops. But how stood the fact on this head at the period of the last of the annexation series (Oude)? The total strength of European troops in India at large was actually less than in preceding years, the only difference being observable in their distribution, twelve thousand being massed in and about the Punjab—the first of the acquisitions under the Dalhousie régime—a form of distribution which left the rest of Upper India almost entirely denuded of European troops.

The heavy additional charge on the revenue of the vastly increased European force, by the support of which alone their policy of consolidation, so called, could be safely carried out, does not appear to have occurred to the annexationists. Nor, again, when their principles should have been carried to their legitimate consequence in the extinction of the native states, whom we hold to be the real Conservative elements in our Indian empire, do the advocates of the policy in question seem to apprehend the ruinous effect on the Indian revenue of having hundreds of thousands of square miles of desert and jungle thrown upon our hands. Such inaccessible tracts of country are ever the chosen retreat of marauders and other fugitives from justice. Under the rude but severe methods of the native rulers, a certain degree of order can be maintained at a comparatively slender charge for police and other administrative machinery. But such tracts, if ever thrown upon our hands and managed under our more enlightened system, and subject to the scrutiny of English public opinion, would eat up the revenues of fertile districts. Let hankering annexationists, then, understand—and they are yet legion, in spite of the terrible lesson of the rebellion which they have mis-read—that annexation, as a general policy in India, would not pay.

Prominent among the wrong readers of that lesson stands the present viceroy, Sir John Lawrence. He has recorded his opinion in a despatch, dated 29th April, 1858, that the convulsion was merely a military mutiny, which had its origin solely in the fears of the Sepoy for his caste—as affected by the incident of the greased cartridges—and that political causes formed no part of the question. Since Sir John Lawrence was the chosen instrument of Lord Dalhousie in carrying through the most notable of his annexation measures to an issue of ruthless spoliation of private property unheard of in the recognised maxims of international law defining rights of conquest; since Sir John Lawrence is now in a still higher position whence he may influence public policy in

India in the direction of his political proclivities, it is important to the consideration of the question of India's future, to bear in mind that the present Viceroy does not believe that past political causes enter as an element into the question of the late mutinies.

For our own part, coinciding with the larger and more statesmanlike view of the subject taken by our author, we incline to the belief that political causes, long in operation, conspired to form the mine which the greased cartridge excitement only served as a spark to explode. Hence, it need hardly be added that we wholly concur in Mr. Kaye's view of the effect of the annexation of Oude, the last of the Dalhousie series. It was emphatically the last straw that broke the overladen, much-enduring camel's back. Not only did it stand in native estimation without the justification of even an alleged act of hostility or suspicion of intrigue preferred against the king; it was notorious, on the contrary, that he had ever been our faithful ally and friend, even to the extent of lending the British Government money from his private treasury in times of foreign war and domestic difficulty. A further cause in this instance conspired to render the measure of annexation more than ordinarily dangerous, and it is well delineated by our author. Oude being the recruiting-field of nine-tenths of the Bengal army, and of a large proportion of the Bombay army, the absorption of the kingdom into our government swept away the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the sepoys in their native state as soldiers of a paramount power; and to secure which privileges for their families as for themselves, had always been one principal object which attracted to our ranks one or more members of every family in Oude. Now all were reduced to the dead level under the *chuprassee Raj*.^{*} Hence the annexation of Oude severed one main link of attachment of the Sepoys individually to the British Government.

There was yet one more aspect in which the annexation policy presented itself to the people, and that the religious, the most critical, perhaps, of all. Material losses by high-handed confiscation may be endured, life itself laid down under the pressure of unwonted hardships, all the more readily, perhaps, as affording a prospect of relief from the same. But "LAPSE," writes our author, "is a dreadful and an appalling word; for it pursues the victim beyond the grave. Its significance, in his eyes, is nothing short of eternal damnation." This may be explained by reference to the Hindoo usage, which renders it indispensable that the son should perform the funeral obsequies of his father, to deliver his soul from the Hindoo purgatory. These last offices as performed by an adopted son are equally efficacious as if performed by a direct heir of the body. Annexation, then, by the assumed right of Lapse, or refusal to permit succession by the recognised Hindoo law of adoption, destroyed

not only the independent state concerned, but also, in native belief, the soul eternally of the late ruler.

So much for the character and tendency of Lord Dalhousie's annexation policy. Unfortunately he found willing and able instruments to carry it out, with a zeal inspired by a foregone conclusion of its justice and expediency. Prominent among these instruments was Sir John Lawrence, who, in virtue of his better adaptation to Lord Dalhousie's views, on account of identity of principles, was promoted by his lordship to be Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, in supercession of his brother, the wise, the chivalrous, and ever to be lamented Sir Henry Lawrence.

The system of Settlement and Resumptive Operations under the Revenue Administration, though not striking at such high game as that sketched under the preceding head, yet in the total destruction of the native aristocracy and landed gentry, and ousting of the talookhdars, which it involved, inflicted infinitely more widespread ruin, havoc, and dismay throughout the country. None so high as to be powerful enough to resist; none so lowly—if he were but in the position of a gentleman, raised ever so little above the dead level of the smallest village community—as to elude the searching scrutiny of the settlement officers. With what bias their cases were decided may be inferred from the principles of the administration of which these settlement officers were the appointed executive. The theory set up was, that the inalienable right to the soil resided in the peasant proprietary of the villages, and that all found above the level of that class, whether as individual proprietors or as hereditary revenue-collectors and landholders combined (talookhdars), must necessarily have acquired such a position by an usurpation of the rights of the village communities, and whom consequently it was just and proper to evict.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the natural tendency of such a policy to engender the deepest feelings of discontent and hatred to our rule on the part of the large class of heads of native society. Beggared and thrown broadcast over the land, it was not difficult for them to disseminate far and wide an impression against British justice, of which they were the living examples. Tears of shame from men, of anguish from despairing women, as they went forth from the happy homes of their ancestors, sank into the parched earth as very dragon's teeth. The crop of armed men, in the fullness of time, sprang forth in the general mutiny. The history of that troubled period paints no more aggravated instances of hostility carried to the utmost extremity of desperate resistance and infuriate hate than was presented by the conduct of the ousted talookhdars and other dispossessed native gentry. Oude was a notable example. And since the recent measures of the present Viceroy in regard to the province appear to us of a character to revive the anti-talookhdar policy which had already borne much bitter fruit, it may be worth while, in anticipation of the review of the measures in question to be taken in a subsequent part of

* A term of reproach applied by the natives to the British rule, on account of the oppressive conduct of the subordinate native employes called *chuprassees*, from the badged belt they wear in livery.

our paper, to quote from our author the able sketch of the origin of the talookhdars, and his high authoritative opinion of the treatment to which they had been subjected:—

“There are few who have not become familiar with this word *talookhdar*, who do not know that an influential class of men, so styled in virtue of certain rights or interests in the land, were dispossessed of those rights or interests, and reduced to absolute ruin. It must be understood, however, that the proprietary rights of which I speak, were very different from the rights of landed property in England. The talookhdar was little more than a hereditary revenue contractor. His right was the right to all the just rents paid by the actual occupants, after satisfaction of the Government claims. His property was the rent, *minus* the revenue of a particular estate. The talookhdaree right, or right on collection, was distinct from the zemindaree right, or proprietary right in the soil. The talookhdar, who paid to Government the revenue of a large cluster of villages, had, perhaps, a proprietary right in some of these small estates; perhaps in none. The proprietor's right, in most instances, lay with the village communities; and it was the main effort of the English officers engaged in the settlement of the North-western Provinces, to bring these village occupants into direct relations with the Government, and to receive from them the amount of the assessment fixed upon their several estates.

“Now it was a just and fitting thing that the rights of these village proprietors should be clearly defined. But it was not always just that the Government should enter into direct engagements with them, and drive out the intervening talookhdar. The actual occupants might, in a former generation, have been a consequence only of a preëxisting talookhdaree right, as in cases where cultivators had been located on waste lands by a contractor, or grantee of the State; or the talookhdar might have acquired his position by purchase, by force, perhaps by fraud, after the location of the actual occupants; still it was a proprietary interest, perhaps centuries old. Let us explain their position as we may, these talookhdars constituted the landed aristocracy of the country; they had recognised manorial rights; they had, in many instances, all the dignity and power of great feudal barons, and, doubtless, often turned that power to bad account. But whether for good or for evil, in past times we found them existing as a recognised institution; and it was, at the same time, a cruel wrong and a grievous error, to sweep it away as though it were an incumbrance and an usurpation.”*

Mr. Kaye gives the settlement officers credit for integrity of purpose in thus zealously carrying out “the grand levelling system, reducing everything to first principles and a delving Adam. Who was a gentleman and a talookhdar, they asked, when these time-honoured village communities were first established on the soil?” and he characterizes their operations for the extermination of the landed gentry as in pursuit of “the great scheme of restitution.” These subordinate functionaries, doubtless honestly, as well as zealously, did their duty in blindly obeying the orders they had received. All walk but according to their lights. The mole is not to be reproached for burrowing in the earth. It is difficult, however, to acquit

the framers of the system of the charge of organizing a great scheme of confiscation rather than of restitution. In those days nearly the entire revenue of India was derived from the land; and since the total annual amount was often insufficient to meet the annual expenditure, the deficiency having to be supplemented by public loan, or occasionally by loans from our protected native princes, it was naturally an object of the Government of the day to raise the rental of the land as high as possible. Under such circumstances, the rent-free tenures of the landed gentry fell under the observation of the Government revenue authorities, and eventuated in the operations, above sketched, for their resumption. Some of the estates were confiscated directly to the use of the British Government; others were merged into the lands of village communities respectively, in pursuance, as our author indulgently puts it, as before observed, of “a great scheme of restitution.” But since the lands thus restored to the village communities served at the same time to swell the *jamma*, or aggregate revenue of each village payable to the Government, and subject to enhancement periodically at the discretion of the settlement officer, the palpable direct interest of the Government in the matter left “the trail of the serpent over it all.”

And yet it would be more charitable to give the originator of the settlement policy above sketched credit for honest zeal, *pure et simple*, and good faith in intent. But what correlative admission does this not involve? Nothing less than his utter blindness to the natural tendency of such a system of levelling to engender widespread disaffection and hatred to British rule throughout India, leading inevitably to rebellion—an admission stamping the framer of the policy in question with political obtusity, the most dangerous disqualification for rule. It is hard in these degenerate days to have to choose our rulers between the clever-unscrupulous and the stupid-conscientious; but of the two classes, the former are the least unsafe. A right apprehension of the danger of losing all by grasping at too much may suggest moderation to an unscrupulous official; but who shall guard the State against the “unconscious machinations of stupidity,” as Mr. Disraeli felicitously put it. Now who is it that in respect of the settlement operations in question stands impaled on one or the other horn of the above-stated dilemma? Who was the genius of that policy? Mr. Kaye informs us. “It was not the policy,” he writes, “by which such statesmen as John Malcolm, George Clerk, and Henry Lawrence, sought to govern the people; but it was sanctified by the genius of John Lawrence.”

We now understand the reasons for the desire of change of rulers which incited to the rebellion. But how it came to pass that rebellion in India, against a long-established and powerfully organized Government like the British, became *possible* to the degree of success which attended the earlier stages of that in 1857, is a vital question which we have to consider. Upon a right apprehension of it depends, in a great measure, the safety and stability of our position in India. Mr. Kaye's present volume affords

* P. 159.

important information on the point as far as it goes. Official records now before us complete the evidence, which enables us to place our readers in possession of full information on the question.

As early as the beginning of January, 1857, the dread of the Sepoys for their religion, in respect of the greased cartridges, began to manifest itself in murmurings at the depots for rifle practice, and by the more demonstrative and alarming symptoms of nightly recurring incendiarism. The excitement spread throughout the native regiments. Some broke out into open mutiny. Disbandment, executions, proclamations—all was of no avail to check the progress of the disaffection in the ranks. Day by day matters grew worse and worse, till culminating in the general revolt which commenced at Meerut on the 10th of May.

Now during all this time of between four and five months that the storm was brewing, was there no one in the ship of the State weather-wise enough to foretell it and sound a note of warning to put the ship in order, and lay her snug for the gale? How little of right apprehension there was in the Council of the Governor-General of India, of the dark shadows thrown before by the coming events, may be gathered from the despatch of the Government of India to the Court of Directors, dated 19th May, 1857, written in full knowledge of the rise of the native troops at Meerut and Delhee, of the ruthless massacres which had attended the revolt, and crowned by the seizure of the ancient imperial capital, and proclamation of the restored Mogul dynasty. What was the view taken by the Government of India of those events, and the remedial measures it submitted for the approval of the Home Government? Let us hear the despatch. After enumerating by number the six native regiments which had been concerned in the rise at Meerut and Delhee, the despatch observes: "Thus, at the present moment, the native strength of the Bengal establishment is reduced by six regiments. We recommend that the six native regiments, which are in effect no longer in existence, should not be replaced, whereby the establishment of regular native infantry would be reduced to sixty-eight regiments, and that the European officers of these late regiments should be used to officer three regiments of Europeans to be added to your establishment at this presidency." As if the defection of the six regiments were the first and last of the terrible drama, upon which the curtain had but just risen in yells and flames of successful universal revolt—in shrieks of slaughtered women, and in the pealing proclamation of a restored dynasty!

But were there no wise men of the East outside of the council-chamber, to whose warning voice Lord Canning would naturally listen? Where, it would now naturally be inquired, where was Sir John Lawrence? In all the eventful months preceding the crash, during which the premonitory portents were so rife, did that reputed statesman of high mark and station make no sign? He did. We are indebted to our author for the careful research

and faithful accuracy generally with which he has sought out and quoted *verbatim* the recorded words of approved authorities whenever calculated to elucidate important or doubtful points. In the present instance our acknowledgments are especially due to Mr. Kaye, in presenting us with Sir John Lawrence's views of the state of matters up to within a week of the outbreak, in his own words. At page 582 of his first volume, Mr. Kaye quotes from a MS. letter of Sir John Lawrence to Lord Canning, dated 4th May, 1857. We give the extracts from Sir John Lawrence's letters in Mr. Kaye's words. Speaking of Sealkote, where there was one of the schools of musketry for the instruction of the detachments of native regiments, regular and irregular, in the firing of the new pieces, Mr. Kaye says—"Sir John Lawrence went to that station at the beginning of the month (May), 'to see the new school of musketry, as well as to judge with respect to the feeling among the sepoys;' and he wrote to Lord Canning that all were 'highly pleased with the new musket, and quite ready to adopt it. They already perceive how great an advantage it will give them in mountain warfare.' The officers assured him that no bad feeling had been shown, and he himself 'could perceive no hesitation or reluctance on the part of any of the sepoys.'"

Poor Lord Canning! Small matter for marvel that he suffered the first burst of the storm to catch him with sky-scrapers aloft and ports not in, when the most trusty pilots of the State hailed *All's well!* up to the middle watch of the night. And thus it happened that the outburst of the revolt found the Government of India with its magazines, treasuries, and places of strength and prestige, including the ancient capital, in the hands of Native guards.

Well, the Government of that day have individually all passed away from their place of rule—the head of it alas, for ever! with his noble mien and calm courage. But one of the outside counsellors who, misinterpreting the signs of the times, as appears under his own hand, lulled Lord Canning into a false security, still remains in office; and as he has succeeded to the reins of government in India, him we must follow through his measures during the mutinies, the fame of which has obtained for Sir John Lawrence an elevation of such momentous import at once to India and to England.

How came it to pass that an administrator of such high repute, and holding a position affording such favourable opportunities for forming a correct judgment, should have exhibited such fatal blindness to the small cloud on the horizon, ay, even up to the last moment when it had spread its black mantle on every side, and overshadowed the firmament like a pall?

Before answering this question by reference to Sir J. Lawrence's own recorded views, it may be as well to establish conclusively, by further extracts from Mr. Kaye's History, the fact of his political blindness on the critical occasion in question, as revealed in the letter of the 4th May, 1857, to Lord Canning. That letter, it should be borne in mind, was written from Sealkote, one of the Rifle Depôts, and conse-

quently main central points of danger, which Sir J. Lawrence had visited specially to observe passing events and report for the Governor-General's information. A further corroboration then of the blindness to the true significance of those events which misled the Governor-General as well as deceived himself, is to be found in the fact narrated at page 614 of Mr. Kaye's History, viz., that a short time before the outbreak of the mutiny, Sir J. Lawrence "had proposed to the Governor-General to occupy a part of the approaching hot weather in a tour through Cashmeer, but Lord Canning, on political grounds, had discouraged the proposal." Now, is it conceivable that a functionary of the State holding the high and responsible position of Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, would have proposed to quit the capital of his government, and make a summer tour far beyond high mountain ranges for any consideration, had he had the faintest apprehension of the near approach of a crisis which would indeed demand the presence of every man at his post, high and low? But we are not left at all to conjecture on this point. We have but to trace the Chief Commissioner's further progress after writing his memorable letter to Lord Canning from Sealkote on the 4th May, and we find him wending his way towards the Muzzee Hills to pass the summer, and had actually reached Rawal Pindie, at the foot of the hills, hundreds of miles distant from Lahore, the seat of the Government, when the first intelligence of the outbreak of the mutiny reached him.*

To what, then, is Sir J. Lawrence's blindness on that critical occasion, here fully established, to be referred? Let us turn to his recorded views on the origin of the mutiny as conveyed in the published despatch of the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, dated 29th April, 1858, on the "Trial of the King of Delhee." At paragraph 8 we read: "Indeed, it is Sir John Lawrence's very decided impression that this mutiny had its origin in the army itself; that it is not attributable to any external or any antecedent conspiracy whatever, although it was afterwards taken advantage of by disaffected persons to compass their own ends; and that its proximate cause was the cartridge affair, and nothing else." This passage explains satisfactorily the proximate cause of Sir J. Lawrence's failure to apprehend the true significance of the premonitory signs of the mutiny. Believing the prevailing disaffection to be referrible exclusively to the fear of the Sepoy about his caste in connexion with the greased cartridge, the measures adopted by Government to remove this ground of apprehension naturally seemed to Sir J. Lawrence to be amply sufficient—as well they might. The Governor-General, in an earnest proclamation to the army, emphatically repudiated the remotest intention on the part of Government to interfere with their caste or religion in any way, pledging his honour to the disclaimer. All possible practical concessions were made in respect of the *origo mali*. The Sepoys were allowed to grease their cartridges for themselves;

to pinch off the ends instead of biting them as before; in short, nothing was left undone to remove the alarming impression. Consequently, when a lull ensued on the surface of the agitated mass, Sir J. Lawrence straightway comes to the conclusion that the danger was past, and writes the same to the Governor-General, as we have seen. This was natural enough from his stand-point, holding the view that from the commencement it was all the cartridge affair and nothing else; but now comes the really important question in its bearing on the practical point for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government touching the character and tendency of the present rule. That question is this: whence did it arise that Sir J. Lawrence, after his life-time experience of India, arrived at and acted upon his opinion that the disaffection in the ranks of the Native Army had its origin in the cartridge affair alone, and that political causes had nothing to do with it?

We apprehend the only answer can be found in the circumstances of his training in the revenue collectorate branch of the Administration under the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Thomason. As one of the appointed officers for carrying out the grand levelling system of that ruler, John Lawrence's energy and force of character soon constituted him the genius of the movement, and marked him out to Lord Dalhousie as the fittest instrument for carrying out his policy in the Punjab. It was impossible to question the purity of his master's (Mr. Thomason's) motives, and the apparently prosperous, because unopposed, result of the system which the able disciple had adopted, in perfect faith in its righteousness, was not unnaturally calculated to warp his judgment as to its true and inevitable tendency, however remote the catastrophe. And thus it came to pass that Sir J. Lawrence failed to perceive that the measure, of which he himself was one of the most conscientious and well-meaning instruments, was in reality, as we have had so ably demonstrated in Mr. Kaye's history, laying the mine of universal disaffection which the cartridge affair but served to explode.

The terrible experience of the rebellion bore, at least, this good fruit—the policy which had excited it was renounced. The Queen's Proclamation of November, 1858, on assuming the direct rule in India, which was issued under the able and tolerant administration of Lord Stanley, did more than our armies to restore order and tranquillity after the convulsion.

Lords Canning and Elgin were in succession fitting representatives of that toleration, equally political and religious, which prevailed in the councils of Her Majesty's Government, and found expression in the Queen's proclamation. But Sir J. Lawrence's known official bias and proclaimed religious zeal, working through his strong nature, caused his appointment to the supreme rule in India to be regarded both at home and abroad with anxious misgivings. The reactionary policy then which has resulted in the re-opening of the old dangerous sores, was only what might have been expected. But we are anticipating.

We left Sir John Lawrence at the foot of

* "Kaye's History," p. 614.

his summer retreat, whither, in apparent unconsciousness of the significance of all that was brewing under his very eyes, he had retired—only to receive there at a distance from his post the intelligence that the storm had burst. It is fortunate for India that that post, the capital of the Punjab, was held by able and energetic officers at the head of the Military and Civil departments respectively, viz., General, now Sir Stewart Corbett, and Mr., now Sir Robert Montgomery.

It must be premised that at that time about 12,000 European troops, by far the larger proportion of all the European troops in the whole presidency of Bengal, were massed in and about the Punjab. This distribution of European strength had been specially provided by Lord Dalhousie to enable his chosen instrument, Sir J. Lawrence, to carry out his policy of confiscation and repression in the Punjab with safety. This must be borne in mind when we come to speak of the reinforcements sent to Delhi.

On the intelligence of the events at Meerut and Delhi reaching Lahore, General Corbett and Mr. Montgomery, in consultation, promptly decided on disarming all the native troops at the post. This measure was ably and effectively carried out by the General. Sir John Lawrence appears to have remained stationary at the foot of his summer retreat during the two terribly eventful months that followed, having the protection, as a body-guard, of half a battery of European artillery, and two companies of European infantry. We learn from the History that he wrote letters thence to the Commander-in-Chief, and to the Governor-General: to the former he addressed an earnest appeal to be "up and doing"—an obvious suggestion enough, we should have supposed, under the circumstances. From the Governor-General he sought permission to raise a body of Sikh Irregulars, up to the strength of one thousand. He also submitted a suggestion to intercept the Chinese regiments, but this suggestion had been already long anticipated by Lord Canning. This point is conclusively cleared up by Mr. Kaye. The suggestion was an obvious one enough, and was made, we learn, by many officers at the time besides Sir J. Lawrence, and long before him. It is important to note this point, for it was upon the bare fact of Sir J. Lawrence having made such a suggestion, that his eulogists claimed for him an exclusive possession of political sagacity and prescience in apprehending the real magnitude of the crisis. It is but due equally to Lord Canning, to whom it spontaneously occurred, and to other officers who submitted the like suggestion at an earlier date, that the real facts on this head should be known.

The next point that claims our attention in connexion with Sir J. Lawrence's action as Chief Commissioner of the Punjab during the mutinies, has reference to his having desired that our frontier post of Peshawar should be abandoned, and the garrison withdrawn to Lahore. Now clearly to understand the fatally disastrous consequences that must have ensued from such a step at such a time, it is necessary

to consider that Peshawar has always been held to be the key of India. The eyes of all Afghanistan were turned upon it, and straining eagerly beyond, towards the rich plains and wealthy cities of Hindoostan. We have positive information that thirty thousand Afghans had shod their horses for the expected raid. The troublesome tribes also on our own N. W. frontier, including our recent enemies, the Sittana fanatics, among others, were eagerly watching for the first signal for safe inroad. The successful revolt of the large native force in garrison at Peshawar which was daily looked for by our enemies, might have afforded such a signal. The abandonment of Peshawar under any circumstances most assuredly would. A rise in the Punjab, that would probably have ensued on the retreat of our force from Peshawar, pursued, as it would inevitably have been, by the Afghans and N.W. tribes, presents to the mind such an aggravated view of our actual difficulties of that day that we can entertain no other conclusion but that in such an event India must have been lost. Fortunately the officers at the head of the military and civil departments at Peshawar were men of a similar calibre to those who had saved the position at Lahore. General Sir Sydney Cotton, then commanding the garrison at Peshawar, strenuously opposed Sir John Lawrence's proposal to retire from and abandon Peshawar. He pointed out the certain disastrous consequences that must ensue from such a step in a tone indicative of his firm resolution to maintain the post. In this resolution Sir Sydney Cotton was ably seconded by his civil coadjutors, Colonel, now Sir Herbert Edwardes, and the heroic—the ever to be lamented Nicholson. A better method of meeting the difficulties by which his position was threatened suggested itself to the General's truly British instinct—to confront the danger and overcome it. The great danger was the presence of the large number of mutinous native regiments, with the comparatively small European force at his command. He decided on disarming all the native troops, and did so. By measures admirably planned and as boldly executed, each native regiment found itself confronted simultaneously by guns charged with grape, port fires lit, and a small party of European soldiers to support them. Taken completely by surprise, all laid down their arms without a sign of resistance. The General was then master of the situation. No more rumours of impending incursions from Afghanistan, no further trouble or danger from the surrounding frontier tribes. These, on the contrary, who had so lately been watching for a signal for safe inroad, when they saw the native troops powerless and the British star in the ascendant, true to the instincts of their race, flocked to offer their services for our ranks. Some of the best irregular regiments now in the Indian army were then raised.

The disarming movement in the Punjab, conceived with such political sagacity, and carried out so boldly by Sir Stuart Corbett at Lahore, was followed up, as we have seen by Sir Sydney Cotton at Peshawar, under the more criti-

cal circumstances and with the superadded responsibility of acting in opposition to the views of the Chief Commissioner. When the entire success of these operations, however, had laid the native troops in the Punjab disarmed and powerless at the Chief Commissioner's feet, and he found himself with the vast European force which was massed in the Punjab, free from all apprehension of a rising, Sir J. Lawrence then, and not till then, considered himself in a position to obey the distinct and positive orders which he had long since received from Lord Canning, to send down reinforcements to Delhee. The orders in question, sent through the Lieut. Governor, North-Western Province, and given in the earliest days of the mutiny (May) will be found at page 603 of Mr. Kaye's History, in the following words: "Send word as quickly as possible to Sir John Lawrence that he is to send down such of the Punjab regiments and European regiments as he can safely spare. Every exertion must be made to regain Delhee. Every hour is of importance." However, the time having at length arrived, in the Chief Commissioner's judgment, when he might, with safety to his position in the Punjab, spare troops for Delhee, the equipment and despatch of the successive columns was arranged with that talent for administrative detail for which Sir J. Lawrence is justly celebrated. And when by the aid of these reinforcements Delhee fell and India was saved, Lord Canning, with that generous magnanimity which formed a distinguishing feature of his character, recorded his public acknowledgments to Sir J. Lawrence in terms calculated to convey the impression that his action in the despatch of reinforcements was the spontaneous dictate of his own right and exclusive apprehension of the exigencies of the occasion, instead of being, as we have seen it was, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General.

Time rolled on. Vicissitude, which marks the course of human affairs generally, is pre-eminently active in the East. Among the fitful changes through which she has asserted her dominion in that sphere, none is more remarkable, none more sad, than the destiny which has consigned four successive Governors-General of India to untimely tombs. The last, Lord Elgin, had scarcely settled down to his work when tidings came of his fatal illness. At the same time came intelligence that we were at war in the North-West. Having unnecessarily thrust our head into a hornet's nest, the buzzing of the adjoining tribes on the N.W. frontier would seem to have excited an apprehension in England that the Government of India was drifting into another Afghan war. Visions of difficulties, debt, and deficit, scared the peaceful slumbers of the Secretary of State for India. Naturally casting about for the fittest person to avert such a catastrophe, Sir J. Lawrence's presumed superior knowledge of the North-West and its troublesome frontier tribes, pointed him out as the man for the emergency, and he was appointed accordingly as Lord Elgin's successor. He arrived at

the seat of his government on the 12th January of last year (1864), to find the little war over, the troops returned to their quarters, and no occasion whatever for his presence in the North-West. But there was a little cloud in the North-East which claimed his attention—Bhotan. The correspondence on this question has just been published in the form of a Parliamentary Blue Book, to which we must refer our readers for full details. It may suffice in this place to state briefly the points which are established by the correspondence, and the conclusions at which we have arrived.

The mission to the Court of Bhotan, which ended so unfortunately, and has now involved the Government of India in such serious complications, was projected under the Government of Lord Elgin, the Honourable Ashley Eden being appointed the envoy. But Sir J. Lawrence, on his arrival, found the mission in abeyance, owing to the neglect of the Bhotan Court to acknowledge in any way a communication which had been addressed to it by the Government of India, announcing the contemplated deputation of an Envoy. The new Governor-General was thus afforded time to review the proposed Bhotan policy, and an opportunity of reconsidering the question of the mission. An interval of between four and five months having elapsed since the despatch of the communication in question, the total silence of the Bhotan Court might, we should think, have impressed Sir J. Lawrence with a sense of the reluctance of the Bhotan Court to receive the mission in the terms proposed, and to have suggested to him the expediency of relinquishing it, unless, indeed, the contemplated objects were held to be so imperative that it should be considered worth while to support the Envoy with a preponderating force. And such a view of the matter would doubtless have presented itself to any officer of Eastern diplomatic training conversant with the usages of the Native States. But, unfortunately, Sir J. Lawrence's exclusive training in the revenue department, and his subsequent employment as chief commissioner, with the support of a vast European force, which rendered the practice of diplomacy in his office superfluous, had ill fitted him for weighing the chances of a successful issue to a mission undertaken under such unpromising circumstances. We are hardly surprised, then, to find by the correspondence that Sir J. Lawrence entertained no misgivings on the question. On the contrary, that he not only adopted the policy, but, disapproving the plea for postponing the advance of the mission, issued on the 8th February, 1864, definitive orders for the advance, and reported to the Secretary of State in a despatch of that date, that he had done so—and the ground of his decision, as stated in a previous despatch, viz, because "a substantive Government had been re-established in Bhotan." Now, we should have imagined that, assuming this statement to be fact, the continued silence of the Court, so far from conveying an encouragement for the advance of the mission, afforded a strong presumption of the hostility

of the Government alleged to have been re-established.

But the process of ratiocination in the collectorate mind on political questions defies all ordinary methods of diplomatic deduction, so the mission was ordered to march. Its reception from the first mile that it entered the Bhotan territory was just what might have been expected under the circumstances. This mission encountered difficulties and premeditated obstructions from the very outset. Mr. Eden duly reported them to the Governor-General on arriving at the post of Dalimkote. This fact of his having so reported, is clearly established by his letter of 25th July, 1864. It is important to bear this in mind, for a reason which will appear presently. Here, then, at another stage of the affair, Sir J. Lawrence had another opportunity afforded him of reconsidering the Bhotan policy—at an advanced stage, further, which in the facts before him of premeditated obstructiveness to the mission on the part of the local officials, presented the clearest indication of the hostile temper of the Court—for in a despotic state the local authorities take their tone entirely from the central authority. This is more particularly true of the native states of India; but, the Governor-General apprehended it not! for, in reply to Mr. Eden's letter from Dalimkote, above referred to, Colonel Durand, the foreign secretary, wrote to him that he "had laid his letter before the Governor-General, and that he did not think the state of affairs unfavourable to a successful issue" to the mission (*vide* Mr. Eden's despatch of 25th July, 1864, above referred to). The envoy's doubts regarding the advisability of prosecuting his mission in the face of such clear indication that it was unwelcome to the Bhotan Government being thus overruled by the head of the Government of India, he proceeded on, in pursuance of the distinct intimation he had received of the views of his Excellency. British pluck, and his natural energy of character, enabled Mr. Eden to surmount the serious difficulties he had to contend with throughout his journey, and he reached the capital, Ponakh, only to experience the failure which might have been anticipated for a mission urged forward by the Government of India under such unpromising circumstances. We need not recount the tale of shame and humiliation, how the British envoy and his suite were cuffed, reviled, spat upon, and after suffering indignities worse than death, allowed to depart with life alone.

For this lamentable issue to the mission, the responsibility obviously rested with the Government of India, which had urged its continued prosecution in full possession of the significant report from the envoy of the indications afforded from the outset that it was unwelcome. But how does Sir John Lawrence act on the occasion? Throws the entire responsibility on Mr. Eden, his envoy! In the despatch to the Home Government, dated 1st June, 1864, announcing the failure of the mission, the Government of India absolves itself from blame at Mr. Eden's expense in the following words:—"In our opinion it would have been well had Mr. Eden given up the mission, particularly

after he arrived at Paro.* It was clear at the outset that the Bhotanese had no intention of receiving him; they did much to deter him from marching from almost from the very first."

The Secretary of State for India, in acknowledging this despatch through the India Office—letter dated 18th July, 1864—concurs with the Government of India in their censure of Mr. Eden's conduct in not giving up the mission. But what information had the Secretary of State before him to form a judgment upon? The précis of the Under-Secretary of the India Foreign Office, Mr. Aichison, which opens the Bhotan Blue Book, and purports to give an authentic précis of the question. It is dated the 19th May, 1864, therefore was before the Secretary of State to guide him in his judgment on the Government of India despatches of 1st June, 1864, announcing the failure of the mission, and their view of the party who was responsible for it. Now, this précis of the Under-Secretary Aichison contains a statement on the most important point on which the question of individual responsibility turns, which is in direct opposition to a statement in Mr. Eden's despatch of 25th July, 1864. The point in question has reference to the fact of Mr. Eden's having reported to the Government of India his departure, or progress. "The letter of 21st April, received here on 6th May, appears to be the first official report of any kind laid before Government. It communicates to Government the entire failure of the mission, after pressing into the country in spite of as plain warnings as any native government ever gives, that the mission was unacceptable," &c. This is the statement upon which the Secretary of State for India in Council was moved to express his concurrence in the censure pronounced by the Government of India on Mr. Eden. Now, in direct opposition to this statement, we have Mr. Eden's statement given in the letter of 25th July above referred to—corroborated by the reply he received, and has quoted, from Colonel Durand, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.

Now here is a matter which we are satisfied our readers will agree with us demands at once the fullest inquiry. The official reputation and the personal character of three public officers of the State, are involved, as further the efficiency of the local administration in India; for upon the Governor-General's successful vindication of the proceedings of his government in this matter against the charge suggested by implication in the public mind by Mr. Eden's emphatic and strongly corroborated statement, will depend the question of confidence in Sir J. Lawrence as a ruler among the officers of the Indian services at large. The full enquiry, then, which the public demands, we trust to see initiated without delay.

The succeeding course of the Bhotan question, in the weak conception of the requisite measures to be taken, and the reverses which resulted from the defective arrangements made for their execution, was only what was to be

* A place but four days' journey short of Ponakh, the capital.

expected from the absence of political sagacity in the head of the Government to which we owe the misfortune of being involved in this calamitous "little war." The same blindness which urged on the mission to its fate without any of the ordinary guarantees for success at the outset, and in the face of palpable rocks ahead in progress, conceived a plan for avenging the outrage to our envoy which only resulted in still further national disgrace and humiliation. We will not dwell on the flight of our troops from Dewangiri—on the British guns abandoned—on the wounded left to the tender mercies of the barbarous enemy. That material position has since been recovered by the advance of a strong European force; but the unfavourable impression which went abroad at the reverse sustained by our arms at the hands of a despised enemy will not be so easily retrieved. Emboldened by their first success, the Bhotanese threaten incursions into our newly-annexed territory of the Doars; and at what cost must we defend this territory—a notoriously deadly tract—from malaria at certain seasons of the year? At the certain cost of the lives or shattered constitutions of the European troops sent to garrison it; of extraordinary increase to the annual army estimates, to replace casualties by death and exceptional invaliding, to meet the expense of erecting barracks and maintaining establishments which, in so unhealthy a region, must be on the most liberal scale to be efficient, and for the prosecution of border warfare with all its vicissitudes on a distant frontier. Sir J. Lawrence found a surplus revenue. Already, within barely a year of his administration, we are confronted by a deficit, caused mainly by this untoward Bhotan imbroglio. In view of the further prospective expenses which it must entail on the Indian revenue, the financial prospects of India are gloomy enough—unrelieved, or rather aggravated, by the means by which the Government of India has proposed to meet the deficit.

And what are these means? The imposition of export duties on several of the staples of India—tea, jute, wool, coffee, hides, sugar, silk. Reaching the very cultivator, these duties tend to depress production. By placing India as an exporting country at a disadvantage with other countries producing the same staples, they tend to drive the Indian products, at their artificially enhanced prices, out of the foreign markets. That Sir C. Trevelyan's extraordinary proposals should have received the sanction of the Viceroy at all, implies a want of apprehension on the part of his Excellency, at once of the fundamental principles of political economy, and of the established commercial policy of England. Indeed, this is conclusively proved by Sir J. Lawrence's speech as president of the viceregal council; therein he states the ground on which he considers that "Government had exercised a wise discretion in proposing to supplement its ways and means by a moderate amount of export duty." But his support in council of this retrograde policy was not all. So little has he studied the progressive development of ideas in England on the subject, on the principles of taxation which we had found recommended by

all our commercial experience, that without any misgivings as to the course he was pursuing, the Viceroy did not hesitate to commit his government to the public promulgation of the budget in question without awaiting the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, hopelessly compromising his Government further in the matter by rejecting an appeal from the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce against the promulgation of the export duties. That the announcement should have been received in England with astonishment, have formed the subject of question in Parliament, and should thereupon have been at once avowed as true and authoritatively repudiated in respect of the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government, was only what was to be expected. But in what a position has Sir John Lawrence thereby placed his Government? Apart from the humiliation and attendant weakening of its authority, we need hardly remark on the natural tendency of such a reversal of a duly promulgated measure of policy to shake the confidence of the Indian public at large in the local legislature.

We will conclude this review with a brief notice of two further instances of retrograde policy on the part of the present Government of India, for which Sir John Lawrence is responsible, not merely primarily as head of the Government, but, from the initiative and individual action he has taken in the matters in question, may be regarded as solely responsible. It is with much concern we have to observe that the tendency of the Governor-General's action in both the instances referred to is of a more dangerous and revolutionary character in its effect upon the people of India at large than any of the others above cited, and calculated, consequently, to prolong indefinitely the retention in India of the vast European force at present garrisoning it.

The one has reference to the Burning Ghat question, which arose last year from the prohibition promulgated in the official Government gazette against the Hindoos performing their ordinary funeral rites to the dead, such as had been practised without let or hindrance from time immemorial, throughout all the changing rules under which India has successively fallen. In the Ides of March last year, but a few weeks after Sir J. Lawrence had assumed the reins of government, the Hindoo community was startled by an announcement in the official gazette of the Government of Bengal, that for sanitary reasons the practice of throwing the "dead bodies of Hindoos, and carcases of animals," into the Hoogly, was prohibited, and decreeing the removal of the Burning Ghat, or place of cremation, from the spot on the bank of the river, where it had stood from time immemorial, to some other place at a distance, miles away from the bank of the river. Now, the civilized Christian reader need not smile in contempt at the reverence with which a certain river was regarded by the Hindoos as holy, and funeral obsequies performed on its banks deemed essential to their salvation, when we read in our Scriptures of the holy river of Jordan, and the efficacy which our Saviour

ascribed to its waters on account of its sanctity. But at all events, to the Hindoos the Hoogly is now, as it had been from time immemorial, a holy river. Apart from the indecency and outrage upon the feelings of the Hindoo community, of classing the dead bodies of Hindoos in the same category with the carcasses of animals, the attack on their religion involved in the Government notification in question was obviously calculated to excite the greatest possible alarm. The determined opposition, then, with which the proposed measure was met in Calcutta was only what might have been expected. To such a dangerous height did the excitement rise, that Government were fain to recede from their proclaimed resolution respecting the removal of the place of cremation, and succumbed before the popular clamour which its ill-judged measure had aroused. To a Government like that of the British in India, based on material force, such a humiliating result was more dangerous than confronting open rebellion. And to whom was the commotion owing that resulted in such a damaging defeat? We regret to learn, to Sir John Lawrence. Sailing one day from Calcutta up the Hoogly to the viceregal retreat of Barrackpore, a corpse floating down the broad expanse of the river came "twixt the wind and his nobility." Forthwith he addressed a letter to the Lieut.-Governor, Mr. Beadon, directing him to take measures to abate the nuisance. Action initiated from so high a source, without reservation or modifying safeguard, was obviously calculated to run into extremes. This is well illustrated by Shaikh Sadi in his chapter on the morals of kings, in the *Gulistan*. "If the king pluck a single apple, his followers will root up the orchard, root and branch. If the king take a single egg, his followers will spit a thousand fowls. If at mid-day the king should say, 'It is night,' the courtiers will exclaim, 'Behold the moon and the Pleiades!'" Hence, then, the outrageous proclamation of the Lieut.-Governor above referred to, in natural pursuance of the unreserved order he had received.

Now, in the conduct of Sir J. Lawrence in this instance, which, as we have seen, entailed upon the Government of India so humiliating and dangerous a defeat, we have presented before us two remarkable points which rivet the attention, and fill us with mingled wonder, regret, and alarm. The first is, that a man who had passed so many years of his life among the people of India should have evinced such intolerance for an immemorial custom of the people, which, however strange or disgusting it might have appeared in the eyes of a cadet fresh landed from England, would, it might be expected, be regarded by the appointed ruler over millions of people with some degree of respect and sympathy for the feelings of that people looking up to him for protection and governance. The next point for remark is, that an officer, who had placed on record his belief that the late mutiny and commotion in India had its origin solely in an alarm of the natives for their religion, should have so forgotten the lesson taught by that rebellion, as

to excite similar alarm in an incalculably aggravated ratio, inasmuch as extending to all classes of the Hindoo race throughout India, high and low, civil as well as military. The interference with the religion of the Hindoos, which was involved in the Government proclamation in question, was a signal to all that an era of an intolerant régime had dawned, and, in connexion with the high source whence it had emanated, served but to confirm the worst apprehensions of all who were aware of Sir J. Lawrence's peculiar religious proclivities, burning with intolerant zeal, however conscientious. What made his action in this instance in question the more remarkable is, his manifest blindness to its inevitable political effect in a direction most dangerous to British supremacy. Having displaced the Mahometan rule in India, the British might reasonably look for Mahometan conspiracies and combinations against their power; and in this view of the question the Hindoos, distinct in race and differing in religion, might be regarded as an element of counterpoise—as a conservative element—in our system of Government. What are we to think, then, of the fatuity which wantonly struck a blow at the Hindoos which was naturally calculated to throw them into one hostile camp along with the Mahometans, against the intolerant Feringhee? The humiliating concession on the part of the Government to the clamour which its ill-judged measure had excited, averted the rebellion which might otherwise have broken out; but the impression remains, only aggravated in a direction dangerous to British prestige by the concession by which it was sought to be removed.

Even admitting, for the sake of argument, what accurate data before us enable us to dispute as a matter of fact, that there was extraordinary sickness raging in Calcutta at the time, and that exceptional sanitary measures were demanded, there was a way of moving in so delicate a matter which would have obviated the danger and alarm excited by the course adopted. There are several native gentlemen in Calcutta of high position and wealth; some of them members of the Legislative Council of Bengal, who, owing to the enlightenment of a superior European education, have risen superior to the superstitions of their countrymen. Baboo Ramgopal Ghose was one of these. In the public meeting which had been convened to protest against the measure of Government, he stated that he did not believe that his future salvation depended in any way on the manner in which his funeral rites might be performed. "But," added the Baboo, "there are millions of my countrymen who do think so, and in their interest I stand here to protest against this outrage upon their feelings involved in the Government measure, and feel bound, as a member of the Legislative Council, to declare that an attempt to carry it out will inevitably cause wide-spread alarm and discontent throughout India, endangering even another rebellion." The measure was abandoned. The place of cremation was left where it had always stood. But if, instead of placing his Government in so false a position, the Gov-

error-General had moved in the matter unobtrusively, through such leaders of the Hindoo public in Calcutta as Ramgopal Ghose and others, he would have had the advantage of good counsel, and been admonished in time of the danger of the course he proposed.

Another point of the religious question has been raised by Sir J. Lawrence, only less momentous in its bearing on the contentment of the people of India with our rule than the attempted interference with their funeral rites above commented on. We allude to the social aspect of the question. Constituted as human nature is, we need not preface the facts and observations which we have to submit on this head with any metaphysical enquiry into the cause why social distinctions move men with equal, if not greater force, than their material interests. The position will be conceded. What are we to think, then, of Sir J. Lawrence's exclusion from the Viceregal State balls and assemblies, of natives of India, however exalted in rank or merit—saying and excepting only Christian converts? The consistent endeavour and steadfast policy of all his predecessors in the Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship of India, have been to obliterate distinctions of race. The Earl of Elgin, Earl Canning, Marquess of Dalhousie, back through the long roll of illustrious statesmen whom England has sent forth from the ranks of her highest nobility and most honoured gentlemen to represent her Sovereign and rule her Indian subjects, all have considered the maintenance of such race distinctions as equally impolitic as invidious, and have deemed it their first duty to seek to do away with them. Accordingly, the native nobility and gentry have been freely invited to their State entertainments, and in virtue of their rank have duly had the honour of handing down the countesses and ladies of the viceroys. Is it to be permitted to Sir J. Lawrence to reverse the consistent practice in State ceremonial of his predecessors upon grounds which lay the Government of India fairly open to the charge of religious intolerance, in violation at once of the progressive policy of the empire, and of the proclamation of the Queen, guaranteeing religious toleration to all?

In proof that the objection which we have here thought it our duty to take on principle to Sir John Lawrence's conduct in this matter rests not on mere presumption of its impolicy, we quote from the *Hindoo Patriot*, the leading organ of the native community in Calcutta, the following extracts, which serve conclusively to establish the fact of the deep personal offence and general alarm which has been excited by this further exhibition of religious intolerance in the head of the Government:—

Extract from the *Hindoo Patriot* of 9th January, 1865.

“As public journalists we are bound to enquire into the reasons of these distinctions. We would not have said a word if these balls and levees were private entertainments, given by the Viceroy at his own expense; but as they are State ceremonials,

and as there is a separate budget allowance to defray their expenses, every citizen has a right to know why invidious distinctions of race and religion should be made for the first time in the regulation of these social festivities, which are held in the name of the Queen, who is the Sovereign Mistress alike of the white and the black, of the Englishman, the European, the Jew, the Parsee, the Hindoo, and the Mahometan. If successive Governors-General, from Lord William Bentinck downwards, considered it a point of policy to admit the European and the native on an equal footing to Government House parties, what is there that has led Sir John Lawrence to adopt a contrary policy? During the last thirty years for which this policy was in force, was there a single instance of native misbehaviour? Was there a single breach of propriety on the part of the native? If not, why this institution of race distinctions at a place where above all there ought not to be such distinctions? Are the people of India to understand that the profession of Christianity is the only passport to viceregal parties—at any rate, in the reign of Sir John Lawrence? We know that Her Gracious Majesty recognises no distinctions of religion in the government of her Eastern dominions, but that does not appear to be the policy of our present viceroy. But we are not surprised at this. We know what Sir John Lawrence was when he ruled over the Punjab; and when he was elevated to the viceroyalty, the English and the Indian press with one voice expressed the greatest apprehensions on the score of his religious proclivities, and he would not be true to his creed if he did not already give some promise of the realization of those apprehensions.”

There is one explanation which has been offered for Sir John Lawrence's retrograde action in this social and religious question, which, to our apprehension, only serves to render the more painfully apparent the anachronism of his administration. It is alleged that having been trained in India, Sir John Lawrence is aware of the loose notions which the natives entertain about women—of the institution consequently of *purdah-mesheen*, or hiding women behind screens; so accordingly, he will not suffer his own wife or the ladies at his court, to be dishonoured by being looked upon by any unconverted native. This is certainly the social creed of the bigoted Mahometan, who goes even further than our Mahometan viceroy. For Peer Bukah not only hides his wife behind a screen, but if by accident the screen should fall and expose her for an instant to gaze profane, he looks upon his wife and himself as dishonoured, and straightway cuts first her throat, then his own. The liability to the warping influences of local prejudice which has hitherto been urged as an argument against the appointment of Indian officers to the highest post in the Government could hardly have been illustrated by a more unfortunate example than that afforded by Sir John Lawrence, the viceroy, sinking his high office to the level of the degrading prejudices imbibed by Mr. John Lawrence, the Deputy

Collector, in his official intercourse with the people of the most corrupt city in Hindoostan. Blinded by such prejudices he does not perceive, on the one hand the wisdom of his predecessors in the viceroyalty, in trying to raise native thought to our level, instead of sinking to theirs, nor on the other hand the insult upon his predecessors and the society of their courts, implied in his present proceeding. If, as now virtually proclaimed by Sir John Lawrence, it be dishonour for the ladies of the viceregal court to be looked upon by unconverted natives, in what position stand the peeresses of past viceroys, and the ladies of their court, at which native gentlemen were received on terms of equality—some of these ladies who are now told that it would be dishonour to them for natives to be admitted to their presence, being the self-same individuals who during the past years had constantly met them at the courts of former viceroys?

The last instance we have to adduce in illustration of the retrograde policy of the present administration in India is one in which we trace with alarm the influence of Sir John Lawrence's levelling principles. Having failed to perceive their revolutionary tendency before the revolt, as we have seen by the proofs submitted in a previous part of this article; exhibiting, by his letter to Lord Canning of the 4th of May, and retreat to his summer-box, his utter unsuspecting innocence of the impending outbreak; so now, even after the warning lesson of that terrible crisis, Sir John Lawrence's early training and subsequent administrative experience based on force would seem utterly to have incapacitated him from reading the lesson aright. He still dreams, as from the first he fondly dreamt, that it was a mere military revolt, and the greased cartridges the origin and sole cause of the convulsion. We are hardly surprised, then, to observe Sir John Lawrence's action in the Oude Talookhdar question, in reversal of his predecessor, Lord Canning's policy. It is only necessary to advert to the great political object of Lord Canning's measure and the success which had attended it, to satisfy us of the danger of the course Sir John Lawrence is pursuing. The restoration of the talookhdars of Oude to their former position as hereditary lords of the manor, was designed to bring the country, still heaving with the convulsion of the rebellion, into a state of tranquillity, and through the cooperation of these powerful barons, to maintain it so. Accordingly the measure of restoration was inaugurated by Lord Canning with all the assurances and safeguards which viceregal utterances in open durbar and published proclamations in the Government Gazette, could impart to it. "Be assured," spake the viceroy to the talookhdars, specially convened to hear his words, "be assured that as long as each of you is a loyal and faithful subject, his rights and dignity as talookhdar will be upheld by me and every representative of your Queen, and no man shall disturb them!" An attentive perusal of the Blue Book of papers on this question, dated 20th February, 1865, has

satisfied us that Sir John Lawrence's recent measure in the appointment of a Special Commissioner in supercession of the Chief Commissioner of Oude, to inquire into the existence of tenant right held under the talookhdars on the assumed basis that permissive occupancy for a certain term shall be held to establish such right, irrespective of the interest of the landlord, is virtually a violation of the above pledge given by Lord Canning to the talookhdars. Sir John Lawrence, it will be observed,* denies that he proposes any reversal of Lord Canning's policy. In rejoinder to the objection taken by Mr. Grey, Member of Council, in his able minute of 23rd September, 1864, that "the deliberate action of the former Government in the matter should not be reversed," and contesting the Governor-General's position, that "the question is entirely an open one," Sir John Lawrence, in stating his views in favour of recognising an hereditary class of cultivators in occupants holding, by permission of the present proprietors, a little land at favourable rates, and of recording in the settlement their rights as such, declares—"I am therefore entitled to deny that I propose any reversal of the policy of a former Government. I maintain, indeed, that I am merely providing for its expansion to its contemplated dimensions." The benevolence of the viceroy's motives on behalf of the cultivator we can readily concede; one single example, however, will suffice to show the fatal fallacy that lurks in the position he has taken up. Take the case of a talookhdar who had obtained under the former Oude régime, by force or fraud, or court influence, a grant of waste land. To bring the land under cultivation, he would locate upon it labourers out of employ, or houseless, perhaps criminal vagabonds, seeking likewise the bare means of subsistence. All the capital expended would have to be supplied by the landlord. The labourers he would pay by granting them holdings on the land at favourable rates at first. But will it be contended, that he would not be justified in raising the rent as his land became more valuable through his enterprise in reclaiming the waste, and by the expenditure of his own capital? or that if the original labourer refused to pay the enhanced rent after due warning, the landlord would not be justified in letting his land to others who might be willing to pay it? Yet this communistic and revolutionary doctrine, striking obviously at the very root of all right in landed property, is involved in Sir John Lawrence's measure for recognising and recording rights of ryot occupancy under the Oude talookhdars. He goes further. His proposal to fix a term of twelve years' occupancy as entitling the ryot to right of holding permanently at a fixed rent, tends to demoralize the landlord-class, inasmuch as mulcting in the penalty of loss of proprietary right in his own land the good and considerate landlord, who had treated his tenants well, and offering a premium of immunity from such confiscation to the harsh and grasping land-

* *Vide* page 184 of "Blue Book."

lord, for the frequent eviction of his tenants. This point was urged by the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Wingfield. Nothing, indeed, could be more enlightened and conclusive, both in respect of true policy and sound political economy, than his views on the general question, embodied in the despatch of his secretary, dated 26th March, 1864.*

Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief, in his minute of 17th Oct.,† while modestly disclaiming a mastery of "this purely civil question," exhibits, nevertheless, a statesman-like grasp of its essentially important bearings, and his superiority to the petty professional pretexes on which a vital point of policy was about to be reversed. While the Governor-General was pulling straws with deputy commissioners and settlement officers as to the precise technical meaning of "beneficiary rights of occupancy," and the exact limits of the seigniorial rights of talookhdars generally, Sir Hugh Rose, in three pithy sentences, brushed away the cobwebs of the question by pointing out that "in the present case of Oude there was no room for discussion at all; that the word of the late viceroy was pledged to maintain the talookhdars undisturbed in the position in which, for a high political object, he had placed them, and that the institution at all of the proposed enquiry into tenant rights in Oude was calculated to endanger the success of that policy, excite agrarian agitation and discontent, and disturb the propitious calm of one of the most influential positions of India."

Sir J. Lawrence's coadjutors, Mr. Maine, Law Member, and Mr. Taylor, Ordinary Member of Council, support his policy in Oude, but in doing so, deal the unkindest cut of all to his Excellency's position that he is not reversing Lord Canning's policy. Mr. Maine, while admitting "as a matter of policy the inexpediency of abrupt recoils from one line of action to another," assigns as a reason for suggesting some change of detail from the course which the Governor-General had recommended, that "it did not appear to him to amount on the face of it to so open a departure from Lord Canning's policy."‡ And Mr. Taylor, in advertising to Mr. Maine's views, states his opinion that "they may be adopted without any breach of faith, although it may involve a departure from the previously declared policy of the Government."§ And indeed, Sir J. Lawrence himself would appear to have had some misgiving as to the tenability of his disclaimer on this score; for we find him subsequently remarking: "Even supposing Lord Canning's Government had purposed not to acknowledge any occupancy rights, there are grave objections to admitting that a course of policy adopted or announced by the Government of India carried with it a pledge or promise to any class affected by it." A doctrine more calculated utterly to destroy the confidence of all classes in India in the Government under which they had fallen it

would be impossible to enunciate. The conception was Mr. Maine's. Trained as that justly celebrated jurist has been in the constitutional school of English politics, where the action of a free people, self-governed through its representatives, may safely modify itself to changing circumstances — hardly aware, on the other hand, as he can as yet be from his short experience of India and its motley millions, composed of divers races and creeds, that confidence in the word of the Government is the key-stone of the arch that bridges over the gulf between the governors and the governed, as the Duke of Wellington found and testified, we may understand the grounds of Mr. Maine's doctrine, which he crowns with the expression of his opinion that, "in point of fact, the very existence of a regular legislature in India is inconsistent with the notion of our faith being pledged to the policy of any particular year or period." We say, such doctrines on the part of the Law Member of Council, being comparatively a stranger to India, are intelligible, indeed natural, from his stand-point. But that they should be endorsed by a high officer of the Government of some thirty years' experience of India, and this while in the responsible position of Governor-General of the country, certainly places Sir J. Lawrence quite at the top of that school of Indian politicians, the error of whose principles it is the purpose of the present article to expose.

The Secretary of State, committed by the Governor-General's appointment of Mr. Davis as Financial Commissioner in Oude, sanctions the proposed enquiry to the letter, but manifestly only to save the credit of the local government of India, for the sanction is hedged with so many reservations as practically to take the sting out of the measure.* The Home Government would appear clearly to have apprehended its dangerous and revolutionary character; and so, while according an apparent sanction, take occasion to advert forcibly to the great political object of Lord Canning's policy in placing the talookhdars in an influential position, and add the expression of the "deep regret which it would be to Her Majesty's Government if, carrying these recent measures into execution, any reasonable cause of complaint were given to the talookhdars." The Indian Office despatch in question concludes with an injunction to take especial care "to maintain the talookhdars in Oude in that position of consideration and dignity which Lord Canning's Government contemplated conferring upon them." This ought to suffice to protect them, but Sir J. Lawrence has the credit of possessing the genius of a strong will. Already the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Wingfield, who advocated their rights, has been removed from the province, and thus the Government of India has lost the services of one of its ablest administrators at one of the most difficult centres of rule. The remote result is in the future, but it is to be hoped that

* Page 106 of "Blue Book."

† Ibid. p. 184.

‡ Ibid. p. 174.

§ Ibid. p. 176.

* Indian Office Despatch, dated 10th February, 1865, p. 245, 13 B.

it will not be of a complexion to make us regret that Sir J. Lawrence neglected Mr. Wingfield's entreaty to "take into serious consideration the effect that might be produced in the minds not only of the people of Oude, but of the upper classes throughout India, if the rights solemnly guaranteed by the Viceroy in open darbar in the name of Her Majesty, should be infringed."

Before concluding our remarks on the present administration in India in relation to the subject of our review, it may be worth while to advert to the opinions of the local press regarding the head of that administration, formed from close observation of his measures on the spot. It will be in the recollection of our readers who were watching the impression created by the appointment of Sir J. Lawrence to the Viceroyalty, that the press of India was unanimous in hailing it as a good omen. Judging from the apparent success of his administration in the Panjab, much advantage was anticipated from the elevation to the supreme rule in India of an Indian official conversant with the people of the country and its institutions, some misgivings on the score of his religious proclivities and strong personal prejudices notwithstanding. Loud among the *Io Pæans* was the voice of the leading journal of Calcutta, the *Englishman*, and of that of the N. W. Provinces, the *Delhi Gazette*. Let us hear the present opinion of these organs, speaking after fifteen months' experience of Sir J. Lawrence's rule. Adverting to the export duties, the *Englishman*, in his overland issue of 22nd April, has the following remarks:—

"We have every reason to believe, however, that in this matter the Financial Member is not the sole or the principal delinquent. The belief which attributes this great error to a higher source has been fully confirmed by the reception the Viceroy gave to the deputation of merchants who waited on him with their remonstrances. One of the best of executive officers, one of the most successful, if not brilliant of governors, has turned out one of the most narrow-minded of administrators. The impassable curtness of Sir J. Lawrence's reply to the deputation, which will be found elsewhere, shows that firmness of purpose may degenerate into obstinacy, and that the satrapy of a semi-barbarous province is not the best school of either statesmanship or manners. It would indeed be fortunate for the country if this were the only evidence that the administration of the present Viceroy is an anachronism. The last few days have been prolific of events confirmatory of a truth which has long been painfully evident. Instead of a mutiny to crush, or a turbulent population to overawe, we have at this time peaceful interests to be nurtured by conciliation and encouragement—commercial prosperity impatient for the loosening of its time-knitted bonds—capital wanting only the assurance of administrative wisdom, to pour into and fertilize the land. That conciliation, the resolution and breadth of view necessary to loosen those bonds, and that administrative wisdom, are not in Sir John Lawrence. A ruler who in congenial times might certainly have been useful, perhaps great, is an obstruction, and threatened with the loss of a well-earned reputation because he is misplaced."

And again, in commenting on the Oude question, the same journal concludes its remarks as follows:—

"The official papers which we publish elsewhere are in themselves so damnatory that we should, by further comment upon the viceroy's policy, waste time and space which can be employed on less painful or more profitable subjects."

The *Delhi Gazette* again, thus recants its faith in Sir John Lawrence:—

"It is almost unnecessary to say that we have been much disappointed, since only one opinion in regard to Sir J. Lawrence appears now to pervade every class of the community. For great ability, for breadth of mind or depth of thought, we never gave him credit; we were well aware that he owed to others, chiefly to subordinates, much of the reputation he possessed, but we *did* give him credit for that administrative ability which seizes on and converts to its own practical use (and thereby makes its own) the suggestions of abler minds; we *did* expect from him downright independence and unswerving resolution in times of danger and in matters of difficulty, and we have therefore been, in common with others, utterly astounded at the entire absence of those qualities that he has betrayed since his accession to the viceregal throne, and at the lamentable failures which have characterized almost every stage of his first campaign as Governor-General."

We must here bring to a close our remarks on Mr. Kaye's volume, with the expression of our acknowledgments for the interest and instruction it has afforded us. The abundant authentic materials at his disposal he has handled, as might be expected from his high literary reputation, with the pen of a master. But, above all, he has clearly indicated the deep-rooted sources of the long growing disaffection in India, which cropped out in the mutiny of the native army, and attendant rebellion of large and influential classes of the people. The light he has afforded we have availed ourselves of to scan attentively the proceedings of the present administration in India, and in reference to the subject of our article, to judge whether the lesson of that great convulsion has been read aright. The reader who may have followed us through the preceding review, will, we think, concur with us in regarding the character of Sir J. Lawrence's administration as retrograde, and its tendency, in respect of some prominent points to which Mr. Kaye refers the origin of the late rebellion, as eminently dangerous. According the fullest credit to the purity and benevolence of his motives, we cannot but consider it a matter of serious public concern that Sir J. Lawrence should have been placed in a position demanding of him, on paramount considerations of policy, a repression of the impulses of our weaker nature—a calm judicial calculation of the possible, while regarding the desirable. To elevate a delving peasantry in the social scale was an amiable object, but to seek to accomplish it by reversing a settled policy and raising the inflaming question of "tenant-right" in the most inflammable province of the empire, is hardly the act of a statesman. To christianize the benighted millions of that

heathen land was pre-eminently a great, a glorious object; but to seek to bring it about in a day by establishing invidious social distinctions at the Viceregal Court between the converted and unconverted, is hardly calculated to impress the natives at large with an idea of the charity and toleration of the Christian faith which they are asked to embrace, but rather to emulate the intolerance of the Mahometan. The history of the world presents no example of a sudden national conversion. In matters of faith, conviction is necessarily of slow growth. In the highest matter of religious faith, especially in a heathen land, the belief in the old faith with all its degrading superstitions has to die out before the mind can be fit to receive the impressions of the true. The "Centre of Indifference" is the transition state through which the pilgrim in his progress must pass from the "Everlasting No" to the "Everlasting Yea." Descending to details, we cannot but regard with great mistrust the purely professional character of Sir J. Lawrence's administration, which may be referred to his exclusive and uninterrupted official training. Nothing has so great a tendency to dwarf the mind and confine the ideas within a narrow groove of routine as uninterrupted office. In the earnest and zealous pursuit of official desiderata in detail, the larger interests often which lie on either side pass neglected, perhaps unobserved. Again, the genius of a dominant will, which Sir J. Lawrence has the credit of possessing, is apt to degenerate into obstinacy, a domineering spirit, impatience of difference in opinion, and incapacity for calm deliberation and suspense of judgment. We fear Sir J. Lawrence has not escaped the natural result of the liability. "*Sic volo, sic jubeo*" would appear to be the motto of his administration.

If we thought that the maxims of Metcalfe found any acceptance with the present viceroy, we might ask if he ever heard of a saying of that wise, great man. Speaking of the conduct of our political relations in India, Metcalfe observed prophetically:—"May I never see the day when the *Hookum Shūd** of our judicial courts is introduced into the practice of our intercourse with the princes and chiefs of India."

Instances in illustration of the leading features of Sir J. Lawrence's administration will occur in plenty to those who have followed us through the preceding notice of his measures. They are very much of the complexion that might have been expected from the principles of that school of Indian politicians of which he is now the head, only intensified by the influence of the energetic and personal character and official ability for which Sir J. Lawrence is distinguished. We believe those principles of government, as applied to our empire in India, to be wrong, but waiving the discussion of that question in the abstract, one thing is certain, viz., that the present administration in India, in respect of many points of policy,

is running in the same grooves which our author, Mr. Kaye, has clearly shown us led up to the recent rebellion; and that consequently such a course of policy being presumably distasteful to the aristocracy and people of India, can obviously only be safely persisted in during the presence of the vast European force which at present garrisons India. Are the people of India prepared to maintain seventy thousand men—the greater proportion of all the armies of the kingdom—in permanent garrison in India, subject to the deterioration in physique and demoralization in morale incidental to service in that country? Well might Mr. Oobden exclaim—"I am mute and silenced when I recollect that I have been protesting against war ever since I came into public life, but I have never succeeded in preventing wars all over the world." He might well be mute and silenced on beholding the meddling and muddling that brought on the wretched Sitana and Bhotan wars, converting the late flourishing finances to a condition of present and prospective deficit. However indifferently we may look on now at the diversion of so large a proportion of our troops to India, we can only repeat that, in the event of England being involved in war in Europe, many of the Indian regiments would probably be withdrawn to meet the exigencies of the occasion. What, then, would become of India, if a policy of repression within, and aggression without, be persisted in up to the eleventh hour?

But supposing, on the other hand, that it were decided upon in all contingencies to maintain the British force in India at its highest athletic standard, so as to render a second rebellion impossible, the danger to England would only assume another and perhaps more fatal form. This we cannot more appropriately indicate than by quoting, in conclusion, the words of Mr. Bright, which, though uttered years ago, are equally applicable now:—"I hope it will never be said that the time had come when the arms of England were irresistible in India, but that India was avenged, inasmuch as she broke the power of England by the intolerable evils she imposed upon her, the vast amount of men and money required to keep India in subjection being a burden she was unable to bear."*

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by MESSRS. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

It is unfortunate on many accounts that so few people in England read the Dutch lan-

* "It is ordered;" the heading of all recorded orders in the India law courts.

* Speech in House of Commons on Indian Loan, 1st August, 1859.

guage with facility. Classical and academical persons in this country venture to touch on theological discussions only in a timid and superficial manner; they are carried on in the Netherlands with thoroughness, learning, and pure love of truth, with openness, and by the persons whose positions point them out as the proper persons to undertake the work. The Bishop of Natal deserves warmest thanks for introducing us to one, not the least distinguished of the Biblical critics with whom that country at this time abounds.¹ Professor Kuenen has brought a most complete critical inquiry on the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua into a wonderfully small compass. But in comparing the bulk of his work with that of the Bishop of Natal, it must be remembered that in the case of the latter, a great deal of matter was necessary in order to convince the English reader that the authorship of the Pentateuch was even a fair matter of discussion. Professor Kuenen is able to enter at once *in medias res*. The general results of the inquiries of the two authors coincide in the main, although with differences in detail, as was to be expected. The older part of the Pentateuch is assigned by the Bishop of Natal to the age of Samuel—by Professor Kuenen, with some exceptions, to the age of David or Solomon: the composition of Deuteronomy belongs, according to the former, to the reign of Josiah—according to the latter, to the days of Manasseh. At the same time Professor Kuenen speaks with more certainty than the English critic of the undoubted Mosaic basis of the Hebrew legislation. His general survey of the growth of the legislation is as follows—pp. 75–78.

Moses left the laws of the ten commandments in their original form, and perhaps a few other ordinances in writing, with oral directions for the regulation of the religious and political life of the Israelites. About the end of the time of the Judges, or in David's reign, the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22—xxiii.) came into existence, and songs and patriarchal traditions began to be written down. After the completion of the temple of Solomon, the origin and settlement of the theocracy was composed, beginning with the creation of heaven and earth, and ending with the conquest of Canaan. This "Book of Origins" remained in the hands of the priesthood, and received continual additions, although its legal system was never thoroughly carried into effect. A further effort was made by some unknown prophet—the author of Deuteronomy, in the time of Manasseh—to bring the Mosaic principles into supreme authority. He was inspired with the same conviction which had moved earlier authors, namely, that they were writing in the spirit of the great legislator, and he had no difficulty, according to the then notions of literary morality, in representing

his addresses and laws as Mosaic, and even in attributing the writing of them to Moses himself. Lastly, the documents of the Pentateuch were brought into their present form shortly before the Babylonish captivity. And the Professor sums up—

"If a law can only *then* be called Mosaic, when it has been committed to writing by Moses himself, only very few of the ordinances of the Pentateuch can deserve this name. But inasmuch as the legislation comprised in the Pentateuch contains, as a whole, the development of the principles expressed by Moses—inasmuch as, for a great part, it is nothing else than a description, in a legislative form, of the usages and institutions called into life by Moses—it may throughout be regarded, in a wider sense of the word, as Mosaic. We must, consequently, admit that most of the laws originated after Moses, some even long after him; that the Pentateuch itself contains ordinances which conflict with Mosaic institutions. But, at the same time, we hold it to be certain that no prescriptions are found in it, which would not tend to maintain the principles, and to carry out the proper plan of Moses—the forming of a people dedicated to the service of Jehovah alone—in accordance with the lessons of experience and the continually changing necessities of the age."—p. 78.

The majority in England do not yet understand that a law may be Mosaic, as having originated with Moses, though it were not written by him in its existing form, and in its existing connexion with the narrative. And, as Kuenen says elsewhere, "the traditionary view according to which Moses wrote the whole Pentateuch, must always be well distinguished from the tradition concerning Moses, the lawgiver of Israel" (p. 180). It follows also that in the three middle books of the Pentateuch we have not a journal of events, but only a clothing for the legislation, partly taken from the popular traditions, and partly invented for the special purpose. Perhaps one of the most useful portions of Professor Kuenen's work is to be found in the 20th chapter, pp. 59–65 on *The Pentateuch and the Literature of Israel*. It is frequently said that the truth and Mosaic authorship of the whole of the Pentateuch are implied in the whole of the subsequent history, and in the whole subsequent literature of Israel. Of this literature the writings of the prophets form the most important portion. It is remarkable that Malachi is the first of the prophets who mentions Moses as the lawgiver of Israel, then the author of the Book of Daniel. Other prophets speak of him as the deliverer of Israel from Egypt. But there is no reference in any of the prophets previous to the captivity to an ancient law handed down in writing from Moses. It was only with Ezra and Nehemiah that the obligation of the written law was enforced as the rule of faith and life. There are, moreover, but scanty references in the earlier prophets to the historical events recorded in the Pentateuch. And allusions to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Amos iv. 11), the story of Balaam (Micah vi. 5), of the passage of the Red Sea (Isaiah x. 26), imply the existence of the traditions, but not the then existence of the Pentateuchal narratives as we now have

¹ "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined." By Professor A. Kuenen, of Leyden. Translated from the Dutch, and edited, with Notes, by the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London: Longmans. 1865.

them, for their source. At a later period there is a great resemblance between Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy, and Ezekiel seems to have been familiar with the whole of the legal institutions of the historical books. The writer of the Book of Kings refers to the Pentateuch, and the compiler of the Chronicles does so still more frequently; these references, however, belong properly to the age of the writers. With respect to the poetical books, it has been maintained that the Proverbs and Psalms imply the existence of the law in its present form in the Davidic or Solomonic age. But the expressions of "law," "statutes," and the like, have no necessary reference to any written law at all, and most of the Psalms which are ascribed to David are, as appears from internal evidence, of a later date. Hence our author is led to the conviction that the Pentateuch cannot be proved to have existed in its present form before the commencement of the Babylonish captivity.

In a previous number (Oct. 1864) we remarked on the interest which naturally attached to the posthumous lectures of Schleiermacher on the Life of Jesus, delivered by him in 1832, and before the great movement which took its origin from the "Life of Jesus," by Strauss; and we observed that the particular conclusions of Schleiermacher, though they might not be ultimately tenable, might serve for a halting-place for those who were not yet prepared to follow out a thorough criticism to its conclusions. Strauss justly considers, speaking of Germany, that the fact of the wide acceptance in the present day of the views of Schleiermacher concerning the person of Jesus and the Gospel history, is a sure indication of the more penetrating spirits—the van of the inquirers—having already made good their ground in advance of him. In the critique now before us,³ the object of Strauss is to demonstrate how incapable the Christology of Schleiermacher is to furnish a resting place for the Christian inquirer—and he expresses it as his purpose to break the last barrier which shuts out as yet the full tide of reason and science from the haven of Christian theology. The essential part and kernel of Schleiermacher's doctrine was that which concerned the person of Jesus Christ—his half-rationalizing, half-mystical explanations of the miracles of the New Testament might give way before clearer scientific knowledge and before a cooler criticism. But he conceived of the person of Jesus as beyond the reach of science and criticism on one side, although subject to it on another. His is the last effort to represent one who, as an actual man, must have been subject to all conditions of human life, as at the same time an object of belief and worship—as true man and yet in his nature singular and above all men. The criticism of the writings which purport to be histories of Jesus, tends to prove, that while for the natural side of that life there may be a

historical foundation, the supernatural has its source in the imaginations, affections, or inferences of his followers, and that while their inferences may be accounted for from the conditions under which they lived, they do not supply any just ground for the drawing of like inferences by ourselves. In the present day we have learnt to regard all things in heaven and earth differently from the New Testament writers and the founders of the Christian doctrine. We can no longer regard as true the things which the Evangelists relate, as they relate them; we can no longer regard as necessary to salvation the things which were believed by them. In a certain sense our God is different from their God, our world is undoubtedly different, and our Christ can no longer be the same. And a truthful exegesis of their writings leads not to an adoption of their faith, but to make manifest the gulf which exists between their modes of thought and our own. This applies especially to the fourth Gospel. And it follows, according to Strauss, that if we can no longer conceive with the author of that Gospel, of Jesus Christ as the "Word made flesh," we ought to cease to apply to him such terms as "Redeemer," "Light of the World," which, used in different senses from those which they bore with the Scriptural writers, can only be misleading and deceptive.

In an appendix is given a reprint from the *National-Zeitung* of Strauss's critique of Dr. Schenkel's "Charakter-bild Jesu." The interest of this work of Dr. Schenkel's,⁴ which is in course of translation in the *Revue de Théologie*, consists partly in the immense progress which the learned professor has made since the publication of his *Dogmatik* in 1858, partly also in the fact of its having been the occasion of proceedings against him in the supreme Church consistory of Baden. One hundred and seventeen clergymen petitioned for his deprivation, but were defeated. Nevertheless, Strauss, as may be supposed, is not satisfied with the work, and characterizes it as resuming with one hand to satisfy the Creed, that which it has surrendered with the other to the demands of criticism—of which the issue is that a great deal too much is resumed to consist with criticism, but not enough to satisfy the Creed. Dr. Schenkel, indeed, pleads that as his object is to present a "portraiture" of Jesus, he is not engaged with the dogma which is concerned with his unseen divinity; but Strauss presses him with his concessions concerning the "infancy" which he surrenders as legendary—where, then, is the miraculous and divine conception? also concerning the miracles, which he resolves partly into natural influences operating through the moral nature of their subjects, partly into embellishments of real transactions; and especially with his apparent surrender of the Resurrection of Jesus himself, which is neither miracle nor natural recovery, but an inference on the part of the

³ "Der Christus des Glaubens und der Jesus der Geschichte." Eine Kritik des Schleiermacher'schen Leben Jesu. Von David Friederich Strauss. Berlin. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

⁴ "Das Charakterbild Jesu." Ein biblischer Versuch von Dr. Daniel Schenkel, grossherzogl. badischens Kirchenrath und Professor der Theologie. Wiesbaden. 3 Aufl. 1864.

disciples from their finding the tomb empty. And Strauss protests with his usual energy against the application to Jesus of those titles which can belong to him properly only in an orthodox sense, against still constituting him the central object in worship, and still professing to observe the cycle of the Christian festivals. Strauss, from his point of view, may be logically consistent, but even he will find it a more arduous undertaking to abolish a *cultus* than to unsettle a belief.

The essays of M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, on "Mahomet and the Coran," is a reprint of articles which have appeared in the *Journal des Savans*, suggested by the works of M. A. Sprenger and Mr. W. Muir on the "Life and Doctrine of the Prophet."⁴ We have long outgrown the vulgarity which would exalt Jesus into a divine teacher by stigmatizing Mahomet as an impostor, and it is only with those who from time to time would amuse women and children with readings from the Apocalypse, that the Arabian Prophet and the Pope are the two legs of the great Apostasy. Mahomedanism takes its place along with other religions in the history of the world. It may not be the purest, but it is one of the purest; it may not be capable of a universal spread, but it appears to be best fitted for a large portion of the human race. There is a considerable elegance in M. Saint Hilaire's reviews and compilations, but a want of thoroughness and precision of judgment. He has prefixed to this reprint a discussion on the relations between philosophy and religion, the object of which appears to be to obscure the inference which necessarily follows from the observation of the spread of other world-wide religious systems, that Christianity, whatever its relative superiority, had, like them, a natural origin. M. B. St. Hilaire appears to us to play fast and loose with the supernatural claims of Christianity, to confound religion with theology, and that abstract theology which is a "sister of philosophy" with the theology of a dogmatic system.

The Islamism⁵ of the learned Dr. Dozy of Leiden, author of "De Israeliten te Mecca," of which we noticed a translation into German in our number for October, 1864, is a far superior work on the same subject. It is most complete in its account of the historical circumstances and preparations out of which Mahomedanism sprang, and gives a well compiled account of its subsequent influence on the world, and of its sects and actual position at the present day. The more cautious observers are little disposed to think that its end is approaching. And the tenacity with which it seems likely to retain its hold of wide-spread populations, and those not barbarian or incapable of civilization, renders it, together with Judaism and the seve-

ral forms of Christianity, most worthy of the attention of those who would build up a science of religion. For the concrete religions, it will be found, take their specific forms according to certain laws, which must be ascertained by means of the same pains-taking and dispassionate investigation which has been so amply rewarded in other departments of inquiry.

Serving to the same end, is another learned work, forming part of the same series of publications, and executed in the same calm and judicial spirit—the "Religion of Zoroaster," brought down to the fall of the old Persian kingdom, by C. P. Tiele.⁶ If the religion of Zoroaster cannot be said to exist to the same extent as the religion of Mahomet, it yet lives in the tenets of the Parsees; and it has this claim upon our interest, that it modified Judaism, and through Judaism, Mahomedanism and Christianity themselves. All modern researches into the subject lead to the belief that the dualism which is found in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, is of Zoroastrian origin—the Fall, as we have it in the third chapter of Genesis, and the consequent doctrines of original sin and of atonement, as we find them in St. Paul and Augustine. It remains to be seen whether this dualism will abide as an essential of Christianity. It was essential to Zoroastrianism; it will perhaps be found, that it only remains among ourselves as a superstition, which the time has arrived for casting off.

A collection of sermons by Dr. Zaalberg, preached at the Hague, on "the religion of Jesus and modern tendencies," forms a volume of singular interest.⁷ They are a vindication of his right to retain his place as a minister of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, while deciding against the old orthodoxy every question at issue between it and the modern Christianity. In thoroughness and distinct grappling with the questions raised, these addresses are superior even to those of M. Colani and of Dr. Schwartz, and abound in passages of the greatest eloquence and vigour. The sermons themselves were provoked by repeated challenges to the liberal clergy to justify their position; and after their delivery, proceedings were taken against the author in the Church Court for having violated his subscriptions. It was decided that he had not done so. A conclusion which shows the Church of the Netherlands to be the most free of any of the regularly constituted Churches of Christendom. While fully acknowledging the Christian religion to be the most perfect of all religions, Dr. Zaalberg does not distinguish, by a difference in kind, the inspiration of the Biblical writers, teachers, and prophets, from that which has moved other good men and teachers. And he says, the great conflict of our day centres in the question

⁴ "Mahomet et le Coran, précédé d'une Introduction sur les devoirs mutuels de la Philosophie et de la Religion." Par J. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, Membre de l'Institut, &c., &c. Paris. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

⁵ "De Voornaamste Godsdiensten." Het Islamisme. Door Dr. R. Dozy, Hoogleraar te Leiden. Haarlem. London: Trübner and Co.

⁶ "De Godsdienst van Zarthusra van haar ontstaan in Baktrië, tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk," door C. P. Tiele. Haarlem. London: Trübner and Co. 1865.

⁷ "De Godsdienst van Jezus en de moderne Rigting. Christelijke Toespraken over de Godsdienstige Vragen des Tijds," door Dr. J. C. Zaalberg, Pz. 'S-Gravenhage. London: Trübner & Co. 1865.

as to the natural or supernatural origin of religion. "Has our religion become what it has become in a natural manner in the course of ages, or is it in its birth and earliest development, not the product of natural principles, but of miraculous interventions and operations of God?" (p. 87). Dr. Zaalberg extends his denial of miracle to those of the New Testament, which not only contradict the natural order of the Divine Government, but rest on insufficient evidence, and are not necessarily connected with the real kernel of this religion. Thus the visible Ascension, the corporeal Resurrection, the miraculous conception of Jesus, are eliminated. The portraiture of the Lord himself, and the description of His teaching, Dr. Zaalberg finds rather in the three first Gospels than in the fourth. Nothing can be better done than the exposition given of the Gospel question—which it is shown can be sufficiently and intelligibly laid open to the understanding of a congregation of ordinary education in the compass of a single discourse. Especially worthy of remark is also the manner in which the learned divine vindicates the right of those who attach themselves to the New Reformation to claim kindred with the Old Reformed Church of the Netherlands. The essential doctrine of Calvinism is found in the recognition of the Divine sovereignty. The moderns, therefore, who acknowledge all human action and passion, will, and agency, to be embraced in one comprehending Divine order, held to this fundamental principle of the Reformed Church. Pelagianism and Arminianism set man and God, nature and grace, in opposition: for they must be opposed or contrasted in order to co-operate. Miracle, indeed, can have no place either in the material or spiritual universe; for that would be in contradiction to the unchangeable and omnipresent sovereignty of the Almighty. The old Calvinists deduced from the principle of the Divine sovereignty the doctrine of everlasting damnation, but it is equally consistent with it to look forward, with St. Paul, to the universal happiness of all mankind, when "God shall be all in all." A greater service could not possibly be rendered to young ministers of religion, and inquiring students of theology, than by a translation into English of these most freespoken but thoroughly religious-minded sermons.

Little reliance can be placed upon a commentator who acknowledges himself bound by a principle which must oblige him, in certain cases, to frame his interpretation in a particular way. Therefore, while it will no doubt add to the popularity of his commentary for the Dean of Canterbury to be known to be safe on the cardinal question of inspiration, it will deprive his book of all real value for the truth-loving English student.* The occasion for making a

profession of faith on this subject arises on the interpretation to be given to St. Paul's "Man of Sin." It is discussed in the introduction to the present volume, (ch. ix. § 8), under the heading of "Prophetic Import of 2 Thess. ii. 1-12." The author has passed in review a variety of interpretations ancient and modern, and comes to speak of Professor Jowett's opinion that the Apostle was speaking, "not of some great conflict, decisive of the destinies of mankind," but of a "spiritual combat" which he beheld externalized in the then history of the world. Of which hypothesis Dr. Alford says:—

"It will be manifest to anyone who exercises a moment's thought, that the question simply resolves itself into this: *Was the Apostle, or was he not, writing in the power of a spirit higher than his own?* In other words, we are here at the very central question of *Inspiration or no Inspiration*—not disputing about its details, which have ever been matter of doubt among Christians; but just asking, for the Church and for the world—*Have we, in any sense, God speaking the Bible, or have we not?* If we have, then of all passages it is in these which treat so confidently of futurity that we must recognise His voice: if we have it not in these passages, then where are we to listen for it at all? Does not this hypothesis, do not they who embrace it, at once reduce the Scriptures to books written by men—their declarations to the assertions of dogmatizing teachers—their warnings to the apprehensions of excited minds—their promises to the visions of enthusiasts—their prophecies to anticipations which may be accounted for by the circumstances of the writers, but have in them no objective permanent truth whatever?"—p. 88.

On such terms the Dean is "not prepared" to deal with the question; he "believes the promise" (John xvi. 13) that the Spirit should lead the Apostles into all truth; and that we have the result in the Epistles. Nevertheless, what St. Paul meant by his expressions is "open to the widest and freest discussion," with the safeguard, however, and proviso, that what he did mean is "truth for us to receive, not opinion for us to canvass." Dr. Alford is incapable of understanding that God may be speaking in the Bible, without speaking miraculously; nor does he see the absurdity of talking of our receiving as truth propositions which we cannot understand, which are shut up in enigmatic language, or of which there may be a dozen more or less likely and unlikely interpretations between which it is impossible to choose. Nevertheless the Dean appears to get this much out of it. What St. Paul said concerning the Man of Sin must be true, for it occurs in a prophetic passage which claims a special inspiration, and therefore he could not have meant the Man of Sin of a person shortly to appear, or the coming of Christ,—of a personal coming soon to take place; because the event has shown that that could not have been true; and therefore it could not mean the Pope, or Mahomet, or Napoleon, and so forth. And thus we arrive at the conclusion that the lawless one, in the full prophetic sense, is not yet come, though 1800 years later we stand, with respect to him, where the Apostles stood, and

* "The New Testament for English Readers: containing the Authorized Version, with a revised English Text, Marginal References, and a Critical and Explanatory Commentary." By Henry Alford, DD., Dean of Canterbury. In two volumes. Vol. II. Part I. The Epistles of St. Paul. London: Rivington. 1865.

"when it shall be is as much hidden from us as from them." So that the Dean falls back upon an interpretation not very dissimilar from that of Professor Jowett, that the "lawless one" is the "lawlessness" which has ever been working in the lives and speeches and writings of men; in fact, is an externalization and personification of a principle which the Apostle saw at work when he looked about him. Only that which in the Professor is neology is sound exposition in the Dean, because he arrives at it through the profession of his belief in inspiration, specially of the prophetic Scriptures, and not the least, of those passages of them of which can only be affirmed that their meaning must be true, though we may not be able to determine which it is. For our own part, we should prefer the more natural solutions of 2 Thess. ii. 1-12, namely, that St. Paul participated the Apocalyptic expectations with which we are familiar in the Book of Daniel, the Book of Enoch, and the Ascension of Isaiah,—that he looked for a personal *ἀνθρωπος* shortly to be revealed, shortly to be destroyed at the *παρουσία* of the Lord; and that in this expectation he was mistaken.

Dr. Ryder's Donnellan Lecture for 1863* is a well-meaning attempt to establish a "Theodicy" on the basis of the "revealed" doctrine of the "Atonement." The Author endeavours to steer clear of the shock to our moral sense which is given by the Calvinistic scheme on the one hand, and by Mr. Mansel's hypothesis of the suspension of the moral laws by their Divine author on the other, and also protests against what he conceives to be the pantheistic principles of the Essayists and Reviewers. Between the various shades of pantheism, properly or improperly so called, we apprehend Dr. Ryder is not very well able to discriminate. He apparently considers that to deny miracle and interposition is pantheism, and amounts to a denial of a "personal" Deity. Yet it is perfectly orthodox to hold that the Deity is everywhere throughout the universe actually present, and not only by omniscience and potentially; it therefore belongs to *à posteriori* inquiry, and not to *à priori* definition, to determine whether that universal presence is manifested by continued orderly operations, or by fitful energies; for in neither case is personality either necessarily implied or necessarily excluded. In opposition to the Calvinistic theory of the partial application of the benefits of the "Atonement," Dr. Ryder maintains that the remedy was as widely operating as the disease: "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." But he shrinks, although with hesitation, from inferring a universalist doctrine. As far as he has pushed this moral argument against the hypothesis of

the vulgar Calvinism, Dr. Ryder has manifestly made good his ground; but if he will not follow his own premises to the issue of Universalism, he is but a milder Calvinist himself. And this reflection does not appear to have occurred to him: if the remedy of the Atonement is represented in Scripture to be as large in its operation as the disease of the Fall; if the stroke, as it is sometimes expressed, was arrested ere it fell; and if, consequently, every man here placed in probation will be equitably dealt with, it is precisely the same thing to the human agent as if there had been neither Fall nor Atonement,—the one neutralizes the other; man is neither the better nor worse off than he would otherwise have been; he will be judged in respect of his advantages; and allowance will be made for his disadvantages. Are we then sure that Fall and Atonement have actually taken place? The theodicy is as acceptable on the supposition of neither as on the supposition of both. There are some very fruitful thoughts in this volume of Dr. Ryder's, which he will, perhaps, feel himself at liberty on some other occasion to pursue to their legitimate conclusions.

In the year 1862 Mr. William Binny Webster founded a lectureship in Edinburgh in connexion with the Free Church of Scotland, to be called the Cunningham Lecture, in memory of the late Rev. Dr. Cunningham, Principal of the Free Church College, and Professor of Church History. Each course of lectures is not to consist of less than six, and the lecturer is to choose his own subject within the range of apologetical, doctrinal, controversial, exegetical, pastoral, or historical theology, subject to the consent of the council appointed under the trust. Dr. Candlish was nominated to deliver the first course of lectures in 1864. In these lectures we are presented with a somewhat remarkable attempt at Calvinistic development.¹⁰ With the highest reverence for the "Westminster Confession," which Dr. Candlish anticipates will eventually command the consent of universal Christendom, he is yet of opinion that on some points it requires to be supplemented. His opinion of creeds generally is, that they mark off the territory which has been seen and actually surveyed, and set up landmarks on it for the guidance of those who shall come after. Thus the dogmatism of the Christian Church is necessarily progressive. "The Augustinian doctrine of grace, and the Lutheran article of justification, were movements in advance." Dr. Candlish thinks he is able to indicate the direction in which may be made an advance of a similar kind. His notion appears to be that the original relation of man to God is not a filial relation, but a relation of servants or subjects. Nor does redemption or justification do more than absolve from penalty, or reinstate in a condition which is not as yet that of sonship.

* "The Scriptural Doctrine of Acceptance with God, considered in reference to Neologian Hermeneutics." In six Lectures. Preached before the University of Dublin, in 1863, on the foundation of the late Mrs. Anne Donnellan. By Arthur Gore Ryder, D.D., ex-Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, and Head Master of the Erasmus Smith Grammar School, Tipperary. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1865.

¹⁰ "The Fatherhood of God." Being the First Course of the Cunningham Lectures delivered before the New College, Edinburgh, in March, 1864. By Robert S. Candlish, D.D., Principal of the New College, and Minister of Free St. George's Church. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1865.

"There is not a hint of sonship in all that is said of Paradise, or of man's sin and fall there. Nay, I hold that what is revealed of God's treatment of Adam in the garden is palpably irreconcilable with the idea of anything like the paternal and filial relation subsisting between them. Not a hint is given of his (Adam's) having violated, when he transgressed, any filial obligation. Nor, in the sentence pronounced upon him, is there any trace whatever of his being subjected to fatherly discipline and correction. All about it is strictly, I should say exclusively, forensic and judicial. It is the legal condemnation of a servant, not the fatherly chastisement of a son."—p. 127.

And, on the other hand, as to the redemption :

"Accordingly, the remedial work of Christ is always represented in Scripture in exact consistency with its representation of the evil to be remedied—as purely and wholly legal, forensic, and judicial. That is its character, so far as it consists in his becoming his people's surety and ransom. He redeems them from the curse of the law. It is nowhere said that he atones for any filial offence; any offence committed by them as sons against God as their Father. If they sinned in that character and relation, then sin, so far as appears from Scripture, is, up to this hour, unexpiated. Surely that is a conclusion somewhat startling. And yet it seems to me to follow inevitably, and by the inexorable force of logic, from the notion of man's original relation to God being filial."—p. 128.

Extremes meet; the doctrine that no atonement is revealed for offences committed in the filial relation, is not unlike that of the High Churchman, who maintains that the promises of forgiveness of sins in the Scripture do not apply to the regenerate who fall into sin, whose reconciliation is left to the ministry of the Church. But the extremes diverge again, because the new birth of Dr. Candlish is different from the regeneration of the Puseyite, in that it implies the perseverance of the converted. The sum of the matter is, that as fathers of the Church, reformers and divines, have, from other metaphors used by the Biblical writers in argument and illustration, drawn inferences incapable of verification concerning the nature of the Divine Being, and the relations, conscious or unconscious between him and mankind, so there is here a certain mine of inference hitherto not fully worked.

"I hold them, therefore, to have virtually left the whole of that department of theology which bears on God's paternal relation to his people, and their filial relation to Him, an entirely open question, a perfect *tabula rasa*, so far as any verdict or deliverance of theirs is concerned. I consider that we have the fullest liberty to sink shafts in this mine which they evidently had not explored, if only we take care that our digging shall do no damage to any of the far more important mines which they did explore, and explored so thoroughly and so well."—p. 286.

Perhaps, after all, Dr. Candlish may be disposed to exaggerate his claims to originality in the conception of the filial relation as subsisting only between those who have been born again in Christ, and their heavenly Father. Thus we have in volume iv. of Edward Irving's works,

"The Collected Writings of Edward Irving."

now before us, several discourses, entitled "God our Father," of which two, the 19th and 20th, touch on many points relied upon by Dr. Candlish. Irving held that "the fatherhood of God could not be revealed before the revelation of the Son;" or that the name could be known before the truth was known upon which it rested. He is a Father because He hath an only-begotten Son, and a Father to those to whom the Son shall reveal him (p. 272). And though in the Old Testament He sometimes allowed Himself to be called Father, He seldom allowed Himself to be spoken of under that form or illustration. Irving, perhaps, allowed more foreshadowing of the doctrine of adoption in the Old Testament than Dr. Candlish does, and he connected the revelation of it in the New Testament more than Dr. Candlish with the mystery revealed under the Gospel of the Sonship of the only-begotten one. In other respects he said substantially the same thing:—

"In what condition, then, was the former Church? In the condition not of free-born children, but in the condition of bondsmen and slaves. There was no liberty nor adoption into the family till the Son was manifested, and thus they that were made free were free indeed; there was no power in visible existence which could make us children until He came unto His own, and His own received him not; but unto as many as received him gave he power to become sons of God."—p. 305.

The English public reads very greedily personal explanations and secret history of literary, political, and religious movements, which will account for the eagerness with which Dr. Newman's "Apologia" was received.¹² There was also the entertaining spectacle of a literary duel between two authors of distinction. In the duel it has been generally acknowledged Dr. Newman had the advantage, especially when his adversary lost his opportunity of recovering the slip which he had made by a sufficiently ample *amende*. The other portion of the work, which is now reprinted by itself, possessed also some of the interest which attaches to the autobiographies of persons whose names have long been before the world. But it is an apology for the life of Dr. Newman, and nothing more. It can serve for no beacon or guidance to another. It is a defence of his own change of religion, but it would be useless to go to it for arguments which would justify a like change in anyone else. From beginning to end it is thoroughly and intensely personal. And it leaves a painful impression to observe how the opposition which Dr. Newman necessarily experienced in a long and arduous controversy should have rankled in his sensitive and retentive heart to this very day. For, in fact, during those controversies the imputations on his sincerity and truthfulness which he imagines have been since clinging to him, came from quarters—religious newspapers and the like—which he

In five volumes. Edited by his nephew, the Rev. G. Carlyle, M.A. Vol. IV. London: Alexander Strahan, publisher. 1865.

¹² "History of my Religious Opinions." By John Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. London: Longmans. 1865.

could very well afford to despise. The authorities of the university appear to have treated him with every consideration and respect. He could not reasonably make into a personal offence that he was "posted on every buttery-hatch in the university," when it was the professed object of the Resolution of the Heads of Houses, to which he refers, to disclaim, on the part of the university, any authorization of a tract which, up to that time, had remained anonymous. It does not seem that when once Dr. Newman had avowed himself as the author of No. 90, any step whatever was taken by the authorities, or by any person of repute, to throw any stigma upon him; indeed, Mr. Kingsley has been the first person of name who from that time to the present has given Dr. Newman the opportunity for which he has been waiting of justifying himself from the charge of insincerity, which has been, as he conceives, floating in the popular mind. But the Heads of Houses in 1841 foresaw what Dr. Newman did not yet perceive, that his ideas of Catholicity must eventually lead him, and others who adopted them, out of the Anglican Church. Of the new matter in the present reprint there is an addendum (A.), in which Dr. Newman restates that it was the "Liberals" who drove him from Oxford. But the Liberals did not then exist as a party. The Heads of Houses who censured the tract were of the old high and dry and Evangelical schools. Arnold's pupils were as yet quite young, hardly out of undergraduateship. The propositions which Dr. Newman enumerates (pp. 294-296) as familiar to him among the tenets of Liberalism thirty years ago, were certainly not professed by any persons who influenced the proceedings against No. 90 in 1841. It may be true that as there was a tendency in Dr. Newman and his friends towards Rome, or, as he would call it, to the Catholic Church, so there may have been at work the germs of a contrary tendency. Putting aside, however, all account of the school of Whately, which never issued in anything better than pettifogging distinctions, Dr. Newman undoubtedly sees to a great extent the past of 1841 through the spectacles of the present. We have not space to notice the paper in the Appendix on "Miracles," which, however, tends to save miracle in some sense by blurring its definition; but must especially recommend to the notice of our High Churchmen the note E. on "the Anglican Church."

"—that it is something sacred—that it is an oracle of revealed doctrine—that it can claim a share in St. Ignatius or St. Cyprian—that it can take the rank, contest the teaching, and stop the path of the Church of St. Peter—that it can call itself the 'Bride of the Lamb'—this is the view of it which simply disappeared from my mind on my conversion, and which it would be almost a miracle to reproduce."

English bishops and priests who pride themselves on the Apostolical succession, and fancy themselves the channels of supernatural grace, are told that Dr. Newman would believe they have episcopal succession from the time of the Apostles, if the Holy See were so to decide—but for himself he could not otherwise acquiesce

in it, "for antiquarian arguments are altogether unequal to the urgency of visible facts." Meanwhile, the English Church is to be tolerated by Catholics so long as they are "so small a number," but it is explained honourably and fairly enough, with a view to possible contingencies and the indefeasible claims of Catholicism, that "in secular history we read of hostile nations having long truces, and renewing them from time to time, and that seems to be the position which the Catholic Church may fairly take up at present in relation to the Anglican Establishment."—p. 842.

If any of Dr. Newman's admirers should be disposed to infer from the literary success of the *Apologia* that he has also obtained any advantage in the great controversy of the day between Reason and Dogma, conscience and authority, we should recommend them to read an essay or paper, by Mr. Holbeach, entitled "Authoritative Truths," which contains a very vigorous criticism of some parts of it. Touching upon the passages of arms between Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman, while Mr. Holbeach does not acquit the former, and does not doubt the honour of his opponent, he draws a distinction which has a sting in it.

"I ask pardon of your sacred office, of your grey hairs, of your spotless life, of your 'transcendent gifts,' for the comparison I am going to make. But it seems to me that you have not so much the honour of an English gentleman as the honour of an English LADY. I think the honour of the celibate man (however sacred the motive of his celibacy) tends to assume this character—*always*. In other words, it tends to assume a character in which the sensibility to Truth, *quoad* Truth, becomes so deeply modified by personal loyalty, that it is very often scarcely recognisable to a purely critical or philosophic eye."—p. 159.

The author is what he calls a protesting Protestant, not laying much stress upon objections to particular doctrines of the Roman Church, such as that of transubstantiation, but recoiling from the Church itself "as an institution whose basis is not moral at all, and which cannot, logically, invoke the sanction of a single controlling idea—except that of FEAR." On the essential part of the argument, or rather scheme in the *Apologia*, is urged that "you cannot get a final certainty or infallibility out of a process which begins with a probability." It appears evident indeed, from the whole of the personal confessions in the *Apologia*, that it was a necessity for the individual Newman to be sure that he was right; and he had the assurance of his being infallibly secure in the way that many Methodists enjoy it. But when his mind became occupied with the dogmas he required a further source of infallibility out of himself. The Church of England, though it talks about authority, does not claim an authority of that kind. So he was driven to throw himself into the arms of a Church which does claim it. But when Dr. Newman judged that infallibility belonged to the Pope, was he fallible

"Henry Holbeach, Student in Life and Philosophy." A Narrative and a Discussion. 2 vols. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

or infallible?" "Wherever the infallibility is supposed to reside it must justify itself to somebody's reason in order to be accepted." No chain can be stronger than its weakest link—"you can never push this matter any further than this, the infallible set up by the fallible!" Yet Henry Holbeach has his own theories of what a true Church might be, as may be seen in the paper on the "Sphere of Love," which is well worthy of perusal, as is that on Reason and Faith, a telling criticism on Mr. Mansel. We can much recommend these essays.

The Discourses by Dr. Beard,¹⁴ while entirely free from any superstitious view of the inspiration of the Bible, which in various places they combat, yet recognise a certain unity in the Biblical writings, and maintain that their essence is to be found in the teaching of Christ himself. There is prefixed to them a reactionary essay on the sources and guarantees of the Gospel history. Dr. Beard considers that Jesus is connected with Irenæus at the end of the second century, by ascertained historical links. "Thus Jesus, Peter, Matthew and John are contemporaries; while John, Aristion and John the Presbyter are the same; and these through Papias are linked with Polycarp and Irenæus." Hence Dr. Beard concludes not only that we have a guarantee for a certain amount of historical truth as the basis of the Gospel narratives, but that the narratives themselves are historical, including the miracles which are related in them. "Although it is not wise or safe to insist on the historic certainty of everything found in the Gospels, yet in general, Matthew, Mark, and Luke do undoubtedly deserve our reliance. Whatever critics may object, practically those Scriptures may be taken as a true picture of the life of Christ." (p. 26.) Dr. Beard appears to prefer the "Life" as represented in the Synoptics to that given in the fourth Gospel, and with reason. Yet Papias, the first who mentions Matthew and Mark as having written certain accounts of the words and deeds of Christ, had evidently not in view the "Gospels" which now go under their names. Of the author of the third Gospel we know nothing, and Papias, who would naturally have spoken of John, says nothing whatever of him as committing to writing any description of the life of his Master. Indeed the guarantee amounts to no more than this, that early in the second century there was current, as we learn from Justin, an account nearly resembling that which we find in the first Gospel; but Dr. Beard has not enabled us to bridge over the space of a century between Justin and the time when the events are supposed to have happened—a space sufficient for mythical and legendary developments.

The "Outlines of Theology," from Vinet, consist of selections from his various works

moulded into a consistent and consecutive whole.¹⁵ The principal divisions of the book fall under man and the Gospel; the doctrine and morality of the Gospel; historical Christianity and the Church. It need not be said that the basis of Vinet's theology reposes on the assumption of a fall of man, but that the loving-kindness of the author causes the reader to forget the real narrowness of the "evangelical" scheme, and he continually meets with sensible home thrusts.

"There is a Christianity which is, correctly speaking, nothing more than the other side of worldliness; there is a *Christian world*, which is world all over, and into which the whole spirit of the old world has been imported; just as from a house that threatens to fall one would carry whatever one could into a new house. It is true that the furniture of the old house does not appear to have been made for the new, and is very ill adapted to it, but one can always make a shift, and at the end of a certain time house and furniture seem to suit very well. To be sure, some pieces of furniture were too large to be got in; these we were obliged to leave out, but enough remains, and, on the whole, one has a comfortable home feeling. In the same way certain sins, certain bad habits, were incompatible with the Christian arrangement of life, but, after all, the door was found wide enough for the most essential things—I mean those with which the natural man will on no account consent to part. It must be confessed that in the same way as, for certain classes of the worldly, to be in good society implies the doing politely what is done properly elsewhere; so, for certain Christians, to be Christian signifies the being censorious, selfish, sensual, with certain people, under certain forms, and in a certain language."—p. 546.

The "Orthodoxy, Scripture, and Reason" of Mr. Kirkus shows great vigour and freedom in many parts, which is damaged by too great diffuseness.¹⁶ The author feels himself obliged to modify the usually received evangelical doctrines on the subject of original sin, the atonement, and justification by faith. We were also gratified to read that among Congregationalists there are unquestionably many, both of ministers and laymen, and probably a somewhat rapidly increasing number of ministers, who believe that God will either annihilate or restore those who die impenitent (p. 241). Mr. Kirkus in discussing the subject very fully and ably shows that even the scriptural authorities will hardly bear out the never-ending torment theory. He considers that "*αἰώνιος*" indicates not the quantity but the quality of that of which it is predicated; that it indicates not the duration but the kind of punishment into which the wicked shall go away, and the kind rather than the duration of life which the righteous shall enjoy" (p. 309). And therefore when we read, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal," we are to understand that the punishment, like

¹⁴ "Christ the Interpreter of Scripture: a Series of Discourses, showing how to read the Bible wisely and profitably; with a Preliminary Essay on the Sources and Guarantees of the Gospel History." By John R. Beard, D.D., Author of the "People's Dictionary of the Bible." London: Whitfield, Green, and Sons. 1865.

¹⁵ "Outlines of Theology." By Alexander Vinet. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

¹⁶ "Orthodoxy, Scripture, and Reason: an Examination of some of the Principal Articles of the Creed of Christendom." By the Rev. William Kirkus, LL.B. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

the life, belongs to the spirit, and not to the flesh. There is some information in Appendix II. concerning a certain "Declaration of Faith and Church Order," put forth by a number of ministers and laymen in 1833, but which, according to Independent or Congregationalist principles, could not be made binding on any single church or congregation. Perhaps the fact is, that Independency has now become so widely spread as to need a certain system of organization, which it may be difficult to accomplish without some symbol of belief.

The edition of Burnet's History of the Reformation, recently issued from the Oxford University Press, has been prepared with great care by Mr. Pocock, of Queen's College, who has verified, supplied, and corrected the references throughout, and collated the records with their originals.¹⁷ Burnet executed his work in many parts in a most heedless and perfunctory manner, which has given occasion to his being severely handled by controversialists. The labour which Mr. Pocock has expended in following out, rectifying, and fairly estimating these inaccuracies and defects has been immense.

The second volume of the "*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*" comprises the letters or smaller register of Gregory VII.¹⁸ The present edition is completed by collation with the Vatican MS. The learned editor is of opinion that these letters can by no means represent the whole literary activity of the ambitious Pope, but that they are a selection from a larger register, made under his own direction about the year 1081, of documents bearing more or less on the great questions at issue between the papacy and the empire. If that be so, it is very possible that the *Dictatus Papæ*, which appears between the fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth epistles, Bk. II., may be an original part of the compilation. But, although in some of them the papal pretensions are concentrated—*Quod illi liceat imperatores deponere—Quod Catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ ecclesiæ—Quod a fidelitate iniquorum subjectos potest absolvere*, the same principles may be gathered from the epistles themselves.

The publication of a translation of Professor Fuerst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, in numbers, at a moderate price, will place that most important instrument within the reach of all students.¹⁹ It will be found to surpass the

lexicon of Gesenius, principally used in this country, in its illustrations derived from the cognate languages and from the more recent investigations of antiquarians, travellers, and philologists. The author has communicated his latest emendations and additions to the learned translator, in order to render the English edition as complete as possible.

Considerable additions and corrections have been made by Dr. Zeller in the third part of his second edition of the "*Greek Philosophy*," in that portion especially which treats of the doctrine of the Stoics.²⁰ A continually increasing interest has, of late years, been attached to the investigation of the Stoical system, not only on account of the contact chronologically of Seneca, Epictetus, and the Antonines with the nascent Christianity, but because of its observed efficiency in preparing the way, naturally, for the spread of the Christian teaching in many particulars—as in contempt of pain, in the recognition of mankind as one family, and in the stress laid on moral obligation. On other points, as in the conception of the nature of the Divine Being, and the expectation of individual immortality, Christianity borrowed rather from Platonism; on the latter subject, fluctuating in a singular manner between the Platonic notion of an immaterial soul to live on henceforward its true life when delivered from the bondage of the body, and the Jewish apocalyptic anticipation of a fleshly resurrection—a confusion which still prevails both in popular and dogmatic theology.

The Platonic epistles were naturally received as genuine upon the revival of classical literature, when they had been so received by such authorities as Cicero and Plutarch. More recent criticism has detected, as in so many other cases, reason for supposing that they are not the productions of the author whose name they bear. The essay of Dr. Karsten is a lucid exposition of the arguments for the spurious character of the epistles.²¹ He finds evidence in their style, which is frequently too abundant in Platonic forms and peculiarities, in their rhetorical cast, and in the fact that few or unimportant particulars are mentioned in them of the life of Plato, which are not preserved to us elsewhere. At the same time there may be genuine Platonic elements, as it were, in the letters, even though they be not Plato's own. For undoubtedly, his disciples and followers would be prompted to reproduce what they had heard or read in his works, and it would be a natural and legitimate design to justify under the name of Plato the relations of the philosopher with Dionysius and with Dio.

¹⁷ "The History of the Reformation of the Church of England." By Gilbert Burnet, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. A new edition, carefully revised, and the records collated with the Originals. By Nicholas Pocock, M.A., late Michel Fellow of Queen's College. In seven volumes. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. London: Macmillan. 1865.

¹⁸ "*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*." Tomus Secundus. Monumenta Gregoriana edidit Philippus Jaffé. Berlin. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

¹⁹ "A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament." With an Introduction, giving a short History of Hebrew Lexicography. By Dr. Julius Fuerst, Professor at the University of Leipzig. Third edition, improved and enlarged, containing a Grammatical and Analytical Appendix. Translated from the German, by Samuel Davidson, D.D., of the

University of Halle, and LL.D. London. Part I. Leipzig. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

²⁰ "Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung" dargestellt von Dr. Eduard Zeller. Dritter Theil, erste Abtheilung. Die nacharistotelische Philosophie, erste Hälfte. 2te Auflage. Leipzig. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

²¹ "Commentatio Critica de Platonis quæ feruntur Epistolæ, præcipue tertia septima et octava." Scripsit H. T. Karsten, Litt. Doct. Trajecti ad Rhenum. London: D. Nutt. 1864.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

WE are glad to see that so well abused a book as Mr. Hare's¹ has yet arrived at a third edition. The old method of refusing a hearing to truths that are unwelcome, by branding their advocates as crotchety theorists, has been almost worked to death in this instance. Full reliance has been placed, and not altogether in vain, by those who have not chosen to give the necessary attention to Mr. Hare's scheme, upon the indolence of like-minded persons, and the cheap and ready accusation of complexity and impracticableness has been thrown out as a scarecrow, to indispose the inert and indifferent to a study that would probably result in the destruction of either habit of mind. There is, perhaps, no state of the public mind more difficult to deal with than the apathy with which all questions of Parliamentary reform are now received. Those who do not consent to rest and be thankful are at least too prone to be thankful that things are no worse. Allowing for all the advances which have been made during the last generation, it must be confessed that, politically, we are in a position very similar to that which preceded the Reform Bill. The battle of the registers has as completely ranged the party forces as the proprietary boroughs had done in the times of our fathers, and rendered both great parties as averse to change. Opinion is more fully represented, but it must first conquer some borough or constituency, and each seat has now become a little fastness, that must be stormed like the house of the strong man armed, who keeps his own goods. Thus, only those opinions which are already strong enough to influence the House are able to arrive at a direct representation in it. The inveterate habit of Englishmen of putting new wine into old bottles, has, as it could not fail to do, resulted in giving the wine itself a tang of the old leather. Our superstitious attachment to the local foundations of our representative system blinds us to the absurd anomalies which are inherent in the present distribution of seats in Parliament. It is useless to assert that what is done in one place is counteracted in another, and that the average result is such a balance of interests and opinions that we could not be better off if opinion were directly represented. These arguments deceive no one; they are but evasions, the whole purpose of which is to put off the evil day dreaded by those who have recourse to them, when representation shall be a personal concern, and not merely a local privilege. This day, which looks so dreadful to those who have studied every local prejudice and provincial interest, and who, by flattering both, to say nothing of appeals to lower and baser motives, have got the smaller constituencies thoroughly well in hand, is yet that to which every intelligent man must look forward as the real advent of political enfranchisement. All the elaborate schemes and fancy franchises

with which both Liberals and Conservatives have endeavoured to cajole the country, and outwit each other, are but mechanical contrivances which have had no principle of vitality to recommend them, and have met with the deserved rejection due to such stop-gaps. A great and unquestionable merit of Mr. Hare's scheme is, that it offers a means of adapting representation to opinion with a delicacy, completeness and adequacy that cannot be surpassed. If it is desirable that minorities should not be utterly swamped, here will be found a plan by which any consenting body of 2000 men can secure an advocate of their views in the House; this surely solves the problem which has been so much discussed, better than cumulative voting or a constant third member. But the greatest recommendation of this proposal is, that it affords the most powerful engine of political education that has ever been devised. In its operation it comes home to every elector with all the force that the direct personal appeals exerted, in ancient cities, on the minds of men listening to a living orator. The consciousness that his vote cannot be lost or overwhelmed, but must count for some one whom he admires and thinks worthy of a place in the government of the country, must force every elector to take thought how he exercises a responsibility so direct and unequivocal. No one would then be able scornfully to wash his hands of vestries and publicans' committees, while the inducement to keep a small borough in good temper would be so much weakened, that local influence and character would at last consent to rely only upon the wholesome elements involved in them, which would always carry, as they should, their full legitimate weight. We cannot here epitomize Mr. Hare's scheme; its principles are now becoming sufficiently known, and for the practical details we hope that a constantly increasing number will each day turn to the book itself. There is nothing complicated in it, but only an extraordinary effort to be complete, and a determination to leave no remote contingency unnoticed. This remarkable comprehensiveness is what those who dislike to turn round in their easy-chairs have chosen to call complexity. The two things are very distinct, though very easily confused in the minds of inattentive readers. It will be somewhat strange if we should find, as is by no means improbable, that his method of election, by which almost every political excess is guarded against, should find, in our colonies and elsewhere, the first field for its successful application; and that we who have so often taken Milton's flattery, "that England's office is to teach the nations how to live" as a simple truth, should yet wait, in the hope to be wise by others' experience rather than happy by our own insight. In the present edition, Mr. Hare has collected all the information extant on the working of a similar system in Denmark, which has met with a success, qualified by the disturbed condition of the country, but unequivocal in its character; and full reports are given in the appendixes of the debates in Australia, where the question is still pending,

¹ "The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal." By Thomas Hare. Third Edition, with a Preface, Appendix, and other additions. London: Longman and Co. 1865.

whether this method shall be put to the test of practical experiment in a thoroughly democratic constitution.

The third edition of Mr. Mill's *Representative Government*³ calls for no criticism at our hands, but there is a feature connected with each succeeding edition of all his works to which we would willingly call the attention even of those who think themselves familiar with them, and which peculiarity may be studied in the present work with great advantage by every one. Those who will take the trouble to compare the careful alterations and amendments to which this third edition has been subjected by its author, will make a great step in their political education, and not in that respect only. The minute verbal changes which are constantly occurring, display, in the most remarkable manner, how Mr. Mill's works live in his mind, and how far they are from being dismissed as *faits accomplis* as soon as they are published. To trace the presumed grounds, whether of taste or principle, which have prompted these changes, is more instructive than perhaps even the first study of the volumes in which they are found, and no one can fully understand the remarkable writer who has thought them necessary, who shrinks from so interesting a task because it is a little laborious.

M. Jules Simon's recent volume on *Education*⁴ is chiefly concerned with the questions revolving round primary instruction. He starts by laying down the unquestionable position that the country which has the best schools, if it is not already the first among nations will be so in an immediate future. French liberals feel that their best chance for a recovery of national life and free political action in their country is inextricably connected with the education of the lower orders. In this view M. Simon is faithful to the traditions of the liberal party in France; for it may be asserted, that the more democratic its government the greater the effort which has there been made to give the elements of education to the whole people. During the Republic, education was gratuitous, and compulsory; with the Consulate, and during the first Empire, it was no longer compulsory, and gratuitous only in a very restricted measure; at the Restoration, primary instruction was but little better than a system of charity schools, the direction of which was gradually assumed by the clergy. In 1833, the limits of gratuitous instruction were extended to all who could not pay, but attendance was not enforced. The present conflict is with the ignorance of a large part of the rural population, who will not allow their children to give up the chance of any small profits they may make in the fields, and who think that what they have themselves dispensed with cannot be of the first importance to their children. This inert-

ness is not confined to France; but universal suffrage there gives to the ignorance, which is the consequence of this temper, a political effect that explains at once the eagerness of the liberal party to force on the communes the absolute duty of maintaining schools, and on every peasant that of sending his children to them. The fullest and most interesting particulars are given by M. Simon concerning the condition of the teachers in the communal schools. Their salaries are so small, and many of the communes are so poor, that a subvention on the part of the State is absolutely necessary, if any efficiency is to be expected. The indignant comparisons which M. Simon draws between what we should call the charges on the Consolidated Fund for primary instruction, compared with the support given, for instance, to the Opera in Paris, are most natural and just. It is only by a certain level of instruction that democratic communities can escape from the fate which weighed so heavily on the imagination of De Tocqueville, and caused him to assume, as directly characteristic of democracy, that tendency to submit to a powerful executive, which he could not, with the political sagacity for which he was so remarkable, fail to observe in his countrymen. This is the only weak point in De Tocqueville's speculations. While speaking of America, he could not sufficiently distinguish between the American and French characters. Oppressed with thoughts of his own country, and recognising the democratic tendencies of both, he sometimes ascribes to what they had in common an almost inevitable result, which events have shown to be but too true of his own country, but which the terrible experiences of America have as yet shown no tendency to bring about in the United States. The education that makes an American proud of his citizenship has preserved the country, and will no doubt continue to do so, from any weak resignation of the practice of self-government, which has made its strength, and which lies at the root of all its past achievements and hopes of future greatness.

This mention of De Tocqueville's name reminds us that the eighth volume of his collected works has just appeared in Paris.⁵ It contains historical fragments which he left behind him, notes on the *ancien régime*, travels, and detached thoughts, which have not hitherto been published in France. The most important parts, however, of this volume are, curiously enough, familiar to the English reader. The fine essay on the social and political condition of France before and after 1789 appeared in the pages of this Review in 1836, and has since been published, together with many of his letters, and a biography, by his friend, Gustave de Beaumont, as well as some of his journals of voyages, by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., in 1861.

³ "Considerations on Representative Government." By J. S. Mill. London: Longman and Co. 1865.

⁴ "L'Ecole." Par Jules Simon. Paris: La Croix and Co. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

⁵ "Œuvres complètes de Alexis de Tocqueville, Mélanges, Fragments Historiques, et Notes sur l'Ancien Régime, la Révolution et l'Empire, Voyages, Pensées." Entièrement inédits. Paris: M. Levy Frères. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

It is most curious to observe how, in the remarkable essay above alluded to, all the cardinal features of what is, perhaps, after all, De Tocqueville's greatest work (his *Ancien Régime et la Révolution*), had been already anticipated by him twenty years before the appearance of the book itself. A melancholy pleasure, if a pleasure can live so close to disappointment, will be found in the perusal of the first chapters of that History of the French Revolution which occupied the last years of his life. It must ever be a cause of inextinguishable regret that he was not spared to continue, from his impartial point of view, a history that could not have failed to exercise the deepest influence on the popular judgments, as yet so uncertain, which are passed on the great event of the 18th century. Among the fragmentary remarks will be found many detached thoughts with which his readers are familiar; and it is most instructive to observe the elaboration which most of them have undergone before he chose to make use of them in his published works.

Some papers, which deserve a very serious consideration, have been published by the Hon. Henry Stanley, on our consular system in the East,^a and on the effects and practical abuses of the extra-territoriality which is granted to our diplomatic establishments in Turkey and Syria. The conflict of jurisdiction which is thus set up results in a confusion that often brings the greatest disgrace on our flag, and which is only disguised by the high-handed self-assertion that hides from us at home the real grounds of the combined unpopularity and disrespect with which we are regarded in the minds of the weaker foreign states that have any diplomatic or commercial relations with us. The questions which are constantly arising between the English Government and the Porte cannot be properly understood without a much fuller insight into the character of Eastern Christianity than is at all common among us, or, indeed, than is easily attainable in England. This state of things will make the essay on modern Christendom in the Levant peculiarly acceptable as a statement of facts that are too often disguised or studiously ignored. The "contempt for international law," which forms the subject of another of these papers, is a very able display of a certain tendency, which is too manifest among us to be denied, to look upon nations that we are pleased to call barbarous, as deprived, by the very term, of all appeal to any standard but our own, and of our confident assertion of the rights of civilization (as though it were only one), which falls little short of the thoroughness with which the rights of true believers were once asserted against the pretences of infidels to any rights at all. A most just account of Islam will be found in another of these papers, which will reward any one's attentive perusal, though it cannot be denied that an account of Christianity, compiled from the Ser-

mon on the Mount, would be as good a portrait-ure of ourselves, as a vindication of Mahometanism drawn from the dogmatic portions of the Koran. Still, if it is unjust to refuse any attention to the Christian ideal in summary accounts of European character, it must be equally so to ignore what the best Mahometans draw as theirs from writings which form the basis of their life and thought, with a completeness the Bible can hardly be said to furnish in any Christian country. How many Europeans are able to give any account of the doctrines held by learned mollahs? too few, we fancy, to make the statements of the present writer otherwise than welcome to all who wish to arrive at an unprejudiced judgment on the condition and present prospects of Mahometanism in the East. A paper on the Greek and Russian churches, and on the intrigues of the Russian national church with the Papacy, though equally important, is too short and summary in its assertions to be of much practical effect, though full of indications that call for a careful study of the state of religious opinion in the south of Russia and the Danubian Principalities. Altogether, this little volume, appealing as it does to nothing but a spirit of justice, and advocating nothing but a fuller inquiry into questions that are but imperfectly understood amongst us, is most opportune.

Mr. Baillie's digest of Mahometan law^a is the most complete account of the administration of justice in India to the believers in the Koran. It is based upon a celebrated body of doctrine published by the Emperor Arungzebe, and is consequently applicable only to the Suni division of the followers of the Prophet. This, however, renders it the more useful, as it is only in Oude, and there only since the establishment of its independence of Delhi, that the doctrines of the Shiabs are considered in the administration of justice. The most complete insight is, of course, to be had into Mahometan ideas and ways of life from this book, as from every other code of laws. Its distinctive feature is the importance which is attached by Oriental legislation to the motives of actions and the nice distinctions which in consequence follow in their legal estimate of them. This, together with the difficulty of empanelling a trustworthy jury, and the general worthlessness of testimony in the East, is a sufficient explanation of the native preference of a summary jurisdiction where there exists the slightest confidence in the judge who pronounces on the disputes brought before him.

In the preface to his history of the American conflict,^b Mr. Greeley very justly remarks that "to the future historian much will be easy that is now difficult, as much will then be lucid

^a "The East and West; our Dealings with our Neighbours." By different Hands. Edited by the Hon. Henry Stanley. London: Hatchard and Co. 1865.

^a "A Digest of Moohummudan Law, on the Subjects to which it is usually applied by British Courts of Justice in India." Compiled and Translated from Authorities in the original Arabic, with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By N. B. E. Baillie. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

^b "The American Conflict." By Horace Greeley. Vol. I. Hartford, U.S.: O. D. Case and Co. 1865. London: Bacon and Co.

which is now obscure; and he may take for granted, and dispatch in a sentence, truths that have now to be established by pains-taking research and elaborate citation." The sense of this truth has determined the character of the greater part of the present volume, which is devoted to an elaborate proof of the irrepressible nature of the conflict itself, to the display of the encroachments of the South, and to a history of the numerous compromises by which the North hoped to postpone the inevitable day when their great differences with the South should bring about an open rupture. If anything could excuse the conduct of the Southern States it would be the extent of the concessions they had wrung from the North before they quite exhausted its patience. It might very naturally have been concluded by them that where so much had been yielded nothing would be refused to a resolution so unequivocally manifested. But when once the reaction against a long endurance of Southern encroachments had set in, the leaders of the South exhibited a thorough appreciation of their position when they came to the conclusion that they must now prepare themselves for a series of defeats in Congress, as prolonged as the successes on which they so greatly prided themselves, or at once endeavour to establish an independent power, founded on those social conditions which lay at the foundation of their antagonism with the North. Had it not been for the impatient temper of men habituated to success, and for many false reliances on the weaknesses, not only of their immediate antagonists, but also on hopes of European assistance, it is most probable the desperate attempt would never have been made. It may be urged that a calculation based on human weakness has no contemptible foundation; but one of the greatest results of the American conflict has been the display, both on the part of the Northern States, and of France and England, of a higher tone of morality than was compatible with the single consideration of immediate material interests. The great base calculation has proved itself shortsighted, though the sentiments which have in many places betrayed themselves during the conflict go far to excuse those who relied upon its conclusions. But to return to Mr. Greeley's volume: it is the best account of the origin of the war, and of its progress, up to the year 1862; it is temperate, and gives way to no vituperation, though thoroughly in earnest on the side it takes. Its most important part is the introduction to the war itself, though this part, when once fully understood, will, as he says, be one day dismissed in a very few words. The details of so many battles, sieges, marches, and campaigns, lose much of their interest to all but professional soldiers, as they become better understood, and no doubt much remains to be written on this subject before they assume the settled features of the great conflicts of European armies; much too, they may be expected to add to our understanding of the probable effects of the more efficient weapons of the present day in all future warfare. But it is too early for reliable general conclusions to be arrived at on these points. The feature of the greatest present im-

portance in Mr. Greeley's volume is the thorough refutation of that simple view, which has been so much relied on here by the sympathizers with the South, drawn from the right of rebellion, which cannot be refused to a discontented or oppressed people. This is at the best but a contingent, and no absolute right. It has been too much the fashion to forget that the discontent must show itself reasonable, and the oppression be made manifest, before the right in question can be allowed to exist. Mr. Greeley very plainly shows that there is no justification anywhere to be found for the rebellion of the Slave States, unless that diseased self-will, which is the natural consequence of slaveholding, be accepted as such; and the ultimate condemnation of such a ground, in which all men sooner or later will agree, is of itself, in its moral worth, an almost adequate return for the heavy price which the Americans have paid to make it universal in the world.

The third and concluding volume of Dr. Russell's *Diary North and South*, is devoted to Canada.* He seems as glad to escape from the subject as many of his readers will be to have done with his treatment of it. The first half of the volume is in the old style that we know so well, of which the chief aim seems to be, to say a simple thing in as roundabout a way as possible. For instance, if he wishes to compliment a companion on his courage, it is done after this fashion, at page 110: "He was but an item among many, but I knew he was among the *braves des braves*, and had received a baptism of fire in the trenches of Sebastopol, which had rained a very font of glory in India, and scarcely paled in China." This is very fine, though not quite intelligible; but perhaps that may be one of its recommendations in the eyes of its author, who we fancy would be delighted could he manage to say "Good morning" in a conundrum. There is a mixture of mystery and sublimity in the following: "His body [that of the American government] may be of that artificial stiffening which gives to worthless stuffs a temporary substantiality." Lest any one should give up this piece of fine writing in despair, we may as well contribute our guess that he means "shoddy." This is a style of writing about American affairs of which any one must now be heartily ashamed; and if we may conjecture the character of much that the author says he has cancelled, it is to be hoped that he is not without a tinge of such a feeling. When Dr. Russell chooses merely to sketch his travelling adventures, he is often happy, though frightfully verbose; but ethics and political philosophy are not to be picked up in railway cars and omnibuses, unless such subjects have been beforehand loved and studied for their own sakes. He tells a good story, very applicable to himself when at Niagara. "The Falls are like one of our great American statesmen," quoth the guide, "just now. There is nothing particular about them when you first catch a view of them; but when you get close,

* "Canada: its Defences, Condition, and Resources." By W. H. Russell, LL.D. London: Bradbury and Evans. 1865.

and know them better, then the power comes out, and you feel small as potatoes." Should Dr. Russell ever get close enough to the American conflict really to appreciate its true significance, he will feel like a very small potato indeed. The diary and daily incidents run out before the volume is half finished, and the necessary bulk is arrived at by the freest appropriation of all that has been said or written on the climate, population, and resources of the colony. He is full of contempt for those who think that Canada may involve us in a war with the States; and constantly returns to the notion of the Canadians, that it is their connexion with us which exposes them to the chance of American aggression. These apprehensions are now much less vivid than they were, and really they were never entertained with any force except by those who imagined the North must be worsted in its conflict with the seceding States. All those, and ourselves among the number, who have believed in their ultimate success, have constantly pointed out the superior attractiveness of a march to Mexico. We really think if Great Britain were at once to declare that Canada must henceforth shift for itself, the Americans would take no steps to conquer the country, feeling, as they must do, that proximity and common interests are far stronger than armies, and that the natural progress of events would bring about a cordial union before another generation had passed away. If it were not for foolish notions of national prestige and conceptions of honour, founded on the long exercise of force, there would be no argument worth a moment's attention which could be pleaded against such a course on the part of our government. However, if there be any who wish to form some idea of how Canada could be defended in a war with the United States, they will find some notion of its difficulties in Dr. Russell's pages, although he does his best to make them appear as small as possible. One thing he makes abundantly clear, that the waggoner will never put his own shoulders efficiently to the wheel as long as he can hope for help from Hercules.

Mr. Hutchings' scenes of wonder and curiosity in California,* is a book for sight-seers of the description of the "Guide to Harrogate," or "A Tourist's Hand-Book of the Isle of Wight." The places to which he takes his readers are undoubtedly both curious and wonderful; but his descriptions stop short of all but the very natural feelings which they exercise. His book is, in a large measure, a compilation from letters and notices in the Californian papers. His account of the enormous Wellingtonia of Calaveras (*sequoia gigantea*) is very full of interesting particulars, and the profuse illustrations give an excellent notion of these wondrous trees. Trees which attain a height of three hundred feet, and a circumference of eighty-one feet, are indeed wonders. But more remarkable, perhaps, than even these gigantic trees is the beautiful valley of Yo

Semite, which has not its equal in the world. Land-locked by granite precipices from three to four thousand feet high, and little more than a mile wide by eight miles long, it receives from the summits of the surrounding rocks many cascades of the most singular beauty, while the whole surface and much of the sides of the valley are richly covered with the most varied vegetation. The views from photographs, given by Mr. Hutchings, bring this strange and lovely scene well before his readers. A visit to the quick-silver mines of San José, an account of the islands in the Bay of San Francisco, and of the caves in Eldorado County, California, complete his list of the most remarkable and picturesque spots in the neighbourhood of San Francisco, where we should suppose the book was originally published.

Mr. Christie's notes on Brazilian Questions¹⁰ is an elaborate indictment of the Brazilian Government. If it be admitted that when treaties are made between a strong and a weak nation, it becomes the duty of the former to enforce their observance without too much regard either for the feelings or situation of the latter, Mr. Christie very conclusively proves that England was not only right, but long suffering in her quarrel with the Imperial Government. This, however, is the point in dispute. How far England was called upon to overlook the neglect of the treaties of 1826, was at any rate determined here by Lord Aberdeen's Act in 1845. That the Act was either conciliatory or complimentary to the Brazilian Government, can hardly be asserted; nor can it surprise anyone that a Government conscious of its weakness should exhibit an amount of temper and obstructiveness in proportion to its helplessness. The position of Brazil was one of great difficulty, both from the nature of the duties it had accepted, and from the state of opinion which stood in the way of their discharge. Even after the public abolition of the slave trade, and the active measures for its suppression which were at last resolved upon by the Brazilian ministry, the question of the Emancipados was one of great difficulty in a country so extensive, and in which the executive was consequently so weak. The duties accepted by the Brazilian Government with respect to all captured blacks, amounted to supervision of a fourteen years' apprenticeship, to which each of them was bound when brought by English cruisers into Brazilian ports, and to a guarantee of their ultimate liberation at the expiration of this apprenticeship. The policy of handing over the living cargoes of captured slaves to the custody and disposition of a slave-owning country may be fairly questioned, and was manifestly based only on our desire to escape from difficulties of the same kind as those we have visited upon the head of the Brazilian Government with constant remonstrance and an increasing acer-

* "Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California." By J. M. Hutchings. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

¹⁰ "Notes on Brazilian Questions." By W. D. Christie, late Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Brazil. London: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

bity, until other drops falling into the cup of wrath nearly filled by these disputes, have brought our diplomatic relations to the present dead-lock. To follow each individual negro to the place of his apprenticeship, and to keep so constant a supervision over those who have taken him into their service, as would prevent disreputable abuses of the trust, would require a considerable body of incorruptible public servants for the discharge of a duty that could hardly be highly paid, and which was in violent opposition to the public opinion of the country. The various devices by which, after the expiration of their term of service, the Emancipados were yet retained in what amounted to slavery, must have been very difficult to contend with, and no doubt would have been so considered by the English Government, had not the question unfortunately assumed the form of a conflict of *amour propre* between the two countries, until at last there really remained no course but that of a rupture, which only looked like oppression because the weaker State refused to conform to the common courtesies of diplomatic intercourse.

The conflict in which Brazil is at present engaged with Paraguay, and the possible complication it may bring about with the Argentine Republic, will give a temporary interest to a permanently valuable account of La Plata by M. Santiago Arcos.¹¹ The confused struggles of the South American republics have received far too little attention in England. They are full of the most important political lessons, and quite as interesting as the histories of mediæval towns and barons. In fact, there are few things more instructive than the reproduction on the South American continent of a state of society full of parallels with that of Europe at the death of Charlemagne. The ultimate triumph of the modern spirit represented by Buenos Ayres at one time, and by Montevideo at another, supports the most satisfactory conclusion that the world has made a definite progress, and that an ignorant community need not now fall an inevitable prey to the more energetic or instructed few who may be found within it. M. Arcos not only gives the history of the Spanish conquest, but very full particulars of the native races, as well as all that is necessary of the geography and productions of the country. The forty years of disorder which followed the declaration of independence by the Spanish colonies, M. Arcos maintains to be the natural result of that state of pupillage in which the colonies were held by the dominant country; and thus, however painful an education these years have furnished, they have yet, so far as the Argentine Republic is concerned, resulted in the triumph of order and of self-regulated liberty. Union and education have at last triumphed over the prejudices and jealousies which have so long been utilized by the leaders of what was called the federal party, but which really consisted of the personal struggles of those who flattered the

vices of their followers, that they might rule them the more arbitrarily. The varied narrative of this long struggle is told in the clearest manner by M. Arcos; his sketches of the chiefs concerned are full of character and life, and carry conviction of their truth by a consistency and coherence which is one of the rarest gifts in an historical portrait painter. The names of Lopez, Ramirez, Quiroga, Rosas, on the one side, and of Moreno, Belgrano, Rivadavia, Lavalle, Paz, Varela, Sarmiento, and Mitre, on the other, need no longer be *nomina umbrarum*, nor the conflicts in which they were engaged be regarded as mere savage struggles for predominance. If this opinion has been too prevalent among us, it has arisen from the difficulty of arriving at a clear view of the politics of South America from the dispersed accounts which only have been accessible to the English reader. This need no longer be the case. M. Arcos has given the means of judgment to all who choose to take his book in hand, and we can assure them they will find as much interest as instruction in its pages. In a supplementary chapter he explains the strange career of Francia in Paraguay, and shows how only in a country brutalized by the benevolent despotism of the Jesuits, could it have been possible.

An incubation of from two to four years, gives us a right to expect something more than a mere diary at the hands of Dr. Rennie, in his account of the British arms in China and Japan.¹² It is utterly wearisome to wade through notices of the weather, the state of the roads, the condition of the author's health and spirits, the visits he makes each day, and all the trivialities of a long-winded journal, when we might reasonably expect the result of careful reflection on the singular nations he had the opportunity of observing. We do not believe, though we have read this tedious volume through, that it contains a single fact with which the public have not long since been made acquainted from other sources. The most striking opinions are those the author displays in a resolute determination to run down the Armstrong guns, and to contradict all that has been asserted of their efficiency in the China war. The observations made on the effects of malarious situations for encampments, we leave to the judgment of those who are able to give a professional opinion; they are at least singular. The shorter account of the events of 1862, in Japan, is more interesting, a larger part of it being collected from our officers and residents there, and the opportunity of personal details being rather less; though even here, a desire is constantly betraying itself to assume a judicial position that carries with it but little weight.

The well-known art-critic, Dr. Förster, of Munich, has just published an interesting account of a trip taken last year to Belgium, Paris, and Beaune, in Burgundy,¹³ to which

¹¹ "La Plata, étude historique." Par Santiago Arcos. Paris: Levy Frères. London: D. Nutt. 1866.

¹² "The British Arms in North China and Japan; Peking, 1860; Kagosima, 1862." By D. F. Rennie, M.D., Senior Medical Officer of the Force in the North of China, &c. London: J. Murray. 1865.

¹³ "Reise durch Belgien nach Paris und Burgund." Von Dr. Ernst Förster. Leipzig: Weigel. London: D. Nutt. 1866.

latter place he was attracted by the desire to make a complete study of the Last Judgment, by Roger Van der Weyden, in the Hospital of St. Anthony in that city. The early German school as represented in the towns of Belgium, finds in him a learned and acute critic. Some curious particulars of the life of Memmeling, and of the origin of oil painting, will reward all who take up this excellent little volume, and they will find a style singularly clear and simple, which is not always met with in the works of the author's compatriots. A full description of the recent alterations in Paris and of the Napoleonic Museum in the Louvre, will interest many, while the general remarks on the compilation of catalogues for art-museums are worthy of the most attentive consideration at the hands of all who are engaged on such useful works, which so often contain all but the facts most desirable to be known, and which so frequently seem to be written upon no system whatever. If we might expect such a volume from his hands, we should heartily wish the author the opportunity of making a similar trip every year.

Those who are acquainted with the writings of an Old Bushman, know how thoroughly reliable is all that comes from his pen. A ten years' residence in Sweden has enabled him to give a full account of all the interesting features of a country that has much in common with our own.¹⁴ His chapters on the domestic life, forests, and field sports, contain some of the best descriptions that have, perhaps, ever been given of any country whatever. For national statistics he has consulted the best native authorities, and leaves few points untouched that can be of interest to an intelligent curiosity. The great merit of this as of all his other works is found in the care with which he has verified all his facts by personal observation. The special value of the present volume will be thought by many to consist in the elaborate and complete notice which it contains of the entire fauna of the country. A ten years' study of the birds, beasts, and fishes of Sweden, has made him an authority on all questions connected with their habits and ways of life. Into its merits as a natural history of the northern peninsula we shall not here enter.

Any one who wishes for full and adequate notions of Swedish life, will here find all that he can desire, and every tourist who thinks of Sweden as a possible summer touring ground, will find all necessary information in the most reliable form.

While carrying out the survey of the coast of Crete, begun by the late Captain Greaves, an opportunity of settling the disputed sites of the hundred cities of the island offered a temptation to his successor, Captain Spratt, that he could not resist.¹⁵ There thus grew up under

his hands, together with the excellent charts forwarded to the Admiralty, a mass of local information which he has done well to give to the public; the result is a very complete and interesting itinerary of the island. It is true that most of the ancient sites determined with so much care, show at present but the smallest traces of the Greek towns which once occupied them; a few coins and still fewer sculptures and inscriptions are all that now remain, except sometimes the massive substructures that have resisted every kind of devastation. The traces even of the long Venetian occupancy of the island are but small, and almost restricted to the neighbourhood of Candia, after which town the island itself was so long called. But if the antiquarian interest finds but little support, the beauty of the island would make it a most delightful touring ground, were it not for the poverty of the population and the unwholesomeness of the lower lands; of its beauty a fair notion may be formed from the very able views with which Captain Spratt's handsome volumes are adorned. The Turks and Greek Christians seem to have almost become reconciled to each other before the war of independence in 1820-29, and even to have overcome some of the evil memories of that conflict; but fresh animosities which broke out during the Crimean war have again embittered them, and thrust back their material prosperity for a whole generation. The mountaineers are Greeks, and hold the country at their command, but there is so little temptation to pillage from the poverty of the lowlands, that there is not much disturbance to be dreaded by visitors, but rather a want of decent shelter; while the constant temptation to sleep in the open air, which can hardly be ventured on without bringing on an attack of that fever and ague which are so well known to Mediterranean travellers, is a danger that should never be overlooked.

Captain Spratt gives full particulars concerning the geology and natural history of the island, and a very interesting account of the sponge trade which is carried on on its coasts. He never misses an illustrative legend or characteristic tale from the patriotic war, or from the descents of Algerine pirates—a scourge that used greatly to afflict these shores. From bad food and want of personal cleanliness, that frightful scourge, leprosy, is prevalent in the island, and near the large villages there is generally a lepers' settlement, some of which were visited and described by Captain Spratt.

Though chiefly useful as a handbook to future travellers, there is so much which is generally interesting in these volumes, that they will well reward those who have no thought of visiting the scenes it describes.

With a large circle of readers Mr. Porter's last volume on Syria and its holy places¹⁶ will be unquestionably popular. No one will dispute his intimate acquaintance with the coun-

¹⁴ "Ten Years in Sweden." By an Old Bushman; author of "A Spring and Summer in Lapland," &c. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1865.

¹⁵ "Travels and Researches in Crete." By Captain T. A. B. Spratt, R.N., C.B., F.R.S. London: J. Van Voorst. 1865.

¹⁶ "The Giant Cities of Bashan and Syria's Holy Places." By the Rev. J. L. Porter, M.A., author of "Five Years in Damascus," "Murray's Handbook for Syria and Palestine," &c. London: J. Nelson and Sons. 1865.

try, or his powers of animated description. He brings before us the ancient cities of Israel and Judah, and the lands of the hostile races by which they were surrounded; he connects each locality with all the interesting notices of them which occur in the Bible, and compares all that is known of their ancient glory with the feeble vestiges of it which can still be discovered; and all with singular effectiveness and vigour. On one point, however, we must protest in the interest of what, we fear, are but a few of those who will turn to his pages. We confess it is not without a feeling of moral repugnance that we meet in every page of Mr. Porter's book with the constant comparison of ancient Hebrew denunciations of the enemies of Israel with the wretched and ruinous condition of the country. Simply, this ardent search for the fulfilment of prophecy seems to us unnecessary, and to be, in fact, very far from carrying with it that seal of direct inspiration in the ancient writers who have called down God's wrath on the whole region, for the sake of which the present and ancient condition of the country are so learnedly compared. The denunciations against Bashan were delivered 600 years before Christ, and waited for their fulfilment for more than as many years after the Christian era. The ruin they called down upon the land fell not upon the same race who had provoked the prophets, but upon a Christian community which shared to the utmost of its light in the feelings which animated the curse that had been laid upon the land, and which was yet so long coming upon it. Not only in this divorce between fulfilled prophecy and really righteous retribution, are such views obnoxious to us, but the whole tone in which scriptural imagery is shown to have been truly taken from the land in which the Scriptures were written, implies much more than is fully expressed, and insinuates that such faithfulness in external description carries with it a claim to unquestioning belief and reliance where far more important things than oriental manners are concerned. The letter of Scripture seems to exercise over the minds of enquirers like Mr. Porter an overwhelming effect which almost shuts out all that is most noble and immortal in its spirit. There is a kind of self-congratulatory feeling in discovering a scene of predicted desolation that too often ranges the discoverer on the side of the denouncing prophet, and seems to shut his eyes to the strange morality involved in the fulfilment of a curse which escapes the persons cursed to fall only on the land they once inhabited. The veriest trifle that illustrates writings which have exercised such an influence on mankind as the Hebrew Scriptures, has an inestimable value; but the fullest light upon the entire text would be dearly bought if it brought with it a return to the narrow morality of the Old Testament. If these investigations are to result in a substitution of the notion of a wrathful Jehovah in the place of that of our Father which is in heaven, no amount of historical discovery can be looked upon as a sufficient compensation for such a retrogression in what are happily the common

conceptions concerning a ruler of the universe. The spirit against which we have felt ourselves called upon to animadvert has the strongest tendency to mislead those it animates into the veriest trifling, and a mere word hunting that deprives the subject of all dignity. At page 120, Mr. Porter, describing the appearance of Jerusalem from Mount Moriah, says:—"The hill sinks into the Valley of Hinnom in steep terraced slopes, covered with vineyards, olives, and cornfields. As I looked, a moving object in one of the fields riveted my attention. 'Haste, give me my glass,' I said. I turned it upon the spot. Yes, I was right; a plough and a yoke of oxen were there at work. Jeremiah's prophecy was fulfilled before my eyes. 'Zion shall be ploughed like a field' (xxvi. 18)." This is no doubt picturesque and effective in style, but where there was a cornfield it was hardly necessary to be in a hurry for a telescope to determine that a plough had passed over the ground. The primary title of Mr. Porter's book is the "Giant Cities of Bashan," and indicates that part of it which is devoted to the most unexplored district of the country. This most eastern corner of Syria had hardly been visited before, and from the massive and durable character of its architectural remains, offers the strangest sights of deserted towns which are even now, after a thousand years' desolation, in a state of repair that would admit of their immediate use, if only life and property could be secured from the constant excursions of the wandering Bedouins who have taken possession of the inaccessible Hauran.

It is seldom that the interior of a London hospital is described from the point of view of one of the patients; in the great majority of cases they belong to a class of society which is too little educated to be capable of an intelligent judgment. A few years since, Mr. Cooley, the author of several excellent books of reference, had the misfortune to be run over and very seriously injured in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross Hospital, to which institution he was conveyed, and owing to a very severe attack of erysipelas which followed, he was detained for two months within its walls. He has given a most excellent picture of the interior of a hospital in a little volume which leaves nothing to be desired in a full description of its daily routine. The most curious part, however, of his book is the detailed account he gives of the delirium which attended the fever accompanying his attack. About a hundred pages are devoted to a full description of all the strange, wild images which floated through his diseased imagination. This is a most remarkable mnemonic feat; with nothing to connect them but the arbitrary associations which in very few cases is he able to connect with any external objects, such an effort of pure memory is perhaps without example. Where there is no ratiocinative connexion, the memory of most men is very weak indeed; but in this case the utter absence of

¹⁷ "Two Months in a London Hospital: its Inner Life and Scenes. A Personal Narrative." By A. J. Cooley. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1865.

any connecting links makes the result, from its magnitude and minute particularity, one of the most curious psychological phenomena we have ever met with.

The close and intelligent observation of his own symptoms must render Mr. Cooley's book highly interesting to the medical profession, while his numerous illustrative anecdotes and detailed descriptions can hardly fail to make it equally attractive to the general reader.

Sportsmen know very well what they may expect in a book on hunting by *Scrutator*,¹ but those who are no sportsmen will, if they have any sense of humour, be greatly delighted and tickled with his view of the world as seen from the kennel and cover side. The confidence with which he professes his faith that foxes are the final cause and last grace of a country life, is most amusing; but if it were not for this enthusiasm the book would not be so unquestionably good a manual of all that it professes to treat. To those to whom the author's name has not already done so, we strongly recommend his capital practical lessons.

It is hardly necessary to say anything of such well-known books as "*Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom*,"² except that the edition of the present year is thoroughly revised, as well as amply and most completely illustrated with the armorial bearings of all the families who are mentioned in the two volumes. It fully comes up to the editor's object in being a complete repertory of useful knowledge concerning the titled classes of the realm.

SCIENCE.

PROFESSOR BERNAYS' "*Notes for Students in Chemistry*,"³ of which a fourth edition lies before us, forms a sort of printed commonplace book, systematically arranged, and containing brief notes of the facts to be derived from the study of the principal textbooks of chemistry. The notes are, of course, valuable chiefly as memoranda of information obtained by more extended study, but for this purpose they are admirably adapted, and the work as it stands constitutes a most convenient outline of the science in all its bearings. The present edition contains a brief sketch of Gerhardt's doctrine of types, and of the new system of notation; the formulæ given for the various compounds are in accordance with the old system, but in many cases the new formulæ are appended in brackets.

Mr. Page, in a small pamphlet, advocates the

adoption of geology as a branch of general education,⁴ and maintains that it is not only practically a valuable study to the agriculturist, the miner, the engineer, the architect, the well-sinker, and others whose business brings them more or less directly in contact with the subjects of geological research, but that some knowledge of the structure and history of the crust of the earth cannot but prove both interesting and useful to every one, whilst as a means of intellectual training it may furnish results as valuable as those produced by any other course of study. Even when pursued as an amusement, the study of geology cannot but exercise a favourable influence on the mind, by the expansion of thought that must inevitably be produced even by an imperfect realization of the grand series of phenomena which it reveals; and Mr. Page accordingly urges that elementary geological instruction should be given in our schools, and that chairs of geology should be established in all colleges.

A small volume of "*Lectures on Practical Geology*,"⁵ by Professor Ansted, whilst professing to form only a popular sketch of the applications of that science in arts and manufactures, will furnish to many a sufficient amount of information on this special branch of scientific education. In this excellent little work, Professor Ansted indicates, in the first place, the connexion of geology with agriculture, showing how soils are produced by the disintegration of rocks, the modes in which this disintegration is effected, and the value of a knowledge of the nature of the soil, in determining the use of manure, and the management of crops. As the atmosphere and its water are the chief agents in breaking down the rock-surfaces and preparing them for the operations of the agriculturist, Professor Ansted, in his second lecture, treats of the relations of water to rocks *in situ*, and especially of the influence of the structure and position of the various beds, upon the accumulation and constitution of the water available for economic purposes. These may be regarded as indirect practical applications of geology: in the subsequent lectures the author describes the source and mode of obtaining the numerous mineral bodies which are directly useful to man. Here he passes in review the sands and clays used in pottery and brickmaking and for other purposes; the limestones burned for the production of mortars, plasters, and cements; the numerous varieties of building stones; the various metallic ores, and the mode of their occurrence and working; coal, petroleum, salt, &c. From the fact that Professor Ansted has for many years devoted much of his attention to the practical applications of Geology, especially in connection with mining, cements,

¹ "Practical Lessons in Hunting and Sporting." By *Scrutator*. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

² "*Debrett's Illustrated Peerage and Baronetage*." 1865. 2 vols. London: Bosworth.

³ "*Notes for Students in Chemistry; being a Syllabus of Chemistry and Practical Chemistry*." By Albert J. Bernays. Fourth edition, revised and corrected. 12mo. London: Churchill and Sons. 1865.

⁴ "*Geology as a Branch of General Education*." By David Page, F.R.S.E., &c. Blackwood: Edinburgh and London. 1865.

⁵ "*The Application of Geology to the Arts and Manufactures*." Six Lectures on Practical Geology, delivered before the Society of Arts. By Professor D. T. Ansted, M.A., F.R.S. 12mo. London: Hardwicke. 1865.

and building-stones, few of our geologists are so well qualified to speak with authority upon such subjects, and not only has he brought together in this little volume a great mass of instructive facts, but he has told his story in a plain and simple, but at the same time attractive way, which cannot fail to render it interesting to his readers. He indicates that it is only by the ceaseless change going on even among the mineral constituents of our planet, that organic life is possible on its surface, and sums up his results in the following words:—"All that is useful and beautiful, and all that is intrinsically valuable and employed in the arts, and indeed, all that conduces to life itself, is derived from the earth. To seek for it economically, you must study the structure of the earth; to obtain it without loss, or at as little cost as possible, you must learn the conditions of its existence—you must, in a word, study geology—and thus it is that geology, applied to the arts, is a subject of real and vital interest to all of us."

Whilst, as Professor Ansted tells us, the supply of ironstone in the Cleveland district of Yorkshire may be regarded practically as inexhaustible, it is a somewhat melancholy fact that the same statement by no means applies to the coal necessary for smelting it, as there is no doubt that we are rapidly using up our supply of fossil fuel. Mr. Hull gives us 1100 years for the entire exhaustion of our coal-mines, if we continue to consume coal at the present rate; but Mr. Jevons, in an elaborate treatise on the coal question⁴ just published, maintains that the matter cannot be estimated on this footing, and, assuming the consumption of coal to go on increasing in the same ratio as during the last few years, we shall come to the end of our store of mineral fuel in a much shorter time; indeed, the real question is, not how long it will take us to clear all the coals out of the coal-measures, but how soon shall we so far exhaust the workable seams as to render it impossible to raise coal at such a price that it may be available for manufacturing purposes. The whole of the statistics on this subject are ably discussed by Mr. Jevons; and although, considering the history of the last few years, during which the increase in the consumption of coal has been unprecedentedly great, we cannot believe that the future augmentation can take place in anything like the same ratio, there is nevertheless abundant reason why the attention of the public should be called to the probability of a comparatively early cessation of the supply of coal. For, as every thinking man must feel, and as Mr. Jevons proves by unanswerable evidence, the continuance of our supplies is the condition of our national prosperity, and it is chiefly to the present favourable position of our island in this respect that we owe our high position among nations. With its cessation the development and even the maintenance of our manufactures must also cease, for

there is no present prospect, at any rate, of the application of any direct physical force to the working of our machinery. Mr. Jevons holds that by checking the waste and extravagance now practised to such a great extent much might be done, and regards the exportation of coal as an evil which might be prevented. The imposition of an export duty on coal, however, is beset with many difficulties, as it reacts upon the mercantile marine and upon the import trade. Mr. Jevons suggests that the legacy and succession duties should be applied to the reduction and ultimate extinction of the national debt, as this, he thinks, "would serve the three purposes of adding to the productive capital of the country, of slightly checking our present too rapid progress, and of lessening the future difficulties of the country."

"Modern Geology," says Mr. Campbell in the third paper of his work, entitled "Frost and Fire," now before us,⁵ "treats of sedimentary and of igneous rocks; it recognises the activity of two mechanical forces, which act in opposite directions, upward and downward, from and towards a centre, in radiating and converging lines." These two forces are heat and weight, by the alternate or intermittent action of which all the various phenomena of the formation and moulding of the crust and surface of the earth may be said to be effected. To the elaboration of this view in almost every conceivable direction, Mr. Campbell (whose name, with a most unnecessary modesty, is only appended to his preface) has devoted two thick volumes, containing records of observations upon subjects of geology, meteorology, and physical geography, made in almost all parts of the northern hemisphere, and described with a vigour and point such as one rarely meets with. Amongst the most instructive portions of the book are the records of the ingenious experiments made by the author for the purpose of testing on a small scale theories proposed to explain the grand phenomena of nature; thus we find the action of heat and icebergs upon water the working of heat and cold upon air, the production of ocean currents and numerous other important phenomena elucidated by the judicious use of a few simple materials and utensils, or illustrated by quaint references to the action of homely and every-day objects. Ice, according to Mr. Campbell, has been the main engine by which the denudation and moulding of the surface of our earth has been effected, and his chief journeyings have been in search of the "tool-marks" and "chips" which betray the operations of this mighty agent, to the doings of which the greater portion of the pages of his present work is devoted. Everywhere he finds traces of the action of ice, to which he attributes more importance than even Professor Ramsay, but he differs from most of his later predecessors by ascribing less of the work done to glaciers and more to icebergs carried along by marine currents. Glacial condi-

⁴ "The Coal Question: an Inquiry concerning the Progress of the Nation and the Probable Exhaustion of our Coal Mines." By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A. London: Macmillan. 1865.

⁵ "Frost and Fire, Natural Engines, Tool-marks, and Chips, with Sketches taken at Home and Abroad." By a Traveller. Two Vols. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1865.

tions exist at the present moment about Greenland, Labrador, and Newfoundland, in the same latitudes that bear witness to an ancient glacial epoch in Europe, but separated by several degrees of longitude. Mr. Campbell assumes that, during the European glacial epoch, a channel existed at the head of the Baltic giving access to the Arctic sea, and that it is by the closure of this passage by elevation of land that the seat of glacial action has been transferred to the western hemisphere. But our author by no means confines his attention to the action of ice, although that is evidently his favourite subject,—his book abounds with descriptions of meteorological phenomena, of the action of rivers and other water in motion, of the deposition of sediment, of the action of heat and volcanoes, and indicates many a relation between things apparently most dissimilar, which coupled with the energy and vivacity of its style, and the beauty of many of its descriptions of natural objects and scenery, render it one of the most charming books that we have ever had the gratification of perusing. The illustrations also, which are chiefly the work of the author's own hands, are deserving of great praise; many of them represent singular or beautiful natural scenery, others illustrate the ingenious experiments already alluded to, but all are exceedingly good. Even the cover of the volumes is made available for illustration—one side of it bears a representation of the ice-grooves on a slate rock at St. John's, New Brunswick, with the indications of their bearings.

In a small work on Fruit Trees,* M. Laujoulet explains all the details of the management of the various trees grown in our orchards, describing the kind of soil and situation most suited to the successful cultivation of each, the mode of management of the orchard, the selection of the stock, and especially the methods of training and pruning the trees, so as to render them at once vigorous and productive. The last-mentioned operations, which constitute the greatest mystery of the professional gardener's proceedings, are explained in full detail, and in a very simple manner; and M. Laujoulet adds to the benefit which he has thus conferred on the possessors of orchards, by indicating the laws of vegetation which govern the evolution of fruit trees, and the physiological reasons for the adoption of each process. The concluding section of the work contains directions for the management of seedlings and grafting, together with a calendar of orchard operations, without which no gardener's book would be complete. The instructions given are illustrated by numerous figures on four folding plates, and the little volume forms a most convenient and excellent manual for the management of the orchard.

In the *Philosophia Zoologica*† of Professor Van der Hoeven, we have a work which ought to exercise a favourable influence upon the rising generation of zoologists. In it the totality of the phenomena of animal life is treated in an

aphoristic form, and the connexion of the different branches of zoological study is made manifest very successfully; indeed not only are the results of investigation stated with particular clearness, but an extraordinary mass of facts is cited in the notes appended to most of the paragraphs. The work, which is written throughout in Latin, is divided into four books. Of these, the first treats *De Animalium natura*, and after stating that all animals originate from cells, proceeds to describe the component tissues of the animal body, the mode of combination of these tissues to form organs, the functions of the latter, and their differences in the series of animals. A chapter in this book is also devoted to the consideration of the different types of animal structure, and another to that of the skeleton of the vertebrata, the latter treated in accordance with the views of Professor Owen. The second book has for its subject general and comparative embryology, and describes the mode of development of the different groups of animals in an ascending series, thus completing the statement of the anatomical and physiological phenomena of the animal kingdom. The third and fourth books treat of the systematic and geographical distribution of animals, their description and nomenclature, and contain many observations, especially in relation to descriptive zoology, which might be studied with advantage by most of our describers of genera and species.

From discussing the position of man in nature, and the difficult problem of the origin of the human species, Professor Vogt has descended to the consideration of "useful and injurious, misunderstood, and malignant animals," thus adopting a sort of zoological bye-path, which, however, he has, as usual, rendered most interesting and attractive by his mode of treatment. Whilst protesting that no animal can be regarded abstractedly as either beneficial or injurious, Professor Vogt shows that, as far as man is concerned, a great number of animals must be regarded either as friends or foes, seeing that some of them are most hurtful by damaging his property, whilst others are either directly useful to him, or indirectly beneficial, by destroying the injurious species. By tracing the history of some of the more striking and important species belonging to both these categories in the lectures composing his present little volume, Professor Vogt not only furnishes his readers with much useful information on this special subject, but at the same time communicates a good deal of instruction in general natural history, and shows how the study of those animals which, as it were, force themselves upon our notice in the garden or the field, may open up broad views of the mutual relations and interdependence of the various forms of animals. At the same time these relations are in many cases, perhaps in most, by no means so simple as would at first appear; indeed, the more one studies this subject, the more astonishing do we find the com-

* "Taille et Culture des Arbres Fruitiers." Par M. Laujoulet. Paris: Sacy. 1865.

† "Philosophia Zoologica." Auctore J. Van der Hoeven. Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1864.

* "Vorlesungen über nützliche und schädliche, verkannte und verläumdete Thiere." Von Carl Vogt. Leipzig: Kell. 1864.

plexity of the arrangements by which the balance of power is maintained in nature. In the course of his lectures Professor Vogt has, of course, frequent opportunities of showing that animals generally regarded as mischievous, are in reality benefactors of their human persecutors, and he also mentions a series of superstitious prejudices prevailing in different localities with regard to certain animals.

In his "Natural History of Injurious Invertebrate Animals of Germany," Dr. Taschenberg has taken up a portion of the ground passed over by Professor Vogt, but has worked that portion out in detail. In this essay, which has received the first prize of the Royal Prussian Agricultural College, the author gives the natural history of the invertebrate animals injurious to agriculture, occurring in various parts of Germany, describes the ravages committed by them upon various cultivated plants, and indicates the means of diminishing their numbers, when any such exist. The number of species mentioned is only eighty-one, so that many of the less important forms are omitted; most of the species are represented upon seven tolerably executed coloured plates, which illustrate the volume. The natural enemies of some destructive insects, especially those which prey upon the *Aphides*, are also indicated, but the agency of Ichneumonidæ, and other parasites, in checking the undue multiplication of plant-eating species, is hardly referred to with sufficient distinctness even for practical purposes. All treatises on noxious insects (and insects occupy the greater part of the present volume) ought to contain a section devoted to the indication of those which, on the contrary, are beneficial, as there is nothing more common than for the farmer, or the gardener, to charge his best friends with the commission of the damage, upon which they are doing their best to put a check. The second part of Dr. Taschenberg's work brings together the animals described in his first part, according to the plants which they attack, and under each plant there is a tabular arrangement, to lead the non-scientific reader to the ready determination of any specimens that may come in his way, by characters drawn from the nature of the injury inflicted by them upon the plant. This section also includes a bibliographic and synonymic appendix, referred to by numbers from the body of the work. Dr. Taschenberg's essay contains little or nothing new, but it has apparently been carefully and intelligently prepared with reference to all the recent original authorities on the insect pests of the farm.

The readers of the *Natural History Review* are already familiar with the labours of Mr. Lubbock in the field of prehistoric archæology, several of the most interesting chapters of the work before us having appeared in that journal; by the addition of others, treating on allied, or illustrative topics, he has produced a volume that cannot fail to be acceptable to students of this branch of archæology.¹⁰

By a comparison of the implements and customs of modern savages with what recent research has disclosed to us of the condition of prehistoric man, the author enables us to form some opinion of the state of civilization enjoyed by the fabricators of flint implements, the builders of pile habitations, and the dwellers on the coasts of Northern Europe, whose remains are found in shell mounds, &c.

Of the fourteen chapters into which the book is divided, two are devoted to a consideration of the bronze age, the knowledge of bronze and other metals possessed by the ancients, and generally the form and character of the various bronze implements found in different parts of Europe. The author at some length examines the question of the Phœnician sources of tin, and the criticisms of Sir G. C. Lewis and others on the voyages of Pytheas and Himilco. He does not believe in either a Phœnician or Roman origin of the bronze age civilization; whilst freely admitting the difficulty of fixing any period with certainty, he inclines to the opinion that Stonehenge and Abury may be regarded as specimens of the architecture of the bronze age.

In the third chapter the author gives a résumé of our knowledge of the stone age, which he divides into two periods, marked respectively by the chipped and polished implements. The fourth chapter is devoted to a consideration of tumuli and various methods of sepulture and disposal of the dead. In the fifth and sixth chapters the author at considerable length describes the various additions to our knowledge of primitive man, derived from an examination of pile dwellings and shell mounds: these have a special interest, being mainly the result of the author's personal investigations. Having recorded the present state of our knowledge of primitive European races as derived from an investigation into the ages of stone and bronze, and the indications afforded by an examination of tumuli, pile dwellings and shell mounds, Mr. Lubbock, in the seventh chapter, reviews the facts already ascertained in reference to the condition of primitive races in North America, the uses of copper, and the various facts derived from the investigation of the mounds and earthworks so abundantly scattered in this part of the world. In the eighth chapter he similarly records the various results derived from the exploration of caves both in this country and on the continent. In chapters nine and ten the author reviews most of the points bearing on the question of the antiquity of man. With these the readers of Sir C. Lyell's work on the subject are already familiar.

The three following chapters are occupied with a brief history of modern savages, more especially of those who at the time of their discovery were ignorant of the use of metal, Esquimaux, Fijis, Fuegians; these chapters are especially interesting, as regards the main question the author seeks to illustrate, indicating a condition of civilization probably closely approx-

¹⁰ "Naturgeschichte der wirbellosen Thiere, die in Deutschland, &c., schädlich werden." Von Dr. E. L. Taschenberg. Leipzig: Kummer. 1866.

¹¹ "Prehistoric Times, as illustrated by Ancient

Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages." By John Lubbock, F.R.S. &c. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

imating to that in existence in Europe during the stone age.

In the concluding chapter the author makes some interesting observations on the theory of "Natural selection" as applied to man (a theory which the author seems to accept) both as regards his mental and physical development. Of the work, of which the above is but a meagre outline, we can speak in the highest terms; it gives a faithful account of the present state of our knowledge of the primitive populations of our own country and the continent in a clear and accurate style, and indicates the zeal and assiduity with which the author has studied his subject.

The caverns of Poitou have furnished to the labours of MM. Brouillet and Meillet an abundant harvest of traces of the early inhabitants of France, which they have described and illustrated in an octavo volume lately published.¹¹ Stone implements of various forms, and objects of bone and horn, form the chief part of the articles collected by them, and amongst the latter are some bearing curious outline figures of animals analogous to those discovered by MM. Lartet and Christy in Périgord, and evidently composed of the horn of the reindeer. The most singular of all these objects consist of certain fragments of bone, bearing upon their surface a considerable number of what appear to be unmistakable alphabetical characters, pronounced indeed, by Professor Pictet, to be for the most part identical with ancient Sanscrit letters! How far the existence of these inscribed bones is to be regarded as a proof that the human contemporaries of the reindeer in France were acquainted with alphabetical characters, must be left to the future to decide; it is certainly rather premature to assume, as the authors seem inclined to do, that the primeval reindeer hunters of France were the descendants of emigrants from the East, who brought with them a knowledge of the Sanscrit character. It is to be remarked, moreover, that these characters are placed together irregularly, so that they form no pronounceable combination; two of them occur on a bone which has been worked into a phallus. M. Meillet, however, has not only formed a theory of the origin of the ancient inhabitants of France, whose works he has disinterred from the caverns where they have been so long buried, but actually gives singularly precise dates for the events of the remote period of their existence. Thus the year 24,000 B.C. is "the probable epoch of the cataclysm which ravaged the North of Europe and Asia, and covered them with sands and erratic blocks in immense layers."

In these occur worked flints, mixed with bones of elephants, rhinoceroses, &c. Then comes a transition period of comparative repose, extending from 24,000 to 13,901 B.C., during which small cataclysms may have occurred by the bursting of lakes, &c., but it seems probable that Europe was without hu-

man inhabitants. "About the year 13,901, the epoch of the *débâcle* of the glacier of the South Pole," Asiatic populations, already too much compressed, fled from the partial deluge of India, and emigrated to the West, where they gave origin to the Celtic inhabitants of the French caves. Among the chipped flint implements made by these people are some polished stone weapons, supposed to have been brought by the emigrants from their eastern home. After another long period of repose, fresh deluges took place, arising from the *débâcle* of the glacier of the North Pole, about 2350 years B.C., but these were more partial than their predecessors, and may be identified with the floods recorded by history or tradition. In this way M. Meillet continues to trace the stream of time, with more satisfaction to himself than to his readers, down to the bronze period, of which, and of the polished stone period, he and his collaborateur describe and figure some interesting relics.

Each new edition of Dr. Aitken's valuable work¹² has been an improvement on the preceding one; and the third edition, which is now before us, is a complete systematic treatise on the Science and Practice of Medicine. The whole has evidently been carefully revised, while some portions have been entirely rewritten, so that the two volumes now present, in an accessible and convenient form, a judicious compilation of all the latest observations in medical science, whether made at home or abroad. Diseases are described which have hitherto found no place in any English systematic work; and a short account of the geographical distribution of disease is an excellent feature in it which will not fail to be greatly appreciated.

In his preliminary pathological observations, Dr. Aitken lays great stress on the usefulness of the examination of the temperature of the body in different diseases, and gives numerous illustrations of the great advance which has recently been made in a knowledge of "the thermometry of disease." The particular attention given of late to exact investigation of this kind, especially in Germany, is a most important feature of recent medical progress; and the valuable results which have been already obtained plainly indicate that before long the thermometer will be as necessary an instrument to the physician as the stethoscope now is. Equally excellent is Dr. Aitken's account of the phenomena of inflammation and of their physiological import. Full credit is given to every one who has contributed anything to the elucidation of this difficult subject; and we have been particularly gratified to observe that the sagacious views of Simon, which, though long since published, have hitherto not received the attention which their philosophical character might justly have claimed, are clearly set forth, fairly weighed, and proved to be confirmed by the recent observations of Virchow and Lis-

¹¹ "Époques Antédiluvienne et Celtique du Poitou." Par A. Brouillet et A. Meillet. Poitiers: Girardin. Niort: Clouzot. Paris: Dumoulin.

¹² "The Science and Practice of Medicine." By William Aitken, M.D. 2 vols. Third edition. Charles Griffin and Co. 1864.

ter. The laws of action of morbid persons, as far as these are at present known, are concisely stated; the description, here as elsewhere, consisting of a careful synopsis of what is to be found in the best works specially treating on the subject. In former systematic works on medicine syphilis scarcely received any mention, for it was looked upon as a disease falling almost entirely within the province of surgical writers; but the serious mischief which it has now been distinctly proved to produce in every internal organ of the body has rendered a full account of it henceforth a necessary part of a treatise on medicine. Dr. Aitken has not neglected so important a subject, although he does not appear to have seen the most recent pathological observations which have been made with regard to the ravages of the syphilitic virus. But if there is anything wanting in his account of syphilis, there is nothing more to be desired in his description of the numerous well-marked forms of entozoa which are now known to infest the human body. The remarkable peregrinations and the strange vicissitudes of the tapeworm are faithfully followed, and an excellent summary includes an account of the mischief done by that most dangerous of parasites, the *trichina spiralis*.

It would be possible, no doubt, to point out certain omissions in this treatise, as well as to indicate certain discussions that are abundant; but the wonder is that there are so few things omitted, and that there is so little that could with advantage be retrenched. As the volumes have now attained a bulk which is as great as suits the convenience of readers, it may be hoped that any additions of matter requisite in a subsequent edition will be accompanied by condensation, where this may properly be made.

In an unpretending little volume¹³ Dr. Ringer gives the results of numerous observations which he has made on the temperature of the body in phthisis, and the conclusions which he believes himself entitled to draw from them. These are;—that there is a continued elevation of the temperature of the body in all cases in which a deposition of tubercle is taking place in any organ; that this elevation is probably due to the general constitutional state (tuberculosis) rather than to the particular deposition; that the increase of temperature may be taken as a measure of the severity of the disease and as a more accurate criterion thereof, than the physical signs or symptoms; that it is even possible, by means of the increase of temperature, to recognise the disease long before physical signs and symptoms would enable any one to do so, and in cases where such signs are not distinct; and, lastly, that we may conclude by means of a fall of temperature that the deposition of tubercle has ceased. The observations which have been made with great care and industry, appear to warrant the conclusions. Perhaps the author

would not have done amiss to have introduced, by way of preface to his own researches, a brief account of what has hitherto been done in this matter, and to have modified somewhat the expression of his too exclusive admiration for the thermometer, as though it were *the* method of investigation, superior to and capable of superseding all other methods. Its use affords one amongst other indications of diseases, and that probably a very significant one; but to suppose that the thermometer placed in a patient's axilla must henceforth supersede the educated senses of the practical physician, is to suppose that man must see with his eye and not, as now, through it, that an aid to the senses will take the place of the mind to which the senses are but gateways. It is furthermore to assume as desirable a result which would be as great an injury as could possibly happen to the cause of medical science. Dr. Ringer's results have, however, clearly proved that the examination of the bodily temperature is most necessary in any case of phthisis; and his work affords a good example of patient and useful scientific research in a direction hitherto almost entirely neglected in this country.

A fourth edition of Dr. Carpenter's "Manual of Physiology" contains such additions and modifications as the progress of physiological research has rendered necessary.¹⁴ The section on embryonic development has been entirely re-written, and such modifications of what is called the "cell-doctrine" have been made, as the present state of knowledge seemed to demand. While holding it now established that the cell, with its membranous wall, nucleus, and contents, is not the primitive type of organization, but that the protoplasmic substance or germinal matter is, Dr. Carpenter does not fail to express his distinct dissent from the unphilosophical notion recently put forth that "formed material" is never possessed of vital activity. He enters into a somewhat elaborate discussion of vital force and vital property, which, though interesting and instructive, will scarce perhaps suffice, as Dr. Carpenter hopes, to enable the student "to attach definite ideas to each of them." Indeed, it may be a question whether uncertain discussions of the kind are not better omitted in a manual for students. It is truly surprising, however, that the author has been able to compress so much matter into so small a compass, and to present it in so clear and instructive a form. Scarce anything of real importance appears to be omitted, if we except perhaps Professor Lister's observations on the coagulation of the blood, and the researches of the same physiologist into the influence of the cerebro-spinal system upon the contraction of the small arteries and upon the movement of the pigment granules in the cells of the frog's skin—researches which mark out the direct influence of the nervous system upon nutrition. An admirable feature in this manual

¹³ "On the Temperature of the Body as a means of Diagnosis in Phthisis and Tuberculosis." By Sydney Ringer, M.D. Walton and Maberley. 1865.

¹⁴ "A Manual of Physiology, including Physiological Anatomy." By W. B. Carpenter, M.D., F.R.S. Fourth edition. John Churchill and Sons. 1865.

is the brief sketch of the simpler forms of any function in the lower animals previous to the more special description of its complex form in man; so that the gradual development from the simple and general to the complex and special is displayed, and just ideas of the relations of the particular function are conveyed to the student.

Some of the recent discoveries in ophthalmic science, and their practical application in the treatment of defects of vision, are set forth by Mr. Lawrence¹⁴ in a simple but thoroughly scientific manner. After certain preliminary considerations with regard to optics and a short account of the optical properties of the eye, he proceeds to investigate the departures from the standard of health, to discuss the causes and nature of the abnormal conditions, and to point out the proper remedies for them. How necessary it is in any case of defective vision to make a searching examination into all the conditions which may conspire to produce it, is well shown by a discovery of Donders, that almost all cases of ordinary convergent squint are accompanied by that defect of the eye which is now called hypermetropia—in other words, a deficient converging power on the rays on light, which are consequently focussed behind the retina. Subsequent researches have further proved the important fact that hypermetropia is in these cases the *cause* of the squint, and that the latter is a mere symptom and nothing more. The tendency to squint will still exist, therefore, after the operation for convergent strabismus, and the patient will be apt to become as bad as ever after a time, if he does not, at any rate for close work, use such convex glasses as are fitted to counteract the hypermetropia. How much yet remains to be done in ophthalmic science is shown by the difference of opinion which still exists as to the process by which the eye accommodates itself to distances. This accommodation is usually attributed to a change in the convexity of the lens and an alteration of the axes of the two eyes, to which some add a change in the convexity of the cornea. Though Mr. Laurence says of this last theory that it is devoid of all demonstrated truth, yet some powerful arguments in its favour have again been brought forward by Dr. Lawson as recently as in a paper in the last number of the "Ophthalmic Review." Mr. Laurence's book is the work of one who evidently has a complete scientific and practical knowledge of his subject.

Dr. Druitt has published an excellent and very interesting report on the cheap and sound wine, which might advantageously be drunk in place of the mixture of spirits and water, or the manufactured compound which the British public now delights in as port or sherry.¹⁵ The natural fermented juice of

the grape, not mixed with any additional spirit, such as we get it in clarets, Burgundies, hock, and Hungarian wines, contains about 21 per cent. of proof spirit; the average of several samples of natural port wine was 23.5 per cent. of proof spirit; but, as fortified for the English market, the quantity is 35.4 per cent. It appears that we sell every year to the Portuguese an enormous quantity of cheap spirits, which we afterwards buy back from them as wine: in 1864, for example, we took from the Portuguese 3,344,871 gallons of port wine, while they took from England 1,680,304 gallons of spirit. Hamburg and Bremen are two North German ports which also take from Great Britain a large quantity of spirits, which they send back to us, after due manipulation, as port and sherry. Sometimes it is found desirable and profitable to ship these "Hambro" compounds from London to Cadiz and back, in order that they may thus get by the voyage what they lack of being real wine. Latterly, however, the Custom-house authorities have subjected many such spurious mixtures to additional duty as "mixed spirits," pronouncing them to be, not wine, but flavoured spirits and water; and great has been the indignation and the outcry of some engaged in the concocting trade. Dr. Druitt has tried, with a well-trained and discriminating palate, numerous specimens of cheap wines, bought at different wine merchants, and delivers it as his verdict that "we can get good wine cheap, but that neither the public nor the profession use it as it deserves." Nor do they know when to drink it:

"Monsieur A. Courty, the eminent surgeon of Montpellier, who visited England a year ago to study English surgery, and who has recorded his sentiments in his very interesting 'Excursion Chirurgicale in Angleterre,' remarked on some of our social customs with admiration, but our dinner barbarisms excited his horror, as well they might. With the best meat, wine, and vegetables, we cook and devour them like savages. You may see grown men—and M. Courty publishes the damning fact to civilized Europe—drinking sweet champagne with mutton! and reserving a fine bottle of Bourdeaux, worth, perhaps, ten shillings, till after dinner, when a parcel of yahoos sip it, while they are munching sweetmeats, biscuits, preserved ginger, &c."

Dr. Druitt's report contains a great deal of very useful information, given in a concise and pleasant form, and we can strongly recommend it to the attention of the public, who want to know what wine they should drink, as well as to the attention of physicians, who may obtain from it valuable hints as to what kind of wine they may prescribe with benefit to their patients. The author is particularly and justly severe on those so-called scientific analyses and absurd medical theories which it is the fashion of some wine merchants to put in their circulars, but which truly are, for the most part, as he points out, transparent quackery.

¹⁴ "The Optical Defects of the Eye, and their Consequences: Asthenopia and Strabismus." By John Z. Laurence, F.R.C.S. Robert Hardwicke. 1865.

¹⁵ "Report on the Cheap Wines of France, Italy, Austria, Greece, and Hungary; their Quality, Whole-

someness, and Price, and their Use in Diet and Medicine." By Robert Druitt, Member of the Royal College of Physicians, &c. Henry Benschaw. 1866.

Mr. Acton has published the fourth edition of a book¹⁷ which has, no doubt, done some good, as it has evidently been largely read. It is difficult to treat satisfactorily such matters as the work deals with; and we confess that we should like a professedly scientific work much better if the author did not so often go out of his way to make moral reflections and earnest adjurations, some of which are not very appropriate; none of which are very profound, however well-intentioned all of them may be. Anyone in good sound health of body and mind is not likely to read many pages of such a book; but if the perusal of it by anyone in need of the physician's skill should prevent him from falling into the hands of the unscrupulous quacks who make a merciless profit of human infirmity, no little good will be done.

Dr. Gosse endeavours to rest the use of the Turkish bath on something like a scientific foundation, by pointing out its value as a preventive of disease, and indicating the diseases in which it may be employed as a curative agent.¹⁸ He justly remarks that the worst anyone can do to the cause of the bath is to declare its use to be curative of every disease. Its true value, however, as a remedial agent in disease yet remains to be pointed out.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

MR. CARLYLE has brought to a close the History of Frederic II. of Prussia, the last of the kings as he calls him, in the two final volumes now before us.¹ In its completed form the history seems to us rather a big work with great things in it than a great work. At any rate it is not great for Mr. Carlyle. Effective in parts, it is not effective as a whole. The canvas on which he has painted is so large that you cannot see to the end of it. What he gains in length he loses in breadth. His picture cannot be seen as one continuous presentment, but must be inspected fragment-wise. The author seems to have neglected rather than lost the glorious art, so conspicuous in his really great work *The French Revolution*—the art of picturesque condensation, of loading his sentences with profound meaning, and flashing out his thoughts with swift emphatic precision. It is useless to quarrel with Mr. Carlyle for that almost limitless admiration of the heroic individual which makes him indifferent to collective influence, and even when he writes history leads him to convert it into biography, in which one man casts the

gigantic shadow that eclipses humanity itself. Yet, after all, the critical deductions that a literary tom-tit may make from the grandeur of the sun-gazing eagle, there remains much for praise and grateful estimation. In these six volumes we recognise an indomitable, herculean patience and power of labour, an almost exhaustive research, a knowledge of the persons and procedures of the last century which has an extraordinary completeness, insight into character, skill to describe it, a masterly use of rhetorical colouring, gleams of wit and humour, lighting up the grim element of battle in which the last of the kings moves supreme. The new instalment of Frederick's history opens with the famous seven years' war, which began in 1756 and ended in 1763, leaving in all outward points Austria and Prussia, "simply as you were;" but, as Mr. Carlyle explains, planting a nation in the world "to be a nation, and to believe as you are convinced, instead of pretending to believe as you are bribed or bullied by the devils about you." As Germany found Prussia, on the blowing over of the "infernal tornado," so England got liberty of the seas, secured America for the English, and swept away the French, while France for her share was left to bankrupt quiescence and the spontaneous combustion which blazed out in 1789. The first grand act of the drama, universally known as the battle of Prague, will be still better known in coming time by Mr. Carlyle's description:—"Battle of Prag, one of the furious battles of the world, loud as Doomsday, the very emblem of which done on the piano by females of energy scatters mankind who love their ease." Of the many battles, sieges, and marches which made up the seven campaigns, of the generals who conducted it, and the far-shining feats of victory of the one pre-eminent hero, and how he fed the war, a minute, laborious recital will be found in pages, wherein Mr. Carlyle paints towns, fields, hills, bogs, marshes, windmills, not omitting Frederick's bed of straw, as Mr. Carlyle only can paint them. The whole of the fifth volume is occupied with the first five acts of the war drama, from its culminating moment till the king's near exhaustion in 1760. The twentieth book with which the sixth volume opens shews how the heroic fire burnt out again, inextinguishably, till the final extinction of the war itself, in the Peace of Hubertsburg, in February, 1763. The twenty-first and last book of the history contains an account of "the afternoon and evening of Frederick's life;" shews how he repaired a ruined Prussia; describes the Polish troubles and anarchy preliminary to the partition of Poland, which, as being an operation of Almighty Providence and of the eternal laws of nature, is reverentially accepted rather than explicitly vindicated by Mr. Carlyle; and in a chapter of miscellanies introduces Dr. Zimmerman, "Sister Ulrique," Queen of Sweden, Wilhelmina's daughter, Sherlock, Voltaire, General Conway, and others. We have next an account of the Fürstenbund (Frederick's league of the Princes of the German empire) as a sort of protection-society against the an-

¹⁷ "The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs." By William Acton, M.R.C.S. Fourth edition. John Churchill and Sons. 1865.

¹⁸ "Du Bain Turc et de son Introduction en Suisse." Par Dr. L. A. Gosse. Geneva. 1865.

¹ "History of Frederick II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great." By Thomas Carlyle. Vols. V. and VI. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

nexation policy of Joseph and Kaunitz, to frustrate "the ambitious adventure" which would have made Austria the mistress of the basin of the Danube, and give the House of Hapsburg the command over the still independent territories in the south and centre of Germany. Soon after the formation of this league, which fell away before the French revolution, came the last scene of all.

"Frederick is making exit on the common terms; you may hear the curtain rustling down. For most part he was unconscious; never more than half conscious. As the wall clock above his head struck eleven, he asked 'What clock?' 'Eleven,' answered they. 'At four,' murmured he, 'I will rise.' One of the dogs sat on its stool near him; about midnight he noticed it shivering for cold. 'Throw a quilt over it,' said or beckoned he: that, I think, was his last completely conscious utterance. Afterwards, in a severe choking fit, getting at last rid of the phlegm, he said, '*La montagne est passée, nous irons mieux*—we are over the hill, we shall get better now.'"

But we never did. At twenty minutes past two, Thursday morning, 17th August, 1786, the breathing paused, wavered, ceased. Frederick reigned more than 46 years and lived 74 years and a half. That he was a great strategist, a first-rate war-artist, seems generally allowed; and that he was in some sense a great king must be conceded also; but we find it impossible to love or admire him with any transcendental love or admiration. Mr. Carlyle says all he can for him, sometimes, perhaps, more than he ought; but we suppose we are among the bad readers to whom he bids adieu at the end of this eventful history, and have too much of the valet about us to appreciate his hero. Before we echo our historian's adieu, we must say how excellently done are many of the episodic portions of his book. Though persons and scenes introduced in them tend to over-crowd an already crowded canvas, yet we should be sorry to miss the pages in which he portrays the great Earl of Chatham a born king like Frederick, or describes Catherine of Russia "object grandiose, if not great," or shews us Gellert, Saldern, and Major Quintus Icilins, with the royal hero in winter quarters; or Dr. Zimmerman, who wrote a book which Carlyle "thanks for nothing or nearly so;" or recognises the high worth of Voltaire "delivering the Calases, the Sirvens, and the oppressed of various kinds, especially ardent upon the Infâme, as the real business Heaven has assigned him in his day." The table of contents and the copious index which close the sixth volume, as well as the maps interspersed throughout all the volumes, and the various illustrative portraits, testify to the workmanlike care with which Mr. Carlyle has equipped his book. The conscientious research and general accuracy of the historian are not to be questioned, but in some Homeric nap he has committed or accepted one preposterous blunder. He makes the famous text of the heavenly witnesses occur in the *Gospel* of St. John!

The influence of great families is the subject discussed and illustrated in the joint production of Mr. J. L. Sanford and Mr. Meredith Townsend.³ This influence is well explained by Mr. Townsend in a vigorously written and sensible *Introduction*. The great families, he maintains, are represented by the larger landowners, and their influence is of a twofold character. It is direct, and results from the property which they possess, and through which they act on others, as, by an immediate material force; and it is indirect, and exerted through social position, which attracts "the million of voters who are, in England, the trustees of the people." Conceding to Mr. Disraeli that their practice of submitting to the guidance of "the educated few" grows in part out of the imaginative influence secured "by the sustained splendour of their stately lives," Mr. Townsend traces its true origin to the confidence reposed in the disinterested patriotism of the great families. In proof of this position he points to their history, instancing that of the house of Percy, which has repeatedly staked its grand position, and the heads of its members, in defence of the popular cause, and thus has both earned the right of giving advice, and inspired an habitual trust in seeking it. This action Mr. Townsend pronounces beneficial in the main, since it economises popular force, and strains or purifies the popular sentiment. The one great disadvantage of the aristocratic influence is that it overshadows and represses all non-aristocratic merit, so that much of the ability and courage of the people is lost to the service of the State. Having these views, Mr. Townsend some time since arranged with Mr. Sanford to publish in the columns of the *Spectator* a series of histories of the great English families, connecting the leading ascertained facts with the results of recent research into our national history. Their principle of selection led to the inclusion in his series of only a limited group of families. No family, however old, will be found in it, unless it be also great, nor any family, however great, unless it had also a great political history. The thirty-one families whose histories are related in these volumes, "supply at this moment one clear fourth of the English House of Commons;" and as Mr. Townsend sagaciously observes, their social power is always on the increase, and unless a redivision of property supervene to destroy it, will continue to increase, so that a century hence, if dukedoms still exist, an English dukedom will be an almost regal prize. The underground wealth of the estate of the Duke of Northumberland has prodigiously increased the possessions of the house. Under the careful management of the seventh Duke of Bedford, the increase of the head of the house of Russell was raised to no less a sum than £300,000 per annum. The social inheritance, and the moral or in-

³ "The Great Governing Families of England." By John Langton Sanford and Meredith Townsend. In two Volumes. William Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London. 1866.

tellectual worth of the chiefs of these, and the other noble families dominant in England, are duly recognised in the household histories computed in these useful volumes. Some few of these sketches have been drawn up by Mr. Townsend, who has also contributed a few notes, and exercised a general supervision; but the majority of them are by his coadjutor, Mr. Langton Sanford, whose historical studies have been long since appreciated. Among the great houses whose fortunes are described, whose value is estimated, whose representative men, and, in some instances, women, are delineated in these records, are the Lowthers, the Stanleys of Knowsley, the Grosvenors, Cavendishes, Clintons, Stanhopes, Fitzroys, and Spencers, the Grenvilles, Petty-Fitzmaurices, Herberts, Berkeleys, Seymours, and Howards. Some of these sketches, of these family pictures, are admirably done, none of them are otherwise than well done. Anecdote and comment serve to relieve or explain the narrative of incidents. The book is, in its kind, a thoroughly satisfactory book, showing research, thought, and decision.

The singular story of the Earl of Worcester's life,* a member of the governing family of Somerset, briefly told in these volumes, is narrated at full length, and very effectively, by Mr. Henry Dircks, whose experience as civil engineer renders him a competent judge on the scientific pretensions of the inventor of the great water-works. Edward Somerset, variously known as Lord Herbert, the Earl of Glamorgan, and Earl and Marquis of Worcester, was born in or about 1601. The early part of his life was passed in foreign travel, and it was while on the Continent, in all probability, that he changed the religion in which he was brought up for that of Rome. When he was twenty-seven years of age he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir William Dormer, and sister of Lord Carnarvon. His precocious genius exhibited itself in a predilection for mathematical studies and mechanical pursuits. The first seven years after his marriage were, as Mr. Dirck conjectures, spent principally at Raglan. Here, perhaps with the assistance of the foreign engineer, Caspar Kaltoff, he erected water-works in connexion with the citadel, or keep of the castle. For eleven years Caspar continued to construct models and machines for his inventive employer. In 1641 we enter on the earl's critical era. In December of that year Charles I. directed him to repair, not only for his own particular use, but for the good of the kingdom, to Whitehall. Henceforward Somerset devoted himself to the king's service. His success as a soldier appears to have been considerable. He took Goodrich Castle, the Forest of Dean, and the City of Hereford, and made himself master of the strongly fortified town of Monmouth. He raised, at his own

and his father's expense, recruits to attend His Majesty at Oxford, as well as Sir John Byron's regiment of horse, besides supplying his own troop of Life Guards, in great part at least, with arms and horses. In a letter to the earl, Charles I. admits that he had laid out £250,000 for his service. At the request of the king, who created him Earl of Glamorgan, he went in 1644 or 1645 to Ireland, to treat and conclude with the Confederate Roman Catholics, and to raise a body of 10,000 men, to be employed in England in the Royal cause. The extravagance of the demands made by the Catholics was certainly one element in the diplomatic failure that ensued. The secret of this extraordinary commission (it was known only to the earl and the king) transpired. Lord Digby, a Protestant, accused Glamorgan of high treason, and Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, had him imprisoned, till an intimation from the king, that the earl had acted by his orders, led to his release. Mr. Dircks gives a sufficiently minute account of the whole transaction. He shows by documentary evidence the crafty, treacherous policy of Charles. He proves that the king not only gave the commission, but disavowed the commission that he had given; that he not only repudiated the diplomacy of Glamorgan, but that through Secretary Nicholas he asserted that the warrant on which Glamorgan had acted was "a very strange one," surreptitiously gotten, if not worse, and that while he himself addressed the earl as Glamorgan, he instructed the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that not only had his patent of nobility not passed the Great Seal, but that he had arrogated a distinction to which he had no title. Now, as the original warrant, with the king's signature and private seal, endorsed as the Earl of Glamorgan's especial warrant for Ireland, still exists (it was in the possession of the late Dr. Lingard), it is very evident that we have in the whole of this procedure a capital instance of the dissimulation with which the king has often been accused. It was fortunate for the earl and fortunate for the country that the negotiation was frustrated. Disowned and betrayed by his king, the earl, who on the death of his father became Marquis of Worcester, was obliged in 1648 to escape to France, to avoid the fate that had befallen his royal master. A voluntary exile till 1652, he was, on his return from France, in that year apprehended and committed to the Tower. There is some difficulty in determining the exact period of his captivity. It appears to have lasted rather more than two years. On his release (upon bail) Cromwell granted him three pounds a week out of the Monmouthshire estate, valued at £2500, for his better support. It was in the year of his liberation, 1655, that he drew up his famous "Century of Inventions," the significance of which will henceforth, with the aid of Mr. Dircks' useful annotations, be less liable to misconstruction. One of these inventions, the sixty-eighth in order, is described as "an admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire." It is, in fact, "that great invention which has popularised and preserved

* "The Life, Times, and Scientific Labours of the Second Marquis of Worcester," to which is added a Reprint of his "Century of Inventions," 1663, with a Commentary thereon. By Henry Dircks, Esq., Civil Engineer, &c. &c. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1865.

the fame of the Marquis of Worcester in the public mind." His works at Vauxhall, on which he spent £50,000, were well known. His engine was examined or noticed by M. Sorbière in 1663, four or five years later by the prejudiced mathematician, Dr. Robert Hook. In 1669 it was seen by the Grand Duke Cosmo de Medici; and a letter from Walter Travers, a Roman Catholic priest, shows that it was in existence as late as 1670. What was its ultimate fate is not known, but it was patented, and a model of it was deposited, or was required by Act of Parliament to be deposited, in the Exchequer; so that the fire-water-works of Vauxhall, though too far in advance of its time to be appreciated, must have been an invention often seen and much talked of. There can be no doubt as to its existence, and no doubt Mr. Dircks thinks that it was a true steam-engine. It preceded that of Savery, if it did not originate it, by no less a period than thirty-six years. Charles the Second's neglect of the great marquis is said by Mr. Dircks to have "had the effect of retarding the full development of the steam-engine in this country for above half a century." The inventor died the 3rd of April, 1667. Disesteemed and ill-treated during his lifetime, tardy justice is at length done him by his present biographer, for we cannot but think that the claim of the Marquis of Worcester to be the inventor of the steam-engine is now for the first time placed beyond all doubt. We have no space for further criticism, but we must not finish this notice without drawing attention to the refutation of the Worcester myths put forth by the biographer in Appendix II., particularly the "pot-lid story," the interview in the Bicêtre, a fiction already exposed by M. Figuier, and Cartes' theory, or unfounded charge of forgery. Mr. Dircks has written an able and interesting vindication of his hero, whose greatest fault seems to have been his anti-patriotic royalism. Worcester now stands forth as a bold, brilliant, devoted man, generous, trustful, and trustworthy—a mathematician, a scholar, and a great inventive genius.

Historical whitewashing is the order of the day. A Vindication of King John, however, seems to carry the purifying process almost beyond the legitimate range of the operations of the literary laundry.⁴ Yet as John has had no friends hitherto, and as Mr. William Chadwick has really taken some pains with his subject, though we can hardly congratulate him on his success, students of this period of history will do well to examine this outrageous attempt at royal rehabilitation. That the devil is not as black as he is painted is no news to us; and that John was not the *monstrum horrendum informe* of traditionary rumour is quite possible. His military expeditions to Ireland and Wales; the reforms that he introduced into the country of the shamrock, which during his reign was tolerably tranquil and pros-

perous; and two successful sea fights, one of which is allowed to have been highly important, though John personally can scarcely be allowed any credit for them, reflect some lustre on his generally disastrous reign. To vindicate his hero Mr. William Chadwick has recourse to two expedients. He either denies the value of the evidence brought against him, rejecting it as the mendacious invention of monkish chroniclers, or, accepting the statements, he transforms them into propositions of a totally different kind. Thus, he refuses to believe in John's licentiousness; he excuses his divorce and appropriation of the lady betrothed to the Count of La Marche, which speedily lost him Normandy, Anjou, &c., and afforded a pretext for the subsequent hostile machinations of the French king. He contends that the cruelty towards the Jews with which John is charged existed only in the lying records of his original aspersors, and adduces testimonies from the *Tower Records* in proof of the king's gentle and considerate care for the Jews. But as all Jewish property belonged in theory to the Exchequer, we can quite understand that John might command others to respect "his Jews" and his "special Jews," without having the slightest objection to draw their teeth as the legitimate preliminary to the extraction of something better worth drawing, when these favoured capitalists proved not sufficiently accommodating. Mr. Chadwick contrasts the filial behaviour of John with that of Richard and the other sons of Henry II.; but he omits or rejects the incident that the first name that met the eye of the dying king in the list of insurgent barons was that of his loved and trusted son Earl John. So too he passes lightly over John's treacherous conduct to Richard. As to the murder or alleged murder of his nephew Arthur, which filled all men with abhorrence, Mr. Chadwick admits the fact, not of assassination indeed, but of a "private execution." But this is not all. To whitewash John it is necessary to blacken the old English barons, as treacherous and cowardly deserters. John, it seems, dared to assert his prerogatives against the Church-loving nobles, and even his surrender of the kingdom to the pope and the payment of an annual tribute to the holy see, when rightly understood, testify to the statesmanly qualities of a king who, "by attestation of the Holy Ghost, was manifestly noble." The nobility of John, it appears, has for foil the baseness of the traitor Stephen Langton, one of the two great moderators in the famous national emprise, called Magna Charta. So at least thinkers and historians of some weight have regarded it, but Mr. Chadwick, who pronounces modern historians to be old women, describes the undertaking as a French conspiracy, and the Charter itself as a farce, a delusion, and a fraud, not worth the parchment on which it was written. He contends that when John became a vassal of the Church of Rome, all his barons, knights, and squires became copyholders, that is farmers or yeomen, but ceased to be legislators. To Mr. Chadwick's ingenious law argument we make no reply. It is enough that in the fol-

⁴ "King John of England. A History and Vindication based on the Original Authorities." By William Chadwick. London: John Russell Smith. 1865.

lowing reign the confirmation of the Charter was the condition of the assent to a subsidy, and that it has ever since retained its place at the head of English statutes. On the whole, Mr. Chadwick's attempt to represent the cause of John as "the cause of reform and progress," and that of Langton, Pembroke and the Barons as "superstitious and retrospective," is as good a joke as we have heard for a long time.

We are glad to find that Mr. Charles Knight may be classed with Hallam, Mackintosh and the other "old women historians." In this succinct account of John's reign, in his *School History of England* he does ample justice to the great "conservative reform" of Runnymede. Mr. Knight, whose *Popular History of England* has been so favourably received, has superintended the execution of an abridgment of it by a member of his own family, which is now before us.* It embraces alike the State history and the domestic, and comprises some separate chapters on the national industry, literature and arts. It has all the completeness that an abridgment can be expected to have, is written carefully and in straightforward and unpretending English, is lucid, candid and comprehensive. It brings down our nineteen hundred years of growth and development from the invasion of Cæsar to the close of the session of the English Parliament in September, 1848.

"*Julius Cæsar ordeneide by the Counsells of the senate sette in pomposite all the world to be dimencionate by men discreet and prudent.*" We give this as a specimen of an English translation of Higden's Polychronicon, made, it would appear, some years before Edward IV. was raised to the throne.⁶ Mr. Churchill Babington, who introduces the work to us, may well say that the translation is often unintelligible without the Latin. The translation by Trevisa (A.D. 1387) is inserted in the same page, which on the principle of two negatives making an affirmative may enable the English reader, who uses both versions, to approximate to some understanding of the original. The translation by Trevisa is remarkable, because it contains many rare words and expressions, and is one of the earliest specimens of English prose. Higden, a Benedictine monk, was born in the West of England in the latter part of the thirteenth century. He is chiefly known as the author of the Polychronicon, in seven books, one of which, with its double interpretation, occupies the whole of the first and only volume yet published. There is nothing in the present instalment that is valuable except in the eyes of the philologist.

* "Charles Knight's School History of England," &c. Abridged from the "Popular History of England," under the superintendence of its Author. London: Bradbury and Evans. 1865.

⁶ "Polychron Ranulphi Higdeni Monach Cestrensis:" together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century. Edited by Churchill Babington, B.D., F.L.S., &c., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vol. I. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longmans. 1865.

The "Calendar of State Papers," edited by Mr. Robert Lemon, contains numerous entries elucidating the domestic affairs of the ten years of Elizabeth's reign between 1581 and 1590.⁷ Among other things we notice abstracts of the correspondence of Burleigh and Walsingham; memoranda relating to Lord Henry Howard, the Queen of Scots, Sir John Hawkins, and the Shelley family in Sussex. The Mr. Shelley of that day, who was a Papist, seems to have given as much trouble to official persons as his famous namesake, and perhaps descendant, did in our own day. The volume has an ample index, but no preface.

Edward the Sixth died in his sixteenth year, as most people believe, of consumption. If it be true, as history tells us, that he had the measles and small-pox the year before he died, and if, as has been recorded, his health began to decline six months before he died, when he was attacked with a bad cough, we should think the belief extremely well founded. There seems, however, to have been a suspicion in some preternaturally suspicious quarters that his death was caused, or accelerated, by unfair means. In the case of P. V., the writer of the Latin tract, entitled *Narratio Historica, etc.*⁸ the suspicion amounted to conviction, for he boldly ascribes the king's death to the agency of the Duke of Northumberland, his guardian, by violent means, poison or the dagger, doing the thing handsomely. The dismissal of Edward's physicians, and his treatment by an ignorant woman, by order of the Duke and the Council, lent some sort of colour to this utterly preposterous accusation. The tract is a curious one, and its history is curious. It came, we know not how, into the possession of the late Mr. Rodd, "who never saw or heard of any other copy." After his death it passed into the hands of the present editor, Mr. J. Ph. Berjeau, who has reprinted the Latin original, with a not over accurate English translation by Mr. J. B. Inglis. P. V. has been conjectured to be one of those German divines who came to England to assist in the establishment of the Reformed Church, or upon speculation, Peter Viret, or Peter Vermilly, alias Peter Martyr. It is stated in the preface by the editor, that a German translation of the tract, apparently of the same date as the Latin original, is now in the possession of Mr. Inglis.

Passing from England to Italy, we may trace the fortunes of the future capital of that kingdom, under the pleasant leadership of Mr. T. Adolphus Trollope.⁹ Of his projected "His-

⁷ Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581—1590. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A., under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longmans. 1865.

⁸ "Historical Narration of certain Events that took place in the Kingdom of Great Britain in the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1553." Written by P. V. Now first reprinted from the Latin. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

⁹ "A History of the Commonwealth of Florence, from the earliest Independence of the Commune to the Fall of the Republic in 1531." By T. Adolphus

tory of the Commonwealth of Florence," from the earliest independence of the commune to the fall of the Republic in 1581, we have the first half before us, bringing us down to the peace with Visconti, about a hundred years previously. Broken up into books, which very fairly represent a period, the narrative is clear and intelligible throughout, possessing the merit of distinct and orderly arrangement. A competent knowledge of his subject enables the author to become the popular historian of Florence. A full, free, lively recital of the events and incidents which make up the story of the new Italian metropolis, is the result of much studious and conscientious labour. It is, however, rather a valuable narrative than a profound history. It wants compression; it is deficient in *power*; it is diffuse, not to say loose in style. We decidedly condemn such writing as we find in page 41 of the second volume, or page 3 of the first, where, describing Italy as a favourite in the great race, the author says, "She knocked up and was nowhere." Such fine phrases, too, as "cosmic mind" and "normal sequence" are not much to our taste. If we look below the surface, however, we shall see that there is a good deal to commend in Mr. Trollope's "Florence." His recognition of the paramount importance of the municipal element in the social system of Italy, of the influential character of the imperial idea—"the idea of a Roman empire and a Roman emperor, bequeathed by the old to the new civilization"—and the nature of the relationship between the Empire and the Church, is very creditable. His exposition of the famous feud of the Guelph and Ghibelline, Neri and Bianchi factions, is remarkably clear for so obscure a subject, and, we are disposed to think, essentially sound. He shows that the party names of Guelph and Ghibelline were known in Florence long before the Buondelmonte tragedy, which was the immediate incentive to civil war, and that the real gist of the contest was between the encroachment of the popular element and the attempted repression of it by the classes above. The Ghibellines (from the castle of Weibling, near Augsburg) were the nobles, who wished to keep what they had got, and were attached to the empire; the Guelphs (from the rival house of Bavaria) professed attachment to the Church only because the Papacy was in opposition to the empire, and formed the body of the people. Later an extraneous feud was imported into Florence from Pistoia. The family of Cancellieri, the prominent family in that factious little city, quarrelled, and parted into two "great sects," sprung one from the first, and the other from the second wife of the same common ancestor. As one of the ladies were called Bianca, or white, "her descendants took that distinctive appellation, and the other branch of the family called themselves by the name most naturally opposed to it." The "blacks" hated the "whites," and the "whites" the "blacks," from a sort of acquired taste, when they espous-

ed this family quarrel. But (Mr. Trollope contends) "at bottom the real ground of contest, the real interests which caused a personal quarrel between two branches of a powerful family to be adopted by the masses of the body politic, the sympathies, opinions, and feelings which led one man to be a *Bianco* and another a *Nero*, turned in truth upon the great social question which has been stated." The application of this theory, in the development of his historical composition, gives a unity to it, and a moral purpose which, with more vigorous and searching treatment, would be very impressive. This is the key to the history of France, and Mr. Trollope uses it with considerable effect. Perhaps the most epical portion of this history, the very best bit of narrative in it, is that relating to the career of Castruccio Castracane, the hero of Mrs. Shelley's startling romance, the "Castle of Valperga." Among the more critical passages are those relating to Dante, who was, our author thinks, rather a cosmopolitan imperialist than a supporter of an independent united Italy. He would have put Italy under the strong hand of a German protector to secure it a tranquil prosperity. Originally a patriot, the poet became, after his wrongs had exasperated him into a burning hatred, the implacable foe of the "impious" Florence. Commenting on this exile, Mr. Trollope informs us of a curious and important discovery of the learned antiquarian, Lami. In a volume of the "State Papers" of the period, in which the sums paid by the signory to Charles de Valois are specified, a contemporary hand has written on the margin: "The true and secret cause of Dante's exile was his opposition to these payments."

From Florence to Paris is an obvious transition. In an ingenious and interesting little volume by M. Lucien Davesiès de Pontès, we have some picturesque but rather sketchy studies on the history of the beautiful capital of France, from a remote period down to the present day.¹⁰ The publication is a posthumous one, and has rather a composite character. It consists, in part, of the only two chapters of a projected work on the history of the Revolution of Paris which the author lived to finish, and of papers written at a different period of his life, advocating the transfer of the seat of government from the present metropolis to the centre of France. In the first chapter of the "History," M. de Pontès describes Paris as it was in the days of Roman invasion and Roman occupation. Though the situation of Lutetia was not central, and though the river did not admit of maritime navigation, it was early constituted a *municipium* by the Romans, who found the Seine available for inland water carriage. In the reign of Tiberius, Paris enjoyed a kind of secondary prosperity. At a later period it became the residence of three emperors, Julian, Valentinian, Gratian. In A.D. 508, Clovis made it the seat of his empire, and later still Sigebert established his quarters there. On the other hand, when Charlemagne, recovering to

Trollope, author of the "Girlhood of Catherine de Medici," &c. In Four Volumes. Vols I. and II. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

¹⁰ "Études sur Histoire de Paris, ancien et moderne." Par Lucien Davesiès de Pontès. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1865.

himself the government of *Roman France*, with Aix-la-Chapelle for a capital, confided to his son Louis the administration of Roman Gaul, Toulouse, and not Paris, was selected as the royal residence. Again, none of the *rois fainéants* resided in Paris, but at Clichy, Épinay, Meslay, &c. Without centralization, Paris was for a time only the capital of Neustria; and after the seclusion of Chilperic III., A.D. 750, it ceased to be anything more than the principal city of a province. After it had been taken and burned three or four times by pirates, it sustained a two years' siege, and under the direction of Count Eudes and Bishop Gozlin, offered a vigorous resistance to the invader. The assaults of the Northmen, however, proved so formidable, that Charles the Simple was compelled to cede to them a part of Neustria. The sceptre and crown of France, which fell from Charles's feeble hand, were picked up by Robert, Count of Paris, the grandfather of Hugues Capet, the founder of the third race of French kings. Under the first race (the Merovingians) royalty had been a hereditary magistracy; under the second (the Carolingians) an elective power within the same family; under the third (the Capetians) it became feudal and personal; it demanded a capital, and that capital was Paris. During the reign of Charles VI. occurred an episode in the history of Paris, which, under the title of "*Les Bourguignons et les Cabochiens*," is graphically related in the second division of this little volume. To this narrative is attached an essay on the Revolution of Paris, in which the author judges and condemns Paris, showing how it attained the dignity of the French capital, and how for five years it had revolutionized France. In another essay, published in 1850, and entitled "*Paris tuera la France*," De Pontès insists on the necessity of substituting for this city a different seat of government. The insurrection of June, 1848, seems to have inspired the author with apprehensions for the future of France. Alarmed at the revolutionary excesses of Paris, and fearing its intellectual and social dictatorship, he conceived the historical and political paradox which the essays explain and recommend, and the "*Studies*" serve to illustrate. We are not at all surprised to learn that the *brochure* of 1850 was the object of the violent polemics of the daily press of Paris, nor that the brilliant adhesions which it obtained from the provincial press failed to encourage the author to complete a work which M. Jacob in his preface designates original and remarkable alike in matter and in form.

The Abbé Paris, in his *post-mortem* state, gave the government of France as much trouble about 180 years ago as the city of similar sounding name gave M. de Pontès during his lifetime. In the last pages of the second volume of "*La France sous Louis XV.*"¹¹ may be read a condensed account of the miracles wrought at the tomb of that distinguished divine, and of the tremendous excitement that prevailed till the

authorities closed the cemetery of Saint-Medard, and the frenzy had its euthanasia in an epigram—

"De par le roi, défense à Dieu,
De faire miracle en ce lieu."

M. Alphonse Jabez, the author of this work, begins the second volume with an account of the financial embarrassments during the regency, from 1717 to 1720, in which Law is depicted as a financial hero disinterestedly engaged in the laudable attempt to save the credit of the country, though his *combinations* eventually issued in organised robbery. The period comprised in the historical delineation of France, from the money-consultation in June, 1717, to the anti-celestial proclamation, terminating the religious outbreak of Saint-Medard, is a little less than fifteen years. During the ministry of the Duke of Bourbon and that of Cardinal de Fleury, occurred the events related in the fourth and fifth chapters of this agreeable and instructive history.

Louis XV. bequeathed a fatal inheritance to his young and feeble, but amiable son, in a kingdom in which all the social elements were in a state of mutual repulsion, in which a clerical power was challenged by Parliament, and religion by philosophy; in which the Court was careless and frivolous, while the people were silently awakening out of a long sleep to a desperate and destructive self-assertion. Old documents that tend to elucidate the French Revolution, or the antecedent period, are always acceptable; and the recent contribution of M. F. Feuillet de Conches is one that will be sure to attract numerous readers. The correspondence of the royal chiefs of the defeated party,—of Louis XVI., of Marie Antoinette and Madame Elisabeth,—reanimates that age of hope and despair, of enthusiastic joy and paralyzing sorrow. These letters attest the good intention of the young king, describe the radiant life of the ill-fated Marie Antoinette, or set forth the mischievous policy of the emigrants, the tenderness and often the good sense of the queen, and the slow advance of the inevitable fate that overtook the actors in that wild explosion.¹²

The anxiety of the royal pair to avoid civil war, and the opposition of the Queen to the rash schemes of the intriguing emigrants, are placed beyond doubt. Marie Antoinette, however, had her own counter-revolutionary project. In the famous manifesto of the king, which was drawn up just before the flight to Vincennes, the omitted passages have been restored by the editor. It is no news that Louis committed the fatal mistake of disowning all the acts which he had sanctioned during a period of a year and three-quarters, the period of what he called his captivity. In the second volume of this collection the statement may be found in the original document by all who care to read it. The letters and papers

¹¹ "*La France sous Louis XV. (1715—1774).*" Par M. Alphonse Jabez, Ancien Représentant. Tom. II. Paris: Didier. 1865.

¹² "*Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, et Madame Elisabeth.*" Lettres et Documents inédits, publiés par F. Feuillet de Conches. Vols. I. and II. Paris: Henri Plon, 1864.

contained in the present instalment (for such it appears to be) begin with the spring of the year A.D. 1770, and end with the summer of A.D. 1791. The archives of France, Austria, Russia, and Sweden, have been ransacked for them, and private collections have been placed at the disposal of the indefatigable editor whose labours have been extended over a period of no less than twenty years. We are indebted to him for an explanatory preface, in which we can well allow him the tribute of sympathy he offers to the victims of the Revolution, and to a carefully prefaced analysis of contents immediately prefixed to each of the letters which it introduces.

Eleven years before the commencement of the insurrection which ended so disastrously for the ruling powers of France, the king of that country recognised the independence of the United States in a formal treaty, and himself unconsciously helped to inaugurate democracy in the world, by his defensive alliance and military aid to the rebellious colonists. In "A Popular History of America," by Miss Elizabeth Cooper, the narrative of the War of Independence, and establishment of the Federal Government, forms the third leading section of her compilation.¹¹ It is preceded by an account of the colonization of the United States, which in its turn is introduced by the story of the discovery and conquest of the West Indies and South America. Miss Cooper has consulted numerous authorities, and has evidently worked in a diligent and conscientious spirit. Taking her book for what it is, a popular history based on accepted authorities, we think it a trustworthy and serviceable *résumé*. It is written in a simple unaffected style, with an easy quiet flow of homely yet graceful English words.

A collection of the letters of Mozart has been recently published by Herr Nohl, the author of a pleasant biography of that great musical composer.¹² The letters are arranged in separate sections; the headings to the sections comprising the data of time and place. They show us Mozart as a correspondent in the fourteenth year of his age, and leave him only a year or so before his death. They do not, however, furnish a complete epistolary biography. Playful and devout, indignant and apologetic, these letters afford us glimpses into the inner as well as the external life of Mozart. Those addressed to his father, testify to his filial affection, while they evince a determination to "hold his own." Those written to his wife, display a sportive childlike feeling. Often we find sketches of the men and women whom he knew; and here and there we learn something of the manners of the age. For instance, Mozart complains bitterly of the

Archbishop of Salzburg; of his impertinent and contemptuous treatment of himself. The most extraordinary of all German counts, was the Count Arco, who forcibly ejected the young composer from his house, adding fresh momentum to the original impetus by an untranslatable application of his foot, which Mozart promised himself to return on the first opportunity. We trust one soon occurred, and that Mozart was as good as his word, and a great deal better. The "Lexicon and Register of Names and Things" at the end of the volume, will be found of service in the attempt to discover "who's who and what's what," in a correspondence which is not systematically annotated.

Weber, another of the "dead kings of melody," was born about thirty years after his illustrious predecessor.¹³ The ample memoir of this celebrated composer, written by his son, Baron Max Maria Von Weber, was briefly noticed, not very long ago, in our pages. Of this memoir, what appears to be a very readable translation, is now offered to the public by Mr. J. Palgrave Simpson. Translation, indeed, is hardly a fitting word, for the work before us is, we learn from the preface, a condensation throughout, and in some portions a reconstruction.

The simultaneous cultivation of art and science has a practical expression in the next book on our list; the autobiography of the celebrated Dr. Carus.¹⁴ If there is any fault to be found with this work, it is that it is too like an echo of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. This resemblance is partly perhaps the result of a more or less conscious imitation; partly the result of moral and intellectual conformities. The style is beautifully clear and the treatment artistic, as we should expect it to be in the case of one who systematically combined the study of art with that of science. The life of Dr. Carus, like that of many eminent thinkers, was not in its earlier part, at least, an eventful one. Born at Leipzig on the 3rd of January, 1789, of respectable parents, he was indebted for elementary education to his maternal uncle, Daniel Jäger, who resided at Mülhausen. During his boyish days he was forcibly impressed with the sight of the library, microscope, and scientific instruments, of Dr. Altenberg. The natural history pursuits and the talent for drawing of Tilesius, who married Altenberg's sister, also aided in eliciting the dawning intelligence of the child. In his twelfth year, his academical career commenced. His classical studies seem to have been scarcely congenial to him. At all events, while acknowledging the value of Greek and Latin literature, rightly applied, in stimulating and interesting the youthful mind, he complains of the defects in existing school systems, and

¹¹ "A Popular History of America, from the Discovery by Columbus to the Establishment of the Federal Republic of the United States." In Three Periods. By Elizabeth Cooper. London: Longmans. 1865.

¹² "Mozarte's Briefe. Nach den Originalen herausgegeben von Ludwig Nohl." Mit einem Facsimile. London: David Nutt. 1865.

¹³ "Carl Maria von Weber, the Life of an Artist." From the German of his Son, Baron Max Maria Von Weber. By J. Palgrave Simpson, M.A., Author of "Pictures from Revolutionary Paris," &c. &c. In Two Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

¹⁴ "Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten," von Carl Gustav Carus. Erster Theil. Leipzig F. A. Brockhaus. 1865.

compares the vestibule of philology to the pool of Bethesda; he and his comrades being the sick persons who waited for an angel to come down and trouble the classical waters. Soon, however, we find him studying chemistry, physics, botany, at the same time as poetry and drawing. An enthusiasm for philosophical ideas, accompanied and succeeded his early progress. There was a great intellectual enthusiasm. The notion of the world-soul, the idea of an interdependent organic whole, taught by Schelling, attracted the young student. Oken, with his principle of development, his orphic saying that man was the measure and measurer of creation, and his splendid *aperçu*—that the structure of the skull is essentially that of the vertebral column, in which Goethe had silently anticipated him, exerted a still more powerful influence on his mind. To Oken's mysterious equation, that God—Zero, we find Carus afterwards objecting, as inadequate or inaccurate, and substituting his own philosophical equivalent, of the highest Eternal Mystery. We may mention here, his protest against the idea of power as an abstract, something mechanically superposed upon matter, and his avowal that it is a purely subjective conception, as another illustration of a philosophical method, into which we cannot go further. In 1809, we find the young student engaged in hospital practice under Reinhold, as afterwards under Clarus. In the following year, he became assistant to Dr. Jörg. The year after was doubly important to him as that of his professional promotions and marriage. The French invasion gave the young practitioner abundant opportunities of increasing his hospital experience. He attended as many as 200 sick daily. In his twenty-fifth year, he was appointed Professor of Obstetrics at Dresden. His official duties, his anatomical and physiological studies, and the composition of a series of corresponding publications on the brain, the nervous system, &c., henceforth occupied most of his time. What hours of leisure he had, seem to have been spent in excursions, or social intercourse, or æsthetic pursuits. Though the principal portrait in this autobiography is naturally that of the author himself, the work abounds in sketches of friends and acquaintances, more or less note-worthy, and, among others, we find Tieck, Goethe, and Chladni, so famous for his investigations in acoustics, and his researches into the nature of meteoric stones. In the year 1821, Carus accepted a proposal from the Government, to undertake a scientific journey along the shores of the Mediterranean; and here, with a promise to report briefly the results of travel, Dr. Carus closes the present instalment of his reflective and graceful autobiography.

Going back nearly 400 years, we meet with a rather striking personage in Ulrich, the Duke of Wirtemberg. Born February, 1487, on the failure of the elder branch of the family, Ulrich, the son of Count Henry, succeeded to the dukedom. At a very early age he married the Princess Sabina, of Bavaria, the niece of the Emperor Maximilian. The first years of his government were prosperous, and his court

was the most brilliant in Germany; but about ten years after his accession (A.D. 1498), a series of bad harvests rendered it increasingly difficult to raise the large revenue which his hereditary and *acquired* debts, in addition to the ordinary expenditure, demanded. In 1514 the people broke out into open insurrection; an insurrection, however, which he contrived to quell. In the following year, he added to his difficulties by murdering with his own hand his retainer, Hans von Hutten, in revenge for what he regarded as his disloyalty in betraying the secret of his humiliating love for Hutten's young wife. Fresh enmities rapidly sprang up, and at length he had to meet in arms the whole Swabian Confederacy. Of his strange adventures, his expulsion from his dominions, and his ultimate recovery of them, an account may be read in the pamphlet-biography, which bears his name, by Dr. Bernard Kugler, who partly follows his predecessor, Heyd, but differs from him in taking a more favourable view of the Duke's character. The strange psychological phenomenon, recorded by Heyd and quoted by Dr. Strauss in his new *Leben Jesu*, which followed the expulsion of the Duke, is recorded by Dr. Kugler also." Ulrich's adherents, it is said, cherished such a strong attachment for him, that night and day their thoughts were almost exclusively occupied with their banished lord. The very prohibition not to mention him invested him with a sort of mysterious obscurity. He became a mythical personage; the very stones and trees prated of his whereabouts; persons were found who declared that they had seen him or even sheltered him, in disguise, under their own roof; though this from the very nature of the case was impossible. It was with the mind's eye, therefore, that they saw the subject of their incessant meditation. The imagination realized the presence of the 'man of Theil,' whose rapid movements gave him a seemingly ubiquitous power. His enthusiastic followers saw him with their hearts, and then had little difficulty in seeing him with their eyes. The man who thus became a fable in life, died in 1550; but we cannot further recount his adventures.

A pamphlet¹⁷ drawn up by M. Achille Jubinal opens with a preface, in which we are introduced to M. Sismondi and the Emperor Napoleon conversing under the trees of the park which adjoined the Elysée Bourbon, "like a couple of Platonic philosophers at the decline of a beautiful day." Sismondi, who had opposed the imperial policy previous to the publication of the Constitution of the 20th March, after that event, did not hesitate in taking part with the great Emperor. The articles contributed by the historian to the *Moniteur* in vindication of the new policy, and to which he was indebted for the interview, and we for the curious conversation recorded in these pages, have been brought together by the editor and

¹⁷ "Ulrich Herzog zu Wirtemberg." Von Dr. Bernhard Kugler. Stuttgart, 1865.

¹⁸ "Napoleon et M. de Sismondi en 1815." Par Achille Jubinal, Député au Corps Législatif. Paris: Jules Gay. 1865.

immediately followed his introductory explanation.

By a sudden transition in space and time we pass to the Rome of Augustus and his successors down to Commodus, the unworthy son of M. Aurelius Antoninus.¹⁹ The manners and customs of Roman society, during two hundred years, are satisfactorily treated by Herr Ludwig Friedländer in the work whose title we give below, and which was noticed in this *Review* on the appearance of the first edition. That a second and that an enlarged edition has been called for is sufficient testimony to its merits.

In the fifth part of Welcker's "Alte Denkmäler," the student of the antique will find much to attract and interest.²⁰ This last volume of an apparently valuable work treats of statues, bas-reliefs, and paintings on vases, some of which, at least, have been recently discovered. Among the statues are those of Aristophanes, Menander, and other poets. Among the paintings are comprised "The Judgment of Paris," and "The Murder of Ægisthus." The volume is enriched with numerous outlines, placed together at the end, and obviously exemplifying the thesis in the preface, that the remains of plastic art interpret or illustrate the literature of the ancient world.

"The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem" is the two-fold title of an elaborate essay by Mr. James Fergusson, consisting of two lectures, delivered at the Royal Institution, in Albemarle-street, one in February, 1862, the other in March last.²¹ In this essay he undertakes to show that the Temple of Herod was a building 600 feet square, neither more nor less; that it was situated in the south-west angle of the Haram area; that both the Christians and the Moslems knew perfectly well, in the seventh century, what the dimensions of the temple were, and where it was situated; that Omar built a mosque within its precincts; that the Mogrebins and the Malakites afterwards built their mosques within the same Herodian area, and that the idea of their selecting a site exterior to it is intrinsically improbable, and is contradicted by all contemporary history. Hence he argues, if the "Dome of the Rock" was not built by the Saracens, it must have been built by the Christians, there being no third party; and, if this be so, he asks, "What church did Constantine, or any other Christian priest or monarch build in Jerusalem over a great rock, with one cave in it, but the Church of the Holy Sepulchre?" In other words, Mr. Fer-

gusson maintains that the building popularly known as the Mosque of Omar, and which was always supposed to be of Saracenic architecture, was really of Christian origin, and "is in reality the sepulchral building which Constantine erected over what he believed to be the tomb of Christ." Mr. Fergusson appears to us to be an adequately informed inquirer and an able controversialist. His argument is well worth consideration. His book contains much interesting collateral discussion. The explanation of the plan of the Temple of Ezekiel, in particular, deserves examination. We are surprised, however, to find so instructed a writer repeating the traditionary view of the identity of the Temple of Herod with that of Zerubbabel. At least, he says the house itself was only repaired. Nothing can be clearer than the statement of Josephus, that, after Herod had taken away the old foundations and laid others, he erected the temple upon them, ἀπελὼν δὲ τοῦ ἀρχαίου θεμέλιου, καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτεροῦς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν ναὸν ἐγείρε. We agree with Dr. Heberden, that if there be any difference between rebuilding and repairing, if Haggai's temple differed from Solomon's and was a second temple, then Herod's was not the same with Haggai's, but was truly a third temple.

BELLES LETTRES.

It used to be a favourite argument against works of fiction, that they encouraged false views and exaggerated expectations, and that the young, ever prone to romance, should not have their feelings worked upon and their imaginations excited by dazzling visions of unattainable delight, beside which the inevitable prose of life would contrast with unnecessary harshness. Such fears may once have been well-grounded, but they make no part of our apprehensions for the rising generation. At present, the dangers of novel-reading lie in a totally different direction, and a loathing of all civilized life is more likely to be engendered by it than any disturbing dreams of ideal perfection. In the romances of chivalry man was heroic and brave, woman the queen of his heart, and the idol of his reverential homage; in the romances of to-day, man is sordid, dull, and careworn, and, instead of rescuing distressed damsels, or vowing eternal love to youthful beauty, he is looking out for some woman possessed of bank-stock, in consideration of which he may be induced to burden himself with a wife. Our most popular novelist has devoted two volumes¹ to the outer and inner history of an excellent spinster of five-and-thirty, who finds that the possession of eight hundred a-year has rendered her too attractive for own peace, and whose life is a constant struggle to escape being run down and boarded against her will. With all a woman's in-

¹⁹ "Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine." Von Ludwig Friedländer, Professor in Königsberg. Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Erster Theil. Leipzig: Hirzel. 1865.

²⁰ "Alte Denkmäler" erklärt von F. G. Welcker. Fünfter Theil. Mit 25 lith. Tafeln. Göttingen. 1864.

²¹ "The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem." &c. By James Fergusson, F.R.S., &c. &c. John Murray. 1865.

¹ "Miss Mackenzie." By Anthony Trollope. Chapman and Hall. 1865.

instinctive readiness to trust herself to, and to take refuge with any man who would let her love him, she has to wage an unequal warfare against her own heart craving for affection, and her Scotch prudence that cannot be blinded to the greed of gold, which taught her to look upon her lovers "as so many men to whom her income would be convenient, and to feel herself to be almost under an obligation to them for their willingness to put up with the incumbrance which was attached to it." We all know with what mingled humour and kindness Mr. Trollope can handle such a theme, and among his many female characters he has never drawn a better than this of Miss Mackenzie, with her homely face, her romantic heart, and her sterling uprightness—her innocent aspirations after the beautiful, and the desperately clayey nature of the fields wherein she dug for the treasure. From first to last she is admirable, and for her sake we bear with the odious company of her relations and admirers. But they are almost too much for mortal patience, and all Mr. Trollope's practised art hardly avails to carry the reader through chapter after chapter of too faithful description. It cannot be said that any of the story is badly done; good of their kind are the various members of the decayed family of the Balls; very good the religious world of Littlebath; and excellent the rival lovers, the Rev. Jeremiah Maguire, with his awful squint, and Mr. Rubb, with his greasy hair and yellow gloves; but there is a limit not easy to define, beyond which pictures of human nature distorted by vulgarity, cease to amuse and become simply offensive, and this limit, we are fair to say, is overstepped in "Miss Mackenzie." For, though the story is not a bad one, it becomes dull from the persevering consistency with which this one obnoxious image—that of a good, loving woman, hunted for the sake of her gold by one disagreeable man after another—is kept always before us, and, though we accept thankfully the slight alleviation of such scenes as the Littlebath tea-parties, and Mrs. Tom Mackenzie's dinners *à la Russe*, even these are but a sorry diversion, and we have hardly patience to accompany the estimable heroine to the longed-for goal, when she becomes the wife of the least objectionable of her suitors.

In another of his recent works,* of which only the first volume is before us, we meet Mr. Trollope on the old familiar ground, and find ourselves again among the ladies and gentlemen who stay in country houses, read Mudie's books, and play at billiards. It is not fair to judge of the whole by one-half, further than to say that "Can You Forgive Her?" promises to be as amusing as its predecessors, and with the distinction of a more than usually difficult subject. Alice Vavasor, whom we are asked to forgive, is not a captivating heroine; but a well-conceived and far from impossible young woman, who chafes under and breaks an engagement to an excellent high-minded gentle-

man, not, as she tells herself and her friends, because she has discovered that she is not good enough for him, but because she has, half unconsciously, become deeply infected with the nineteenth century idea, that there was something important for her to do with her life—in other words, she was restless and craving for excitement, and her heart failed her when she thought of long, quiet evenings in the monotonous comfort of a country home in Cambridgeshire. With his usual skill in depicting the working of half-acknowledged motives, and the influence of slight causes in determining the most important actions, Mr. Trollope has placed his heroine in circumstances that are admirably well adapted to make her conduct appear natural, if not inevitable, and he succeeds, as he always does, in interesting us in a struggle which we feel has many counterparts in real life. It is almost unnecessary to say that the female characters usurp the chief place, and, for once, we have a widow, who is more ridiculous than charming, and a young wife—the Lady Glencora Palliser—a sacrifice to the worldly wisdom of relations, who think that a cold, possible Chancellor of the Exchequer must be the right husband for a weak, thoughtless, clinging girl, whose heart is full of the image of a dissipated spendthrift, with an irresistible gift of pleasing, the face of an Adonis, and who "never reflected;" for his family, the Fitzgeralds, famed for their beauty and their worthlessness, "never reflected till they were nearer forty than thirty, and then, people began to think worse of them than they had thought before." A story composed mainly of such elements can hardly be called a pleasing one, and Mr. Trollope appears to have something of a casuist's satisfaction in trying to fix the exact culpability of a wrongdoer; but the thing in which he excels is that just appreciation of the manifold variety of influences which are brought to bear upon each unit in our closely-packed modern existence, and a certain tone of moral soundness redeems his least edifying scenes from the taint of a false sympathy with evil. As he deals simply and solely with human nature as it appears in its most conventional aspects (he rarely attempts children or rustics), he is naturally driven to vulgar people for his comedy, and very richly comical are Mrs. Greenhow and her lovers; but it is only another version of his old favourite joke—the rich woman and the men who want her money, and of this we have had more than enough in "Miss Mackenzie." When will a popular writer learn to care enough for his well-earned reputation to refrain from striking off more copies of an idea than the plate will bear?

A third edition of "George Geith"[†] tells of the eagerness with which the public have made haste to read a book which every one warns his neighbour is too melancholy for a novel, and which breaks the commandment against an unhappy end. This objection is surely out

* "Can You Forgive Her?" By Anthony Trollope. Vol. I. Chapman and Hall. 1864.

† "George Geith of Fen Court." By F. G. Trafford. Third edition. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1865.

of place when the demand for truth to nature and facts is so loud; for how many stories in real life end what is called happily, that is prosperously? It has been frequently said, that novels are to the present age what the drama was to bygone days, and what minstrels were to mediæval times—nourishment for which the imagination craves, escape from dull reality to the brighter realms of fancy—and even if this be but partially true, it should be a discouragement to the obtrusive realism so prevalent among writers of fiction, which degrades what might be a medium of refined and elevating pleasure into a vehicle for tawdry melodrama and low comedy. For if the sentiment conveyed, and the feelings appealed to, are no higher or stronger than can be called forth by the average mediocrity which dominates in society, instead of being refreshed by getting out of ourselves for an hour, we are only sent down a little lower than we were before in trivialities and commonplace. Great, therefore, is our obligation to such a writer as the author of "George Geith," who brings the dignity of real passion and the fervour of conscious power to illustrate a story in which the actors not only belong to ordinary modern life, but are immersed in its interests in their most prosaic form. A middle-aged accountant, toiling in the City, and an incorrigible mimic of seventeen, making game of every one she comes near, are not personages round whom many writers would venture to weave the web of romance; but no hero of tragedy of the most approved type, and no woman of the ideally angelic order, have ever been the theme of a more thrilling story than this which records the fatal error of George Geith and his ill-fated love for Beryl Molozane. It is so different from, as well as superior to ninety-nine hundredths of the novels that are written, that it claims to be judged by a different standard, and measured by a higher rule. It never deals with the surface of things, and but rarely with small individual peculiarities; the story being a most sad one, and the man whose agony we have to witness one in whom joyousness has long been quenched. The whole tone of the book is sombre and mournful, and a consciousness of impending woe seems to overcast even the least gloomy passages. But this fault, if fault it be, is soon forgotten in the strong current of deep passion that sets in and carries the reader's sympathies along with it. Beryl dies heartbroken, and her wonderful sister dies just as her childish dreams of poetic fame had begun to promise fruition in the shape of a poem accepted and paid for, but the pen that can describe such lives and such deathbeds would not be better employed in making us grin. If it were not for the exceeding pathos and the volume of unhappiness that is sometimes almost overwhelming, we should dwell more upon the gleams of gaiety which are by no means wanting to give light to the picture, and which make the glimpses of life at the Dower House, in Hertfordshire, so enchanting. And there is another alleviation of the pervading tone in the many beautiful descriptive passages of natural scenery, the effect of which is heightened by the intense sympathy

with humanity which makes the author associate the external scene with the human being through whose eyes she makes us see it. The fault of the book appears to us to lie in the plot, which would have been much better without the trite complication of a supposititious heir and the needless infamy of his birth, for, excepting as he affects the hero, his cousin, Sir Mark Geith, is not a person of much consequence or interest to the reader. The terrible reappearance of Mrs. Geith, No. 1, could not have been dispensed with, nor do we think that the most captious criticism can detect a fault in the main characters and incidents worthy to be set against the striking merits of a book which for power and originality stands alone among recent novels, and deserves a place apart from the short-lived favourites of the circulating library.

Miss Yonge's novels can never be termed *light* reading, and her new work* is quite as formidable as its title, nor are there any allurements of type to decoy the reader through its closely printed pages. There is the well-planned story, the group of truthfully drawn children, and the unsparingly long dialogue we knew of old, but there is also a new and slightly disturbing element which carries us a little way out of the narrow field to which the authoress usually confines herself. The heroine, Rachel Curtis, is intended to represent that last worst product of a questioning age, the female reformer—the "odd" young lady who will not bow her neck to curates, who dabbles in sociology and torments her fellow creatures with systematized philanthropy. The image held up before the eyes of the faithful is in truth an ugly one, unpleasing enough to deter any believing maiden from starting on an independent search for her place in nature, or even for her parochial rights, nor can it be said to be overdrawn or unfairly distorted. An ignorant conceited young woman will inevitably do more mischief if she holds herself released from the usual restraints of parental authority and social law, than if she passed her life in placid and contented idleness; but the desire for work, for usefulness, for the excitement of a real object, cannot be repressed in all, and the usual style of female education renders it almost inevitable that it will show itself in inconvenient, often ill-advised, methods when it does break out in action. But how does our authoress remedy the faults and short-comings of her refractory heroine? By bringing her in contact with an elderly clergyman who unites scholarship and saintliness in equal proportions, and with two military men of almost faultless perfection, one of whom falls in love with and marries her. Happy the strong-minded young lady who is in such a case! But does not this miraculous interposition argue the desperate nature of the complaint? And what is to be done with the many whom no epaulettéd angel will come and set right? The story of Rachel Curtis throws no ray of light on this difficult problem, nor will all clever women find their

* "The Clever Woman of the Family." By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." London: Macmillan. 1865.

honest dissatisfaction with the religious teaching vouchsafed to them altogether removed by dialogue like the following, even with one who quotes the Psalms in Hebrew and in Greek, and wants to refer to St. Augustine while writing his sermon :—

"I told him how unsettled my views were, and he did not seem to mind. 'My dear, may I ask if this sense of being unsettled is with you still?' 'I don't know! I had no power to read or think for a long time; and now, since I have been here, I hope it has not been hypocrisy, for going on in your way and his has been very sweet to me, and made me feel as I used when I was a young girl, with only an ugly dream between. I don't like to look at it, and yet that dream was my real life, that I made for myself.' 'Dear child, I have little doubt that Alick (her husband) knew it would come to this.' Rachel paused. 'What, you and he think a woman's doubts so vague and shallow as to be always mastered by a husband's influence.' Mr. Clare was embarrassed. If he had thought so he had not expected her to make the inference. He asked her if she could venture to look back on her dream, so as to mention what had chiefly distressed her. He could not see her frowning effort at recollection, but after a pause she said, 'Things will seem to you like trifles, indeed individual criticism appears so to me; but the difficulty to my mind is that I don't see these objections fairly grappled with. There is either denunciation or weak argument; but I can better recollect the impression on my own mind than what made it.' 'Yes, I know that feeling; but are you sure that you have seen all the arguments?' 'I cannot tell; perhaps not. Whenever I get a book with anything in it, somebody says it is not sound.' 'And you therefore conclude that a sound book can have nothing in it?' he asked, smiling. 'Well, most of the new "sound" books that I have met are just what my mother and sister like—either dull, or sentimental and trashy.' 'Perhaps those that get into popular circulation do deserve some of your terms for them. Illogical replies break down and carry off some who have pinned their faith to them; but are you sure that, though you have read much, you have read deep?' 'I have read more deeply than any one I know—woman, I mean—or than any man had ever showed me he had read.' 'I think you may be of great use to me, my dear, if you will help me. The bishop has desired me to preach the next visitation sermon, and he wishes it to be on some of these subjects. Now, if you will help me with the book work, it will be very kind in you, and might serve to clear your mind about some of the details, though you must be prepared for some questions being unanswered.' 'Best so,' replied Rachel. 'I don't like small answers to great questions.' 'Nor I. Only let us take care not to get absorbed in admiring the boldness that picks out stones to be stumbled over.' 'Do you object to my having read, and thought, and tried?' 'Certainly not. Those who have the capability should, if they feel disturbed, work out the argument. Nothing is gained while it is felt that both sides have not been heard. I do not myself believe that a humble, patient, calm spirit can go far wrong, though it may for a time be tried, and people often cry out at the first stumbling-block, and then feel committed to the exclamations they have made.'"—Vol. ii. p. 241.

After which nothing more is heard of Rachel's difficulties, and it is to be inferred that, as one of her saucy nephews remarked upon her having left off long words and other "civilian enor-

mities, "military discipline made her conformable."

In contrast with the nominally clever woman is a crippled Miss Williams, who is the real clever woman, and who receives her lover after a separation of twelve years with a calm self-possession, as if they had parted yesterday, and plunges then and there into a conversation with him, ten pages long, on family distresses, after the manner of Miss Yonge's heroines. Lady Temple, the young widowed mother, whose mind Rachel was so eager to form, is very well drawn, and does not evaporate, like the clever woman, into something wholly different from her unregenerate, i.e. unmarried self; and the boys are, as they always are, among the best and most natural actors in the piece. The chief of the bad people is a swindler of a new type. He appears on the scene in the interesting character of a clergyman, with "views" unconformable with his calling, and he is, very characteristically, made to do all the rascality, showing thereby "what comes of" unorthodoxy, and the best form of imposition wherewith to take in a "clever woman." Some of the minor characters are sketched with much cleverness and even humour, and it is to be regretted that a book with so many of the requisite ingredients is made oppressive by over-crowding and over-talking, and tedious by the too minute attention to unimportant details.

"Once and Again" is a very pretty novel, bright with a brightness that is not of the British isles, and innocent of any direct attempts to be philosophical and improving. The scene is laid in France and Switzerland, and few of the characters are English. The story is a painful one, and tends in the concluding part to become rather too earnestly tragic; but there is real art in its gradual unfolding, and a certain vivacity and freshness in the style which impart a charm that is more easily felt than analysed. It is a *bond fide* love tale, and the figure of the poor little heroine stands out in soft and touching beauty beside her grim disappointed mother, one of those "sour elderly people who have no mercy in flagellating the hearts of the young with their cruel knowledge of poor human nature;" a woman who "had driven both her husbands more than once to the verge of desperation by her way of adding up past grievances and weighing them with most bitter insinuations," and whose devotion to her daughter is combined with a capacity for misinterpreting, and consequently of tormenting her, that renders the lives of both miserable. Here is a sample, — the mother has brought her beautiful child to Paris for finishing lessons, and the young lady is full of joy at meeting again the friends of her childhood :—

"The first thing that Mrs. Templar said to Louisa after M. de Blacourt had taken his leave was, — 'Now, Louisa, you are not to be chattering about the marquis to those Ehrtmanns; I shall not introduce him to them.' 'But I have already talked to Isamay about him.' 'You are a perfect sieve,' said

* "Once and Again." By the Author of "Cousin Stella," &c. &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

Mrs. Templar, angrily. 'I didn't know any reason why I should not talk of M. de Blacourt, mamma,' said Louisa. 'You can't hear the slightest reproof, Louisa; you have been completely spoiled by those Gastineaus. Take this as a rule,—Silence is gold.' Mrs. Templar added,—'You are not such a baby as to be crying, I hope?' 'No, mamma.' 'I shall not take you out to dinner with red eyes.' 'Mamma!' 'Well?' 'Do be kind to me.' 'How am I otherwise? Have I not come to Paris on your account? Didn't you hear me asking for masters? Do I deny you anything I have the power to give you? What can you want more?' 'I want to be with you as other girls are with their mothers; I want to feel at my ease with you.' Mrs. Templar paused a minute, then said,—'I do not like being fondled, or to fondle. Perhaps I make more sacrifices for you than either Madame Gastineau or that painted *baronne* ever did for their children. You'll find plenty of people to flatter you; be thankful to hear the truth from your mother. Now then, I must unpack the trunks, to find decent clothes for you and me to wear to-day.' Louisa, trying to look cheerful, went into the bedroom with her mother. 'Let alone!' said Mrs. Templar, 'I won't have you breaking your nails and fatiguing yourself.' She pushed Louisa aside. 'Sit down, if you choose to stay here.' Louisa sat down; then, as if unable to control her feelings, she ran and threw her arms round her mother, saying—'Oh, mamma! you are very kind to me; forgive me for what I said.' 'Show your affection by something else than kissing.' Louisa bravely withstood this chill, and exerted herself to talk as if she really was at her ease; but it was a mere pretence, that deceived neither herself nor her mother."

M. de Blacourt is an impulsive chivalrous Frenchman, whom one unworthy woman has unhinged for life, "given a twist to his intellect, and covered his heart with a crust." The strife between his superinduced cynicism, his natural impetuosity, and his extreme love for the fair young English girl, who never suspects anything but fatherly affection, is well depicted. He appears again and again through the intricacies of poor Louisa's troubled career, the story of which is very prettily told, and owes much of its interest to a class of ideas and a choice of circumstances which have not yet been worked to death. There is a certain similarity in plot with that of another new novel,* which has nothing else in common with "Once and Again." In Miss Thomas's "On Guard," the heroine is also always getting into scrapes through incaution and anxiety to please; she too, like Louisa Templar, blights the life of a man who makes his brain the avenger of his heart, and writes a popular novel, which compels her to recognise herself as the cause of the ruined hopes and perverted mind which invest the hero with a Byronic halo. But here the resemblance ceases, and the taste and refinement of feeling which are conspicuous in the one book, are exchanged for the outspokenness, verging on coarseness, and the leaning towards a mild Bohemianism, which are becoming more and more developed in the author of "Denis Donne." She harps on a very old string; narrowness and uncharitableness in a respectable man or woman are in

her eyes grievous sins, but she has a tender feeling for the generous vices of those without the pale. Virtue is fair, modesty a thing to be desired, propriety unobjectionable; but she takes pleasure in showing how base and hollow is the seemingly innocent maiden, how heartless the exemplary wife, how utterly tiresome the conscientious mother; whereas, for true amiability she goes to the woman who has "danced on a moral tight rope for any number of years," and with whom, until she had the good luck to be honestly married, "it was just an even chance whether she should remain aloft, or come down with damning violence into the mud;" and the really devoted, unselfish wife is a "baby-faced beauty" out of a milliner's shop, whose great ambition had been "to play professionally at grand parties, and go down to supper with the best." Miss Thomas is, as she expressed it, "cursed with the modern mind," and whatever is humdrum and monotonous, virtue not excepted, is abhorrent to her. Her hero remarks, "That's the devil of it: a dull wife with every womanly virtue, from whom there would be no escape, would bring me to an untimely grave;" and to avert this catastrophe, he takes to wife the impetuous young lady whose history is traced through three volumes, and whose breaking-in is a very serious matter to all connected with her. Unpleasing in tone and style as we consider this book, we are bound to say that it is clever, spirited and entertaining. There is no carelessness or weakness about it; the characters have a strongly-marked individuality, and we are not wearied by descriptions of furniture or dress. But these good qualities are an insufficient set-off to the kind of roystering excitement that is aimed at throughout, and the bad taste which leads a lady to adopt, among other violations of polite writing, a sporting phraseology, and describe a man as having "gone to perdition at a slinging trot," and her heroine as "bearing on the bit just so much as a well-mettled one would do, when taken unexpectedly over a little bit of rough ground." We may expect a familiarity with the mysteries of the ring from a lady novelist, who adopts the slang of the turf and the technicalities of the stable into her vocabulary. For those who like sporting literature, but do not ask it at woman's hands, two volumes' lately issued furnish a great variety of stories and reminiscences, some of which are republished from the *Sporting Magazine*, and one paper, among the "Roadside Scrapings," is rewritten from *Baily's Magazine*. It is an enthusiastic eulogy on the Prince of Wales, in that he hunts, and owns, moreover, "a conscience in the matter of fox-hunting, which nothing but the pastures and bullfinches of Northamptonshire could satisfy;" for did he not hunt for two days in the Pytchley country, holding his own with the best, and once "coming to grief," like other light weights on good horses? It was after these two glorious days that the irrefragable Charles Payne delivered his judgment on the future

* "On Guard." By Miss Annie Thomas, Author of "Denis Donne," &c. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1865.

† "Crumbs from a Sportsman's Table." By Charles Clarke, Author of "Charlie Thornhill," &c. Chapman and Hall. 1865.

king of England, as thus:—"Well, Charles, and what do you think of the Prince of Wales?" "Make a capital king, my lord," replied Charles, touching his cap, and speaking in his short, quick, cheerful manner. "I'm glad you think so—and why?" "Sure to, sure to do that, my lord, *sits so well*."

"Grey's Court" is an oppressive story, like a sultry day with the threatening of a thunderstorm that does not come. In spite of many incidents of a most harrowing kind, and a liberal allowance of crime, it excites a very languid interest; startling events cause no surprise and fall as flat as if they were mere everyday occurrences, and it has the additional fault of being composed in the tiresome form of part autobiography, part journal, pieced together by explanatory additions and make-believe elucidatory notes. It affects something of the historical novel, inasmuch as one of the chief actors escapes from a French prison in 1800, and we have selections from a journal of one of his companions "translated from the French;" also, the story begins in that past and ever-to-be-regretted period, "before country houses had been deserted for want of society, and long before crowds had driven society out of London," and smugglers and duels were, and railroads and free trade were not. A bland, subdued air, as of conscious good breeding, pervades the book, which is adorned with choice mottoes, generally translated from the Greek, and among other proofs of familiarity with that language is this remarkable sentence: "Lora did not repeat her question in words, but her richly-coloured eyes looked (what shall I call it?) conditional scorn—decided scorn, dependent on something undecided; her eyes expressed scorn by and with the optative." Nor are there wanting sage reflections and unanswerable moralizations, such as,—“Can we say how similar circumstances would have acted on ourselves? Can we say that they would not, if twenty times repeated, have acted on us in twenty different ways? Surely, any one who could answer ‘yes’ to this, would show more confidence in his own self-knowledge than knowledge of his own heart.”

Two German volumes of tales and sketches consist of short novelettes, of the usual character of such compositions, with a good many impressive incidents, such as a duel occasioned by the challenger seeing a gentleman take what he considered a too affectionate leave of a young lady whom he admired himself; and when the shot has been fired, and the aggrieved admirer has fatally wounded his unfortunate antagonist, it turns out that the dying man had only been kissing his own sister. The sketches are better than the stories; one of them describes the fishing village of Sassnitz, in Rügen, which, it appears, is becoming a favourite and much frequented watering place, where persons from all parts of Germany are beginning to congregate

for the sake of sea-bathing, and the beautiful scenery on the southern shores of the Baltic. Another gives an account of the Marcolini Palace, in Dresden, where the scene was enacted which forms the subject of Camphausen's picture at Düsseldorf. On the memorable 28th of June, 1813, the Emperor Napoleon met Prince Metternich in one of the rooms of, what was then, the stateliest private house in Dresden, and the Emperor, either by chance or design, let his hat fall; the Prince, with the insolence of a conscious victor, did not stir, and Napoleon picked it up himself. It is said, that when the old diplomatist revisited the spot, a few weeks before his death, and forty-six years after that day's conference, he confessed that the moments spent in that interview had been the most terrible (*furchtbarsten*) he had ever known throughout his long career.

It ought to surprise no one now-a-days to find himself plunged into speculations on the origin of man, or disquisitions on missionary bishops to Central Africa, when he takes up a book, to all outward appearance a novel, and nothing more; but we were hardly prepared for the strain put upon our faculties by the endeavour to read a three-volumed production with the deceitful title of "Three Phases of Love." What it means we do not pretend to say, after sundry efforts to arrive at some clear understanding of its drift. To begin with, the heroine's name is Dharma, and Dharma is the title of a Buddhist book, and means "the truth," and when the young lady explains how she came by it, she goes on to observe that it is "rather an appropriate name, for I never could keep my own or another's secrets, without feeling all the discomfort which mother earth experienced, when that terrible secret about the ears of King Midas was whispered into her. The truth would out, though buried deep; and the grass grew up full of it, waving, nodding, and blabbing it to the winds, and the winds carried it far and wide. What a beautiful myth that is about the grass and King Midas!" She is apt, in conversation, to soar into mythology at a moment's notice; and, by right of having been born in Ceylon, and of having had a learned Brahmin for her friend in childhood, she is quite at home in, or at least ready to talk about, the Vedas and the Puranas, as well as every other branch of human knowledge. A prima donna, Camilla by name, introduces her to a wonderful musician and composer, D'Azzini, and other distinguished people in Paris, who encourage her in abstruse studies, and of whose conversation we quote a mild specimen. Dharma is being shown one of the oldest churches in Paris:—

"They were in one part of the cathedral, while early mass was going on in another: they were looking at a small oak carving of Christ, with the circle, the triangle, and the three mystic letters above the head; Christ himself, with extended hands, rising out of the cup. Fritz was comparing this with the Indian half-egg, broken by the bull's horns. Reading the letters on one-half of the triangle, made the

* "Grey's Court." Edited by Georgiana, Lady Chatterton. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

* "Aus alter und neuer Zeit." Novellen und Skizzen von Luise Ernesti. (Malwine von Humbrecht.) Jena und Leipzig: Hermann Costenoble. London: Nutt. 1865.

* "Dharma; or, Three Phases of Love." By E. Paulet. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

sense of 'egg,' and on the other 'existence.' They were interrupted by the Abbé Duval, who came up exclaiming—'Ah, are you Protestants seeking the holy grace?' 'Not exactly,' answered Fritz, 'but I am wandering about to find pieces of Antiquity. I enjoy examining your venerable churches, and finding the world-old emblems that various hierarchies of priests have handed down from age to age. Your festivals and ceremonials have the ancient significance to me, as well as the new. The blue star-covered altar cave, type of the cave of the heavens. The cold 'ever-virgin' Queen of Heaven, palm in hand, sailing on the moon, with the sea below her feet. The cross, emblem of 'life and death,' from generation to generation. The equinoctial lamb, with its curling Jupiter Ammon like horns, at the foot of the cross, as of old below the tree on which the Phrygian Atys was carried in procession. The solar robes of the most ancient priests are not forgotten. See that picture of the stable at Bethlehem opposite, and look at the cave of Mythra in my study where the infant Mythra is surrounded by oxen, 'Mythra, the man of Light,' the first sunbeam of the new year, 'Mythra, the mediator' between Ormuzd and Ahryman, between light and darkness, was born in a cave, 'surrounded by oxen. Justin Martyr calls the stable 'the prototype of a cave,' and in the apocryphal 'Gospel of Mary,' a cave figures instead of a stable. In short, much of the ceremonial, and even the vigils and festivals of the sun gods, may be traced, and various relics of solar-worship be found carefully preserved in your most conservative church, M. l'Abbé.' 'Solar-worship had other meanings beside the physical, well known to the initiated,' answered the Abbé; 'but I believe, and am trying to prove (as you are aware, M. Angelo, for you have seen my MS.)—I firmly believe, that there was a revelation of the Redeemer's life, death, and resurrection, given to the normal race of man! traces of which are seen in the worship of all solar Gods, Ossiris, Ormuzd, Mythra, and others. The sun was always a type of the godhead. Have not material objects ever been the symbols of things spiritual? The universe itself is a great book of emblems and symbols, if we read it rightly.' 'Very true,' said Fritz, 'I have much respect for your church, as the great ark which has preserved so much of the past.' Angelo began to speak of Bramah, Vishnu, and Siva, as typified by the mystic word *Om*, but Dharma paid little attention till she heard the words 'restoration' and 'millennium,' on which she interrupted, 'Do tell me what you believe about the millennium, M. l'Abbé? I attended lectures with my aunt, at Milltown, on the millennium.' The Abbé smiled, and said that he left unfulfilled prophecy to be discussed by her friends at Milltown. Fritz spoke of a corresponding 'millennium' in the heavens, which he made out astronomically, taking the slow procession of the equinoxes as the hour hand on the face of heaven, and from the dial of the stars, from one constellation to another, which he called his *hours* of two thousand years, he made out the 'grand cycle,' or 'restoration,' or 'millennium.' 'Why do you smile at those good women who cannot read, saying their rosary?' 'I was thinking,' Dharma answered, 'of the ancient Persians and their rosary, and their mystic *Belt of Zoroaster*, uniting the worshippers to his merits, and the merits of the saints. M. Angelo has been translating parts of the *Zendavesta* for me lately.'—Vol. I. p. 78.

When this sage damsel comes across an ascetic Roman Catholic, and they fall in love with each other, their conversions are of the sublimest kind, and while she says that her Pope

ought to be the Grand Lama, Vicar, or Earth of Fo, Pope of the East, he states that with him, "it is the Catholic Church, or Pantheism, or even atheism!" We cannot follow her either in her philosophical and mystical discourse, or her wonderful career, in the course of which she gets herself imprisoned in Rome, and appears at a window in Naples, strewing flowers on Garibaldi's head. But we can safely say that a more extraordinary jumble of ideas on a greater variety of subjects, has seldom been given to the world, and a heroine, who is as familiar with the philosophy of the Brahmins, as with Porphyry and Proclus, Paracelsus and Jacob Böhmen, may be excused if her profundity verges on the unintelligible.

Mr. Henry Kingsley's last story¹¹ is an extravaganza of the wildest kind, full of daring improbabilities and reckless absurdity, as marvellous as a fairy tale, and sometimes as statistical as a handbook. If there be some deep significance in his choice of characters, we have not been so fortunate as to discover it, and can only find in his family of illustrious blacksmiths, another example of that determined rejection of fact and experience which are necessary to the advocates of his peculiar theory of equality. The Hillyars are the born gentlemen, and the Burtons are blacksmiths, who go out to Australia, and become rich and distinguished. By force of inherent nobleness, Emma Burton, the toiling daughter in a struggling crowded household at Chelsea, develops into a magnificent imperial woman, all ease and grace, going to the opera in white crape and diamonds; and her brother, the Honourable James Burton, brings his wife, formerly a maid of all work in Kentish Town, to London, when he was sent there as commissioner to the International Exhibition, and her extreme beauty and repose of manner obtain universal admiration. Mr. Kingsley has no difficulty in transforming young people, to whom good English is an unknown tongue, and refinement an unimagined luxury, into men and women who can play their part with dignity and good taste, under every variety of circumstances, and who never ask or speak with the less propriety than the best bred lady or gentleman. He would make us forget that "Nature's gentlemen" are subject to natural laws, and cannot learn the speech they have never heard and the manners they have never seen, all at once, let their talents and virtues be what they may; and having given us, in Emma Burton, a woman of the noblest and rarest perfection, it is as inconsistent as barbarous to endow her with scruples about "bringing down" a gentleman to her level, just as if she were an ordinary mortal, with the common prejudice of caste. But this is not the point of chief interest in the character of the heroine, who, as the author explains in his preface, is arraigned before the reader for judgment, in that by an overstrained idea of duty, she devoted herself to her brother, and made her lover but a secondary person. The

¹¹ "The Hillyars and the Burtons: a Story of Two Families." By Henry Kingsley, Author of "Austin Elliot," &c. Macmillan, 1865.

lover is Erne Hillyar, son of a baronet, a true, gallant youth, the ideal of the young English gentleman, and the brother is a cripple, the scholar and genius of the family, to whom wealth and distinction as a colonial legislator were not slow to come. Emma Burton's refusal to marry him drives the lover to the far-off gold diggings, where he barely escapes with life, and where at last her scruples are satisfied by the cripple, Joe, finding a rich, handsome young widow ready to accept him, and Emma sets off to join Erne, the vessel in which she embarked is lost, and nothing ever heard of her more. To paint the struggle between love and duty, or supposed duty, is not a new idea, nor is it one for Mr. Henry Kingsley to deal with; his tones are too broad, his style is too slashing, for any theme which demands delicate handling, and though most readers will probably be inclined to give a verdict against the heroine (for the facts of the case do not appear to make in favour of the duty of the sacrifice), those who do not read the preface, will not trouble themselves much about her. For it is not in her that the real charm of the book lies, any more than it is in Arcadian plans for the removal of class barriers, that our author shows his strength. The Hillyars and the Burtons are very well in their way, but we should have been very soon tired of them on their native soil. Mr. Henry Kingsley's special forte is description, and when he starts on Australian ground he has a theme worthy of his pen, and which calls forth his peculiar powers. He has looked on that strange land in its natural and its social aspects with an eye that nothing escapes, and he brings an imaginative fancy and a lively sense of the beautiful and grotesque to the aid of his keen perception, and the result is a series of such living pictures as are not to be found elsewhere. There is in the third volume a description of a cyclone, that is absolutely terrible in its powerful vividness, and whenever the scene shifts to Cooksland, we are sure to light upon passages that seem to bring the life of our brethren at the antipodes before our very eyes. Among the many surprising characters introduced, are two Australian-born beauties, one of whom goes to England with her husband, who, being all but a villain himself, and largely mixed up with other villains, finds it necessary to disappear. The poor, silly, half-crazy young creature, cannot bear England any longer, takes her passage back to Melbourne, and sets off to walk three hundred miles overland, through the bush, with her child, for, we are told—

"The Bush had no more terrors for her than Regent-street has for you. If she met a bush band, and her honour was in question, why, she had provided herself with a revolver. One summer's day, when she was a child, after she and Aggy had been gathering quantongs by the creek, her father, old Mr. Morton, Mr. Dawson, and young Clayton had come suddenly home, said something which frightened their mother out of her wits, had barricaded the door, and loaded their guns. Soon after they began shooting at some men outside, and the men shot at them through the windows, and broke the claret jug on the sideboard. She remembered that these men,

the bushrangers, had broken in the door, and that Mr. Dawson had shot down two of them, and killed another by bending his head back, and that her mother had kissed Mr. Dawson afterwards—that she had been sorry for the poor men, as she was for the inhabitants of Jericho, who had not shot into anyone's windows, or at least it was not mentioned—that her mother was very angry with her, and said that a girl who hadn't gumption enough to drive a knife into a bushranger's heart, would not have courage enough to drive it into her own, and was unfit to live. Gerty had learned from her mother how to defend her honour. How quaint that old Australian life seems to one! High refinement in many cases, but the devil always at the door. Not, as in India, a sudden, furious, unexpected devil, tearing all to pieces, but a recognised devil, standing always ready. 'This is the last of that seal of Laftite, sir, and the blacks are crowding round and looking awkward. 'The Illustrated News' is come, sir, but no 'Spectators' this mail, and Mike Howe is out again, sir, and has struck up Dolly's, and burnt one of the children, sir. Do you think he will take us next, or the Macdonalds?' Those are the sort of little mare's tails you get at the outside of that vast cloud of English influence, which has now overshadowed fully one-sixth of the human race. And until you have been to the edge, you will find it difficult fully to appreciate the extreme meteoric disturbance which you will find there. Look at the case of a certain family the other day in Queensland—refined, hospitable people, beloved by everyone. The young squire, sent over to Rugby, where he turned out champion cricketer. They all got suddenly ruthlessly murdered by the blacks one summer's evening."—Vol. iii. p. 46.

And of that other element in Australian life—the convict population, our author sums up the result of his experience thus:—

"The history of the soul of a thorough-going rascal, like Samuel Burton, remains to be written. We can't do it; we can only describe the outside of such, and say what we saw them do under such circumstances, as we have done with Samuel Burton. As for what they think, feel, and believe, they lie so horribly and habitually, that the chances are ten to one that every other word they speak is false. Samuel Burton's character has been sketched after long and intimate confidences with many convicts. I used, at one time, to make after a new convict as I would after a new butterfly, and try—hopeless task!—to find out when he was lying and when he was telling the truth. The result has been Samuel Burton. But I have, at all events, found out two things; the first is, that a man who has just told you with infinite glee about the share he had in robbing a church, will invariably deny, with virtuous indignation, that he had any share whatever in the crime for which he was transported. His brother always did that; and his wife in a moment of misplaced confidence, received the stolen property into the house in a basket of greens, which was found standing on the sink when the 'traps' came. And the second is, that, until we can catch a thoroughbred scoundrel, with high literary ability, and strict regard to truth, we had better not talk too fast about the reformation of criminals."—Vol. vi. p. 204.

Mr. Kingsley seems to have an unconquerable delight in sheer rhodomontade, and in saying unexpected things in a manner which has the effect on the nerves of a practical joke; they make you laugh, but leave the impression that you have had a liberty taken with your

good taste; nor is the putting together of his story satisfactory. At the same time there is a mastery of language, a geniality of tone, and a warmth and richness of colour, which, if they do not atone for a certain spice of rollicking over-familiarity, do undoubtedly make his novels very entertaining, and we are glad to find him returning to this original diggings which he worked with such good effect in "Geoffrey Hamlyn."

Mrs. Lynton's novel with the stinging title¹² tells the lamentable distresses which a gentleman of the name of Jasper Trelawney Carthew brought upon himself, and his innocent second wife, by dropping the third name, and thus laying himself open to the persecution of a diabolically wicked pair of people who knew his secret, and while one of them uses his knowledge to extort money, the other appears in the character of the first wife (supposed to have been long since dead), and owing to a strong resemblance, the deception is kept up, with some ingenuity, till the time comes for explaining and setting everything right in the third volume. The individuals who make up a genteel circle in a stagnant country village, are drawn with a good deal of malicious humour; and the wicked, half French brother and sister who do so much mischief, are not bad specimens of the accomplished swindlers. There is nothing, however, in either style or plot to distinguish this novel from a great number of its fellows, and there is an objectionable prominence given to scenes of heartrending agony and outpourings of passionate protestations of love between Mr. Carthew and his seraphic wife, his "aura della vita sua," whose woes and perfection fail to impress us properly, from both being overdone.

A small single volume story, entitled "The Conscript,"¹³ is a translation of a French tale, which has attained to so great a popularity, that, in France, sixteen thousand copies are said to have been sold. It is the history of a lame boy, a clockmaker's apprentice, whose infirmities are not enough to save him from the terrible conscription, and who finds himself drawn as "Number 17," and marched off with a party of Piedmontese and Genoese conscripts to Mayence. The first portion of the book is very good, describing with quaint simplicity how the great victories of 1811 and 1812 were thought of in a little town of Alsace, and at what a price to the community they were won. The weeks of anxiety that followed every Te Deum; the eager looking for lists of casualties that sometimes never came at all; the wagons drawn by half-starved oxen from beyond the Rhine, rumbling through for three weeks together, followed by the endless stream of regiments of all nations; the sons of butchers and coopers coming home colonels and barons of

the empire. All these are written off with the truthful plainness of a deeply interested and horribly alarmed eye-witness, who tells his own story and dwells upon his own particular sufferings with natural minuteness. We follow him willingly through his hard experiences as a recruit, but when he gets to Leipzig and Lutzen he attempts what others have done better; and we prefer his less ambitious chapters, with all their harrowing details of warfare as seen from the ranks.

The indefatigable traveller and writer, Friedrich Gerstäcker, has thrown some of his South American experiences into a three volume novel,¹⁴ full of life and movement, with plenty of fighting and incident amid florid tropical scenes and exciting revolutionary changes, well grouped and arranged, and affording a lively picture of the general confusion in matters political which is the chronic condition of these restless republics.

The next German book that claims our notice may be ranked among the curiosities of literature. It appears that the favoured city of Dresden boasts of no fewer than eight-and-forty authoresses among its inhabitants, and of these, nineteen have consented to impart a good deal of their private history to one who knows its scientific value, and who gives it to the world as "Phrenologische Frauenbilder."¹⁵ It is the happy privilege of Gustav Schewe to possess the confidence of all these fair votaries of literature, and also to have been permitted to examine their heads externally with a view to phrenological revelations. Thus we have several biographical notices, many of them contributed by the lady herself, and a tabular craniological summary of her mental and emotional peculiarities, by the author, with comments and elucidations all set forth with charming naïveté and frankness, and profound unconsciousness that the world outside may not be eager to know that Lilla von Bulzovsky, actress and newspaper correspondent, is tall, blue-eyed, and blest with a happily balanced mental constitution, or that Frau Henriette Heber, a philanthropic lady gifted with mesmeric and "spiritualist" powers, possesses a sanguine-choleric-nervous temperament. The princess Amalie of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenberg figures among the distinguished characters about whom it is granted us to know so much; and we are informed that she was graciously pleased to allow the author to make a phrenological study of her head which led him to the conclusion that hers was a "mixed temperament in which the sanguine element is perhaps the most dominant." The author of this singular volume (which is not his first effort in phrenological biography) deserves some credit for having hit upon a combination so well calculated to gratify the idle-minded world; an

¹² "Grasp your Nettle." By E. Lynn Lynton, Author of "The Lake Country," &c. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

¹³ "The Conscript: a Tale of the French War of 1813." Translated from the French of M. Erckman Chatrian. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

¹⁴ "Zwei Republiken. Erste Abtheilung: General Franco. Lebensbild aus Ecuador," von Friedrich Gerstäcker. Jena und Leipzig: Hermann Costenoble. 1865. London: Nutt.

¹⁵ "Phrenologische Frauenbilder: Dresden's Schriftstellerinnen der Gegenwart." Von Gustav Schewe. Dresden: Schöpf. 1865. London: Nutt.

appearance of scientific investigation, general remarks upon life, education, and character, and plenty of personal detail.

Mr. Edwards's bulky volume on *Libraries*,¹⁸ contains a vast amount of curious out-of-the-way information, and amusing gossip. A portion of some of the introductory chapters is reprinted from the article on *Libraries* in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," but it is an inconsiderable portion of a work which is one of much labour and research. After a brief account of the little that can be known of ancient libraries and those of mediæval times, we have a history of the famous libraries collected by private scholars, and of the libraries of celebrated monarchs. Among anecdotes of Napoleon the First, is one that should be treasured by collectors of strange coincidences. He was an insatiable reader, filling volumes with notes upon what he read, and many of those made during his boyish studies have been preserved, including some on geography, in which the very last sentence ends with these words—"Sainte Hélène—petite île." In recording what the British Museum Library owes to the industry of Mr. Panizzi, the author informs us that when that gentleman became Keeper of Printed Books in 1837, there was not much over two hundred and thirty thousand volumes, and that on his promotion in 1856, he left nearly five hundred and sixty thousand. The most important part of this volume, and to which all the early chapters are preliminary, is that which relates to our own national records, and tells the curious, not to say disgraceful, history of how they have been ill-used and neglected, and how they are at last receiving the care and labour that are their due. This subject occupies more than two-thirds of the volume, and there are tabular and synoptical views of *Rolls and State Papers*, which must be of great value to those whose researches take them into that storehouse of precious materials. Mr. Edwards announces a companion volume shortly on the "*Founders and Benefactors of the British Museum*," which, judging by the table of contents, promises to address itself more completely to the general reader than the volume before us, which aims somewhat at two incompatible objects, and would have been better had the more exclusively technical portion been published separately, in a convenient compass, for the use of those whom it concerns, and the miscellaneous notes on libraries and bibliophiles had been kept apart for the benefit of the majority, who have no practical interest in classified tables of rolls and state papers.

A small volume of *Lectures*,¹⁹ by Mr. Burges, contains a great deal of good sense on a subject which stands much in need of wise advocacy, and upon which we have been slow to find out our backwardness and ignorance. He readily acknowledges the usefulness of Government Schools of Design, of Exhibitions, and of Muse-

ums like the Kensington and Architectural, but he sees great impediments to future progress from three causes: the want of a distinctive architecture, instead of the two bad styles at present in vogue—an impure Italian, and a variety of the architecture of the thirteenth century; the want of a good costume, instead of the colourless garments of modern fashion, which afford no opportunity to the artist for studying harmony of colour; and the want of a sufficient teaching of the figure, which is fatal to art in detail. On this last deficiency the author dwells with reiterating persistency, and maintains that until it is remedied there will be no improvement in architecture. His suggestions for the removal of these impediments to the application of art to industry are shortly these: Increase the Government Schools of Design; multiply local museums and render them easy of access; educate the designer as thoroughly as possible, above all, teach him the figure, and if the artisan can be taught teach him as well. Mr. Burges thinks that, as the Church led the art movement in the Middle Ages—and, thanks to Pugin and the Camden Society, we have a notion of how ecclesiastical buildings should look—the next step will be a reformation of our domestic architecture, towards which he looks upon every improvement in internal decoration as a certain help. And he cherishes bright visions of "smoky London glowing with imperishable colour," when we have got tired of using materials which we know must turn black in a few years, and when the law of leasehold is abolished. When these happy days come, and we abstain from stone, brick, and stucco, we shall see, if Mr. Burges succeeds in getting his views adopted, ornamentation applied in methods hitherto undreamed of by our sober architects. He says:

"We have, as far as I can see, but three courses open to us: the first is, to build the window-dressings, doors, &c., in majolica, plaster the walls between, paint them with subjects, and then cover them with sheets of plate glass. This is the first. The second would be to supply the place of the paintings covered with glass, by means of mosaics. Now, these mosaics might be made in various ways: 1, they might be of glass chopped up in the regular manner, as Signor Salvieto does it; 2, or made of sticks of glass broken off short, in Mr. Fisher's manner (see the stained-glass exhibition); or they might be manufactured in earthenware and glazed. I do not think unglazed tesserae would do, as the smoke would stain them like bricks. It is by no means necessary that these mosaics should represent subjects, although it would be a gain for them to do so; on the contrary, they might be diapers, and the tesserae might be made like some discovered near Babylon—viz., in the shape of cones, with the bottom part glazed. Some system might also be found for making figures in pieces of stained glass, foiling them from behind, and then embedding them in mortar or lead. Messrs. Powell, of Whitefriars, have invented something of this kind, but I am afraid that their material would be too porous for external use. We now come to majolica, which, with mosaic, would, I think, solve the problem before us. It should be remembered that, thanks to Messrs. Minton and other manufacturers, we can now obtain majolica both in relief and painted; it is true, that at present it is rather dear, but should an increased demand arise, it would

¹⁸ "Libraries and Founders of Libraries." By Edward Edwards. Trübner. 1864.

¹⁹ "Art applied to Industry." A Series of Lectures by William Burges, F.R.I.B.A. J. H. and J. Parker. 1865.

doubtless go down in price. M. Roussel's system would give us great advantages in the pictorial part of the work, while it would rest with the manufacturers generally to give us a glaze that would not shine too much in a side light, and at the same time would stand the frost."—p. 107.

In the lectures which treat of the application of metals, glass, and pottery to domestic uses, a brief sketch is given of the methods employed in ancient times, and of the revival and progress of decorative art in modern Europe. Our increasing knowledge of antiquity has taught us to what perfection many arts were carried, of which we imagined ourselves the inventors. There was plate glass at Pompeii, and Signor Castellani is barely credited when he says that he has at last succeeded in producing frosted gold, like that of the Etruscans, which never tarnished. The art of making *filagree* glass, well known to the Romans, was revived in the celebrated Venetian glass of the fifteenth century, the process of making which was considered so precious a secret, that a law existed enacting that in case of a glass workman going to work abroad, in the first place he should be asked to return, and if he paid no attention his nearest relatives should be imprisoned; if he still held out, some one was to be despatched to kill him. In the lecture on the weaver's art, we are reminded of the superiority of Indian muslins and Chinese and Persian carpets, and the gorgeous costumes of the middle ages are contrasted with our own dark ungraceful garments. The Cufic inscriptions that have so perplexed antiquaries, were introduced with the rich Eastern stuffs so much sought after by the wealthy class, and though, as Mr. Burges observes—

"Nothing is more perishable than worn-out apparel, yet, thanks to documentary evidence, to the custom of burying people of high rank in their robes, and to the practice of wrapping up relics of saints in pieces of precious stuffs, we are enabled to form a very good idea of what these stuffs were like, and where they came from. In the first instance, they appear to have come from Byzantium, and from the East generally; but the manufacture afterwards extended to Sicily, and received great impetus at the Norman conquest of that island; Roger I. even transplanting Greek workmen from the towns sacked by his army, and settling them in Sicily. Of course, many of the workers would be Mahomedans, and the old patterns, perhaps with the addition of sundry animals, would still continue in use; hence the frequency of Arabic inscriptions in the borders, the Cufic character being one of the most ornamental ever used. In the Hotel de Clugny, at Paris, are preserved the remains of the vestments of a bishop of Bayonne, found when his sepulchre was opened in 1853, the date of the entombment being the twelfth century. Some of these remains are cloth of gold, but the most remarkable is a very deep border, ornamented with blue Cufic letters on a gold ground; the letters are fimbriated with white, and from them issue delicate red scrolls, which end in Arabic sort of flowers: this tissue probably is pure Eastern work. On the contrary, the coronation robes of the German emperors, although of an Eastern pattern, bear inscriptions which tell us very clearly when they were manufactured: thus, the Cufic characters on the cope inform us that it was made in the city of Palermo, in the year 1133, while

the tunic has the date of 1181, but then the inscription is in the Latin language. The practice of putting Cufic inscriptions on precious stuffs was not confined to the Eastern and Sicilian manufacturers; in process of time other Italian cities took up the art, and, either because it was the fashion, or because they wished to pass off their own work as Sicilian or Eastern manufacture, imitations of Arabic characters are continually met with, both on the few examples that have come down to us of the stuffs themselves, or on painted statues or sculptured effigies. These are the inscriptions which used to be the despair of antiquaries, who vainly searched out their meaning until it was discovered that they had no meaning at all, and that they were ornaments. Sometimes the inscriptions appear to be imitations of the Greek, and sometimes even of the Hebrew. The celebrated ciborium of Limoges work in the Louvre, known as the work of Magister G. Alpaix, bears an ornament around its rim which a French antiquary has discovered to be nothing more than the upper part of a Cufic word repeated and made into a decoration."—p. 85.

We do not often meet with so much information in a small compass as is contained in these short lectures, and the practical suggestions are well worthy the attention of all who are interested in maintaining a standard of taste, in any degree commensurate with the wealth that is lavished on costly ornamentation.

A volume of "Characters and Criticisms"¹⁸ consists of one long essay on Plutarch, reprinted from the "Quarterly," and several short papers, contributed chiefly to the "Edinburgh Courant," on a great variety of subjects, reviews of books, and short notices of passing events. They are in the trenchant newspaper style, with plenty of pungent adjectives, and a few epigrams are interspersed, of which the following is an example:—

"ON AN ANSWERER OF RENAN.

"You answered Renan? That is strange, if true;
Men only answer when they're spoken to,
And Renan speaks to scholars, not to you."

This may be taken as a sample of the author's sprightliness of wit and originality of expression.

The first volume of the collected works of M. de Pontès,¹⁹ which we have noticed in a previous section, is already in a second edition. It was Augustin Thierry who advised him to write his *impressions de voyage*, promising him success equal to that of Alexandre Dumas, and many of the papers in this volume justify the opinion, and prove that at a very early age M. de Pontès was preparing himself for a literary career, which was cut short by his untimely death.

Yet another translator of Horace²⁰ offers his

¹⁸ "Characters and Criticisms: a Book of Miscellanies." By James Hannay, Author of "Essays from the Quarterly," &c. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo. 1865.

¹⁹ "Etudes sur L'Orient." Par Lucien Davesières de Pontès. Seconde Edition. Paris: Michel Lévy. 1865.

²⁰ "The I. and II. Books of the Odes of Horace." Translated into English Verse. By Hugo Nicholas Jones. Williams and Norgate. 1865.

version of the two first books of the Odes, the *Carmen Sæculare*, and a few specimens from the other books. We are promised the remaining odes and epodes by-and-by. Mr. Jones pleads in excuse for his temerity "leisure and retirement," and the want of "an employment that served at least to fill up the blanks of time, and afford a welcome variety, to chequer the occupations of a country life, and the occasional resources of the chase." The preface is enough to deter any one who objects to rambling would-be fine writing, from going further; and the few pages devoted to a biography of Horace are provokingly tiresome; but the translations are not without merit, and the author has succeeded well in the Spenserian stanza which he has adopted in his version of "*Motum ex Metello*," with very good effect. After Mr. Connington's rendering, his translation of "*Quis Desiderio*" falls flat, and though we are getting used to every variety of English verse measure, it is not without a shock that we read the twenty-second ode, beginning with—

"That man, O Aristius, whose conscience is pure,
Neither needs he the bow nor the shaft of the Moor;
'Mid the heat of the desert he safely may start,
Unoppressed with the quiver or poisonous dart."

An edition of the first six books of the *Æneid*,²¹ with notes chiefly taken from Wagner, professes to be intended for the use of school-boys and passmen, and great pains have been taken to explain every phrase, grammatical peculiarity and allusion, which might prove a stumbling-block to the dullest scholar in the lowest form.

The sixth centenary of Dante's birth is pleaded in justification of a new translation of the "*Inferno*,"²² which stands in no need of apology. Mr. Ford brings many of the requisite qualifications to his difficult task, and has produced a version remarkable for accuracy and elegance of diction. Side by side with the English, he has given Dr. Carlyle's edition of the Italian text, which can thus be compared line for line with the translation. The original metre is kept to, and without more dilution of the

sense than is inevitable in rendering language so terse and condensed as that of Dante into a tongue entirely different in sound, idiom, construction, the rhymes are easy, natural, and harmonious. We quote Mr. Ford's version of the famous passage from the fifth canto, which has ever been the despair of translators, as a fair example of his verse:

"Then she to me: 'No pain can greater prove,
Than the remembrance of past joys to wake,
When suffering; this thy Teacher will approve.
But, if the germ, whence our young love did break,
Such be thy strong desire from us to hear,
I'll do as they, who weep, and weeping speak.
Reading we were, one day, for pastime dear,
Of Lancelot, how love him prisoner bound;
We were alone, and no suspicion near:
Full oft that reading did our thoughts confound,
Our eyes make meet, our faces change their hue;
But 'twas a single point, that fixed the ground,
For, as we read how by the lover true
Was kiss'd the dimpling smile, desir'd before,
This, who shall ne'er be parted from my view,
Kiss'd me upon the mouth, trembling all o'er.
Galeotto was the book; the writer, too:
In it, that day, we further read no more.'"

The "When suffering" is weak for "Nella miseria," and occasional weakness will strike the reader who turns to find a pet passage in Mr. Ford's translation; but though it may not always satisfy, it never falls below the standard of a good scholarly work, and as such it is a valuable one. To avoid bulkiness, no explanatory notes are appended.

A collection of more than a hundred popular songs and ballads²³ is the fruit of German industry in Venetia, and is owing to the researches of two friends who met by chance at Vicenza in the winter of 1861-62, and agreed to devote themselves to the study of the language, antiquities, and history of the country. In the course of their investigations, they picked up sundry old ballads and tales from the lips of old women and young maidens, which were handed over to Herr Wolf to edit. This he has done with much care, adding copious notes, and explaining the relation of these songs and fragments to the Volkslore of other nations.

²¹ "P. Virgilii Maronis *Æneidos*," Libri I.-VI. With English Notes by T. Clayton, M.A., and C. S. Jerram, M.A. London: Rivington. 1865.

²² "The *Inferno* of Dante." By James Ford, A.M., Prebendary of Exeter. Smith and Elder. 1865.

²³ "Volkslieder aus Venetien." Gesammelt von Georg Widter: herausgegeben von Adolf Wolf. Wien: Aus der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 1864.

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ART. I.—PERSONAL REPRESENTATION.

The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal. A Treatise by THOMAS HARE, Esq., Barrister-at-law. Third Edition, with a Preface, Appendix, and other additions. London: Longmans. 1865.

IN spite of some few well paid and prosperous optimists who assert that we are all so well off already that none of us could possibly be better off under any other than our present system, there is a widely-spread impression in all ranks and in every part of the country that some change in our political system is imminent, and that it must be in the direction of democracy. The very newspaper writers or parliamentary speakers who begin their articles or their speeches with declaring that parliamentary or any other fundamental reform is unnecessary, end them with acknowledging that nevertheless it seems certain to come. The lower classes do not want it, they say; the upper classes do not approve it; nevertheless both will unite to bring it about. They deplore this strange infatuation, and ask why no one will make a stand against it, and then make no stand against it themselves. The fact is they drift with the current, and the current of popular opinion at this moment in England is in favour of bold measures of political reform. The demonstrations that are publicly made of this tendency are merely the ripples on the surface; that they are so faint shows rather the weakness of opposing forces than any uncertainty in the direction of the main stream of opinion itself.

Never was there a better example of how an idea may slowly and silently gain ground in spite of noisy triumph over its supposed extinction, and may permeate a whole people after having been pronounced too chimerical for consideration, than the progress of the agitation for a considerable enlargement of the Franchise amongst us of late years. As usually happens with all suggestions for real and important alterations in the constitution of society, it was received at first with mingled indifference and respect, which deceived all the more superficial of its supporters, and permit-

ted them to suppose they had an easy task before them. It is not at the very beginning that proposals for reform excite the most violent antagonism, for at first they only attract the attention of those whose minds are in some degree prepared for them. But when the prospect of success began to look serious, then there arose strenuous opposition from all whose selfishness or whose prejudices were contrary to it. Every weak point was assailed, every defect pointed out in any practical scheme for change that could be suggested, and at the same time every possible amelioration was promised in the details of the obnoxious order of things that it had been proposed to subvert. At this stage vague discontent or vague philanthropy does not furnish stout enough arguments against the alarmed adherents of a comfortable state of things (to themselves), who know what they want and only ask to be let alone. But then by degrees the sincere advocates of the reform strengthen one by one the weak points that have been so usefully pointed out to them; the sincere opponents once having had their minds turned to the subject, begin to see some of the true objections to their own system. The real sufferers from the existing state of things who have been silenced for a while begin to murmur again, and when the subject revives, it is found that the idea has a hundred advocates for one that it had when it first aroused opposition. Just such has been the history of parliamentary reform, and the most remarkable evidence of the extent of the feeling in its favour, is the fact that its opponents now address themselves almost entirely to pointing out the evils to be expected from universal suffrage, and concede as a matter of course an extension of the franchise, which a short time ago was pronounced utterly unnecessary.

We have but to glance at the events of the last forty years to see that everything at the present time conduces towards a general feeling in favour of political reform, and against mere conservatism as such. Thirty years ago an important measure was carried through, which was only an instalment of the reform that had long been thought necessary by the most enlightened politicians. This measure

succeeded perfectly so far as it went, its working was thought satisfactory by those who had most opposed it at first, and it only fell short of the wishes of those who at the time it was passed would have desired something more, although they thought it prudent to advance by tentative steps.

It thus far completely justified their judgment, and in doing so has prepared all impartial observers to advance further in the same direction. Moreover it has been found that from that time to this the boldest measures have proved the most successful. Great changes have been made in our social, our commercial, our financial, administrative and legal systems. All these have been found beneficial so far as they have gone. Those who resisted their introduction are now those who are best satisfied with their results, of which no one complains except those who do not think they go far enough, and who want still greater changes. It is generally felt, even by those who do not find their impressions on any conscious reasoning, that if the result of all this change is prosperity, that very prosperity can be no argument in favour of standing still in future. It is at the same time universally admitted that none of all these successful changes would have been carried through, had they not been preceded by some measure of political reform. To grant this, on the part of a Conservative or Whig, is in fact to concede the whole argument of the advocates of parliamentary reform; it is to subscribe to that great truth which the whole teaching of history brings out, and which happily has always found a place among the convictions of the English people, that political freedom is the only certain foundation of public prosperity or private happiness in civilized communities.

Each class in England, as it has, by the natural progress of civilization, in time advanced to a consciousness of its own condition, and a comparison between itself and others, has in turn demanded to be admitted to a share in the Government. Each in turn has been admitted, and the country has grown more powerful and the population more contented as the basis of freedom has gone down lower and spread out wider. Goethe relates in his autobiography, that, in his childhood his father wished to rebuild his house without taking it down. He began, therefore, at the top, and renewed it story by story till the whole was completed down to the foundations. If it is allowable to add one more to the many similes of which the British Constitution has been the subject, it may be compared to that house, and when those who inhabit it unite in an uneasy feeling that something must be done, it is quite time to get on with the building.

An additional indication, if one were needed, that we are really advancing towards democratic institutions, is the general disposition to look closely into the defects of government by universal suffrage. It is no longer regarded as a subject of abstract politics to be dismissed with phrases and generalizations, whether laudatory or depreciatory, but as one which

concerns ourselves, and to be carefully studied with a practical object. There remains still, it is true, a great disinclination to watch its working in other countries where it has already been tried, and this we cannot but think a remarkable refutation of the supposed practical tendency of the English mind. Whatever can be said against, if not all that can be said in favour of, universal suffrage, on *a priori* grounds, will probably have found a hearing in England before it has any chance of becoming the foundation of our political institutions. The fact that it exists in the only countries that rival us in power, wealth, and general prosperity, or the fact that these nations are, since its adoption, rapidly equalling, and in some points outstripping us in the advance we had gained during centuries of superior civilization and freedom, does not seem so sure to be taken into account in our speculations. Perhaps this is not to be regretted. In all human affairs the complication and the variety are so great that one case can scarcely ever be taken as an example for another, and what is commonly called the practical way of treating them is seldom anything but empiricism and quackery. To master the details of any one state of affairs, and to apply to it such first principles as have been maturely weighed, is as much as any one individual or one nation can fairly be expected to do. To collect statistical data and to deduce general laws from them is of the utter importance for the future, and is likely to give rise to a science of which we as yet can form but a faint conception. But it will be long before conclusions from such a science can be formed; longer still before they can be so tested that they may be accepted with confidence as a foundation for further reasoning. If, therefore, the English persist in arguing the whole question of the comparative merits of pure or qualified democracy from an entirely abstract point of view, and contemptuously refuse to test their theories by any comparison with the actual experience of their contemporaries, we must perhaps admit that they have intuitively come to a wise decision, although, as in many other cases of so-called intuition, the reasons generally given for it are astonishingly inadequate.

In all discussions on the probable effects, either of universal suffrage or of a very wide extension of the franchise, the point upon which most attention has been fixed is the danger of class-legislation; legislation, that is, in favour of the real or supposed class-interests of the most numerous class in the country. Great importance is attached to the danger that class-interests may overpower in the minds of the numerical majority of the nation the united interests of the nation as a whole, and even those of the most numerous class itself if considered, not in antagonism to some other class or classes, but with due regard to its share in the interests of humanity in general. It is argued against any thorough political representation of the whole people, that in the present state of England the population is divided by so sharply-defined a line between employers and employed that the

feelings and interests created by this distinction may be expected to surpass all others in force; while the division is so numerically unequal that, if political power is distributed according to numbers, one side will be able to oppress the other. The large and distant interests even of a ruling class can never be really served by stifling other classes whose existence is itself legitimate, and it would be a rash experiment voluntarily to risk the prosperity of the nation on the wisdom and justice of any one class within it, even leaving out of consideration whether that class is in itself the most competent for government. The attention of our popular writers and politicians having of late years been especially attracted to certain questions of political economy, they are very desirous that this knowledge of theirs should not be lost to the world, and they manifest an almost unanimous opinion—not altogether flattering to the strength of their own convictions—that it would be hopeless to get those to admit the force of their reasonings whose interests are not evidently served by them. On some of these questions the interests of the working classes are supposed to be at least apparently antagonistic to those of the employers, and it is presumed that the working classes are, and are likely to remain, too ignorant to know their own real interests, or to be capable of understanding the laws of supply and demand, or the importance of encouraging the accumulation of capital. We are, therefore, told above all things to beware of making any change in the representative institutions of this country which would have the effect of throwing an overwhelming balance of power into the hands of any portion of the people who can suppose themselves united in interest against any other portion.

In all this there is certainly much truth, supposing it to be impossible to obtain any system of election better fitted than the present to call forth what is best in individuals, and to develop that variety of character which is the most valuable, but has hitherto been the most neglected peculiarity of a democracy; and supposing also that a wide extension of the suffrage would not be more likely than anything else to bring about a wide extension of education. But when we consider how heavy are the penalties through which a nation often has to work off the consequences of its political mistakes, and what a depressing effect upon the whole civilized world is often produced by the temporary failure of great principles to work well in some conspicuous example, we must respect the prudence of such of the sincere friends of liberty as make use of these arguments. We must even acquiesce with them when they recommend to the public-spirited members of the disfranchised classes to abstain from claiming for themselves a share in the government until the whole question has been more thoroughly sifted. But we can only acquiesce in this on condition that the whole question is fairly stated, honestly argued, and not thrust aside in favour of the selfish or fantastic preferences of the minorities who now rule the country, and are chiefly

represented in parliament and the press. Nothing can be more injurious to the cause of effectual reform than the attempt by pressing forward a £6 franchise to stop all rational discussion, and win away from any more comprehensive scheme many who might be expected to be its most efficient advocates. By limiting the franchise to the occupants of houses paying £6 yearly rent, a certain class of politicians evidently hope to limit the numbers of the working classes who will be represented. Their real object appears to be, to include the whole middle class in the governing body, and to exclude, at the same time, as large a number of the working classes as is consistent with obtaining their primary object. In so far as the proposers of this plan believe that the £6 limit will, as a matter of fact, exclude the majority of the working classes, they are not open to the accusation of rashness. Yet they are, in reality, far more rash than many more thorough democrats, for they propose to push on in the direction of democracy, casting aside all consideration of what are the fundamental dangers of democratic institutions and of how these may best be modified and averted. To enlarge the franchise in any considerable degree without putting it on a sound basis capable of future extension, and without adapting the details of our electoral system to the new state of things, is very much like attempting to work railway trains on ordinary roads with such brakes as were sufficient for mail coaches. Our middle-class reformers and their place-loving coadjutors, whether among the Conservatives or Whigs, who now advocate a slight enlargement of the franchise on our present system, belong to that dangerous class of temporizing politicians who are most to be dreaded in any important crisis of a nation's affairs. It is they who, in opposition to more consistent absolutists, are ready to stir up the people to assert a principle the practical working of which they propose to check at the point where its effects might begin to be felt and therefore to be fairly judged. They want popular enthusiasm to go just so far that they may ride into office on the tide, and then they would command it to go no farther, because they will neither trouble themselves to consider nor dare make themselves responsible for the possible consequences of popular principles consistently carried out. It should be remembered that if only property, and that sort of intelligence which property usually secures, ought to have a voice in the government, the £10 limit is already low, and must become practically lower as prices rise. Those, therefore, who propose only to lower the present pecuniary test without introducing any new principle whatever, are fairly open to the taunts of those who would stand still altogether, for no valid reason can be given for going so far which would not justify going much farther.

It may well be doubted whether the dreaded omnipotence of the working classes would be more fatal to the future prosperity of the country than the continued preponderance in our

government of the idle and frivolous men whom our present system has a tendency to bring to the top, who, while their character and position generally preclude them from either knowing the wants or caring for the fate of the great mass of suffering humanity that constitutes their fellow-countrymen, are too prejudiced to look at any subject from a philosophical point of view, and too indolent to examine into any in all its bearings. Such men as these, who have constituted the majority of the House of Commons (and a still larger majority of the House of Lords), are utterly ignorant of the very grounds on which political science must be built. Too limited in their mental powers to grasp effectually even any ready-made theory, they also have not present to their observation the realities of human life. Shut up within those barriers of comfort and luxury by which our well-to-do classes screen off the real facts of life, possessed of that sort of education a glimpse of which occasionally astonishes us in the revelations of some competitive examination, their knowledge of the world is confined to one very limited class of one nation and of one period. If they do not care for the interests of any other, their best excuse is that they are not, properly speaking, aware of the existence of any other. Foreigners, or the working classes, are to them, like women, not exactly fellow-creatures, but a kind of animal whom they have never dreamt of considering as on a level with themselves, nor, therefore, as altogether human. Hence such monstrous anomalies as our Game Laws and marriage legislation, and the fatuous exhibitions of unconscious want of principle which often take place in the discussions of the House of Commons on foreign policy.

If one class must legislate for another, it is not the mere-gentleman class that should legislate for the workers, since neither by numbers nor utility have they so good a claim to be considered first; and if we want intelligence, the sort of intelligence that will teach men to avoid the evils to which the mass of mankind are most liable, is likely to be at least as well developed by having suffered from them as by having been guarded from them. Either experience will be one-sided and imperfect, but the blind eagerness for change created by the one may, in the long run, not be more injurious to human happiness than the selfish apathy maintained by the other. It is usual for admirers of things as they are in this country to appeal to results; to say—how rich, how powerful, how prosperous England has grown to be under the government of these mere gentlemen! Nothing could better show how limited is their knowledge of the world and of history than exactly this line of defence. The paternal despotism of Austria can point to the population of a large part of its dominions happier, more moral, more intelligent than any we can show in the most favoured districts of England, and we should seek in vain under its government for misery and demoralization greater than is to be found in our large cities. The democratic government of the free states of America has bestowed upon the people an amount of education

which makes them the most economically productive people in the world, and therefore must make them, even without other advantages, the richest. The mixed and incessantly changing government of France has not prevented that nation from being at least as powerful as our own. There is a general level to which nations, neighbouring or nearly related to one another, will attain, unless placed under extraordinarily disadvantageous circumstances, and what we are now is the result, not merely of the positive but also of the comparative position of our ancestors as much as of the system under which we live. We do not stand alone in the world, isolated in space and time; we are benefited by the progress of cotemporaries, we profit by the foresight of those who preceded us. In the complication of human affairs it is quite as necessary to test practical results by the principles from which they seem to be derived as it is to test the correctness of theory by experiment. We may go on prospering for a long time after we have deserted the principles to which we owe our prosperity, and the most beneficent inventions may take a long while before they can be got to work smoothly. In either case we must go as far back as we can to the principles on which we are acting to know whether we are right or wrong. There is no more an easy road to success in politics than in other things, and in whatever way we look at the matter we are driven back to the discussion of the great fundamental difficulties of the subject.

When we look closely into the theory that the government of the nation cannot be safely given to the whole nation because it will then be governed according to the interests or wishes of the majority, the first objection that strikes us is that the interest of the majority of the nation must surely be the interest of the nation itself. To secure that it shall really be so it is necessary that every precaution shall be taken to obtain the representation of a real, that is, under any given circumstances, the largest possible majority; and it is, among other reasons, because Mr. Hare's system of Personal Representation is calculated to effect, this, that we look upon it as essential to any complete scheme of parliamentary reform. The interests of a small majority are not necessarily more identical with those of the nation as a whole than are those of a large minority, and by our present radically vicious system of local representation even a majority in parliament may represent a minority of the people, and might do so still even with universal suffrage. The exclusion from a potential voice in the government, whether by accident or design, of some of the constituent parts that go to make up the nation, is itself a cause of artificial difficulties in balancing the remainder. It not merely reduces the number of electors represented, and may thereby cause individual injury to them, but it vitiates the quality of the representative body itself, and diminishes its power of understanding and weighing the wants of the whole people. It prevents the realization of the fundamental idea of representative government, exactly in proportion as

it prevents the representative body from being really the epitome of the nation, a reproduction or representation of it on a small scale, but on a scale in which the actual proportions of what is represented are accurately preserved. The efficiency of the method of representation is thus an important element in the decision of who should be represented. But when once the wishes of the largest possible proportion of the population are known, on what grounds can it be maintained that it will not be for their good to carry them out? We think that this question should be reasoned on purely abstract grounds, because it is the almost universal practice for our political reasoners to reply to it by citing some case in which it may be presumed (for it is not known) that the wishes of the many will be in opposition to the interests of the few, and then because the honest convictions of the reasoners are in favour of these latter, to consider the matter judged. Yet would not the fact that the great majority of a civilized people agree in desiring some particular measure afford in itself a strong presumption that that measure would be desirable for them? Let us take an extreme case, the dread of the possible occurrence of which is at the bottom of much of the horror of numerical majorities prevailing among our politicians. Let us suppose, for example, that the great mass of the English nation had arrived at the opinion that the present foundations of property are injurious to the welfare of the greater part of the community. We take it that this fact would be in itself strong evidence that there was something amiss in the laws of property as at present existing, and that some alterations in them (we do not say what) would be for the public good. It is not in itself at all improbable that the world may not yet have arrived at final truth and wisdom on such subjects, and it is very likely that the participation of a larger number of those who are interested in the result than have hitherto been heard in the settlement of them, might lead to the adoption of more equitable principles or more generally satisfactory compromises than have yet been hit upon. It cannot be said that there is any *a priori* absurdity in this view of the case, and the greater the number of people who are led by their own experience to adopt it, the more likely is it to have some foundation in fact.

We know it will be at once answered that any attempt to meddle with the laws of property would be, in the supremest degree, an instance of mischievous class-legislation. We shall be told that in such a case all who have property would be on one side and all who have none on the other, and that therefore (but we ask why *therefore*?) for those who have no property to legislate for their own interests instead of allowing those who have property to legislate for theirs, would be gross partiality, and utterly ruinous to the general interests. To this we reply, in the first place, that, so far as can be judged in the present state of things, it is not true that opinion would always follow external circumstances, for there are and always have been, in all times and countries, many rich people whose

sympathies are with the poor, and poor people who sympathize with the rich. But putting this aside, and supposing (what we do not suppose) that people would be guided in their judgment of institutions solely by their own experience of them, does it not appear that that which is condemned by the unanimous experience of the great majority is not likely to conduce to their happiness? Is it not by uneasiness in their present circumstances that people are led to seek for better, and if we eliminate the action of discontent from political life, do we not shut out the very means through which by the laws of human nature, if not of animal life, all amelioration is procured, either individual or social?

This consideration leads us to the great question, whether the average tendencies of human nature are towards degeneracy or progress. If towards the former, we have of course nothing to do but to accept with gratitude any teaching that has even a chance of having been revealed to us from superhuman powers, or to submit gladly to the dictation of any one who can show even a shadow of superiority to his fellow men. Pope Pius IX., and Mr. Carlyle, and the author of the "Life of Cæsar" are in the right, and proclaim merely the simple sober truth. But if human nature is so constituted that the general tendency of its working is towards improvement, then it appears likely that the more room is given for the general laws by which it is governed to come into play, and, perhaps, also the larger the averages that can be obtained, the quicker and surer will be the progress made. The great achievements of mechanical science are won by the application of natural forces to the objects we have in view, and the study of political economy, in itself the mere statement and classification of facts, has led to progress, by showing the tendencies of the natural laws through which only any specific objects can be obtained. It will evidently be a step in the same direction, if the institutions of the country make the selfishness of the majority instrumental to the general good, and the fact that democratic institutions do this is an argument in their favour, the importance of which will be felt in proportion as people are accustomed to look beyond accidental effects to the underlying causes that produce them. If there is any general law of progress affecting the human race as a whole, it must work through the operation of the general characteristics of humanity, of which selfishness, or the instinct of self-preservation, is one of the most conspicuous, and rational government ought to adapt as many as possible of such universal instincts to the purposes of society.

If we believe that the laws of human nature tend towards progress, or at least that mankind will do well to act on that hypothesis till they have exhausted every possible experiment that can establish its truth, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the voice of the majority will most effectually secure the main object of government—the comfort of the governed—if only because each individual knows best what he himself likes. It is most truly

remarked by Mr. Hare, that "neither science nor philanthropy can reach the depths of the knowledge painfully won in the daily life and experience of the man and woman." If the object of government is the happiness of the largest possible number of those governed, and if people generally know their own business best, it follows that the ends of government will be most effectually carried out where the largest number can be got to concur in it.

It may be answered that, although men may generally be relied on to know what they want, they do not generally know the best way to get it. This is very true; and one important consideration in regard to democratic government, is whether it is or is not better calculated than any other to procure a high level of education and intelligence for the whole people. It is to meet this difficulty of the possible incompetence of the majority of the people to obtain those ends, the desirableness of which they are competent to see, that plurality of votes for the most educated has been suggested, and even recommended by some politicians who, like Mr. Mill, see clearly the evils that must result from giving plural votes in proportion to property, and are altogether opposed to doing so. The objections to plural voting, regulated by an educational test, are in some degree the same that apply to all plural voting; they are, however, much less strong, because the distinctions created by it would not be inevitable and inalterable, but could be, at least partially, removed at will by effort on the part of any individual. It would not be inconsistent with the principles that have here been attempted to be indicated, to apply some such plan temporarily, along with an otherwise much enlarged franchise, until a higher general level of education than now exists can be attained.

But any argument drawn from the ignorance of the majority rebounds against the advocates of government by a minority. However ignorant the majority may be, they have still a better chance of getting what they want by trying to get it for themselves than by leaving the management of their affairs to those who want something else. If nations are by the nature of things divided into permanent and numerically unequal classes, whose interests are essentially antagonistic, it is in the highest degree important to the general good to deprive the classes that constitute the minority of any direct power to carry out measures for their own advantage. And if these classes are necessarily the most intelligent, they possess already by this fact a powerful weapon for carrying out their own exclusive objects which, if their objects are not likely to be the same as those of the community as a whole, ought to be guarded against and not strengthened.

Thus far we have gone, on the supposition that class feelings and interests are really antagonistic; and we have only endeavoured to show that if so the probabilities are in favour of the interests of the most numerous classes being in consonance with those of humanity

in general, if only because they are the most numerous. There are, however, many facts which point to the conclusion that class feelings are no essential part of human nature, but a merely accidental or transitory development of it, either the product of law or the remains of an imperfect civilization, useful temporarily as means of education for the human race, but not necessary in any well-adjusted society. Class feelings seem to be the instinctive means by which men strive to protect themselves in semi-civilized societies, just as at first sheer egotism, and afterwards family union, are the natural safeguards in still ruder states. From being exclusive to himself, man's sympathies widen out to wife, children, and relations, and then again to his class and his country, exactly as the struggle for existence becomes milder; so that sometimes, even in a highly civilized condition, they narrow again to himself under the pressure of extreme danger. It is not inconsistent with this view that religion has been found, even in very rude and early states, to enlarge men's sympathies towards all mankind, because it does so by fixing the mind chiefly on dangers shared with humanity in general, and reducing the comparative value in life of the things in which men are rivals. Nothing is more evident throughout all history than that class feelings, even when founded on broad natural differences, are amenable to the influence of law and other extraneous circumstances. It may be doubted whether any class feelings, even those most firmly rooted in natural facts, would ever long continue to prevail in a state of civilization if they were not fostered by legal distinctions. We find that those distinctions between men which are most fundamental, such as differences of race, age, or sex, tend to lose their influence with time when the effect of civilization has been to make but a small part of life dependent on them. There is no difference between men more marked than that of age, for there is none which more necessarily induces more different states of mind on a larger proportion of subjects. Accordingly, in the earlier stages of history, the whole state of society was influenced by it. The elder men made laws to help them to retain throughout life in their own hands the power which circumstances naturally gave them in the childhood of their rivals, and the *Patria Potestas* of Roman law, as well as the whole system of patriarchal authority, was founded upon it. Young men are now so completely emancipated that, especially in England, we have difficulty in recalling a state of things that existed so long, and now throughout the civilized world class feeling as between young and old has completely died away. The same tendency of class feelings to fade away when legal disabilities disappear is at work now, before our eyes, in America, as between black men and white. And in aristocratic communities we see the converse power of institutions to substitute artificial class feelings for natural ones, in the feeling among the men of the aristoc-

rary that women of their own class are nearer to an equality with themselves than men of the lower orders.

There has always been a tendency in law to perpetuate and often to enforce the combinations or unions which have grown up spontaneously between men in their efforts to ameliorate their condition. But no sooner however does law or society relax any forced bond than the infinite variety of human nature begins to show itself, and will make new combinations, which, if left perfectly free, will be incessantly changing their component parts. Whether it is the forces of nature or the temporary conditions of an imperfect civilization which have obliged men to cling closely together, to imitate one another, and to keep within the same limits—to form a class, in short—they are equally glad to be released from restraint, and to be able, under the protection of strong and impartial government, to develop their own individual peculiarities. There is one tendency in human nature which, even under the most adverse circumstances, is constantly at work against the permanence of all class or caste feeling, and urging men to enter into new forms of association. This is the disposition to weary of those things or persons with whose faults we are most intimately acquainted, and to look at the bright side of what is presented only to the imagination. When people crowd together either physically or morally, it is always the result of fear or hardship, unless it be of mere temporary excitement. Even the ties of relationship and family life get slack, as civilization and wealth ensure friends and safety outside the pale of the family. Thus within the family itself, the most voluntary tie—that of marriage—constantly rises in importance as compared to blood-relationship, and does so most in the most civilized societies. Even the comparative rarity in modern times, and absence from our own country of the ancient custom of voluntary adoption, is just one of those exceptions which prove the rule; it is just where the family is of least importance that men are most willing to let the family die out.

When we consider the immense variety of subjects included in politics, it does not seem likely that men would band together in classes unless induced to do so by privileges or disabilities in themselves political, for the occasions that would draw forth individual varieties of opinion, and accustom people to act in concert with those who differ from themselves in all except the immediate matter in hand, will naturally arise more often in political than in any other phase of life. It is from this point of view that the importance of Personal Representation appears most strikingly, and Mr. Hare has well said that:—

“The subject of Representation would be very inadequately conceived, if it were regarded as a mere question between majorities and minorities. The formation of electoral majorities and minorities is no more the natural means of arriving at political representation than it would be a natural result of any

other association that it should be divided into two parties, one perpetually labouring to counteract the wishes of the other. The order and the occupations of mankind—the distribution of population and the supply of its necessities, are all provided for by physical and moral laws operating on the diversities of nature and of character which are found amongst men. These differences preserve the harmony and the vitality of social life. In political sentiment there is not less variety than in the other motives of human conduct; and abstractedly it would be no more likely that the political opinions of the electors of a borough should fall into two or three antagonistic divisions than that they should be composed of twenty, fifty, or a hundred distinct views or conceptions. The dissimilarity would be much more probable than the similarity. Opinion and action in politics would be as various as opinion and action in other sciences, if there were not causes that enter into political bodies, and create a disturbed and unhealthy movement, provoking antagonistic divisions.”*

If all forms of compact and binding association between men are but the means through which they endeavour to obtain individual freedom by one another's help, and if the highest civilization tends to restore to men as much of the individual freedom of savage life as can be possibly made consistent with personal security and mutual help against the forces of nature, political institutions should not foster any unnecessary source of class combination. Such causes as exist in the nature of things should have no additional strength added to them by political classification, and the most perfect political organization will be that which deals with individuals, leaving to them the utmost possible freedom of voluntary aggregation and segregation. Otherwise, political institutions will have a tendency to stereotype accidental and passing forms of society, will intensify their peculiarities, and either check new forms of growth in their very beginnings, or compress them till they have attained a development so out of proportion to what surrounds them that they will burst forth at last with revolutionary violence. This is the great objection to plurality of votes. It must necessarily proceed upon some artificial classification. It must affix arbitrary value to certain qualifications, and as we have no absolute wisdom to guide us in doing so, the progress of time may falsify all our appreciations. It is not a self-acting system, progressing and expanding with time and circumstances, but must be continually readapted by violent and arbitrary changes. All change in the political value of men, all increase or diminution in the number of votes allotted to them, must be referred to the will and judgment of individual men at a particular time; it is in its nature arbitrary government, and we fear its result would be a stationary society. Undoubtedly, plural voting might be made a means of carrying out ideal justice; it might

* Hare on Representation, (3rd ed.) pp. xxix. xxx.

be used to redress natural inequalities, and the weak by means of it might be made as powerful as the strong. The different elements of human nature too might be elaborately balanced, might perhaps be usefully balanced if we could only be sure that we know what is absolutely desirable. We are far from saying that some such expedient might not prove useful in a highly elaborate state of society if all other experiments fail; and it should ultimately prove that class feelings are ineradicable, and class interests universal. But whatever tends to lessen the comparative value of the individual tends to increase his disposition to combine with those who have some point of resemblance with himself, and plural voting should be looked at with the utmost suspicion on account of its effect on the minds of those who are valued at the lowest point, aggravating the very evil of class feeling against which it is employed. If one man finds his vote of less value than another's, to obtain an object which he desires, he will naturally seek out other men, who agree with himself, to strengthen his vote; he will, to a certain degree, be dependent upon them; he will be induced to sacrifice to uniformity with them objects for which he cares little in order to get them to co-operate with him in things for which he cares much. Independence is likely to be in this way discouraged, a habit of coalition created; and people will cultivate class feelings in order to constitute a certain bond of union which can always be appealed to with confidence. But where every individual unit is of equal weight, men will combine one day with those who agree with them in one thing, and another day with those who agree with them in another. The least possible inducement will then be given them to sacrifice individual variety of opinion, or to check its divergence from any average level. That this has not hitherto been among the advantages secured by the nominal equality of universal suffrage in the countries where universal suffrage prevails, must be attributed to the faulty arrangements by which elections are managed, neither originating in, nor suitable to, democratic institutions or modern society.

Individual political liberty will be best secured by that system of representation which gives to every single vote the greatest comparative importance, and leaves the smallest possible residuum of rejected votes—that is, the smallest defeated minority. It is by carrying out the true principle of democracy and giving to every single individual an effective voice in government as an individual, and not as part of any section, majority or minority, that Mr. Hare has in his scheme of Personal Representation suggested the best safeguard, as we believe, against the danger of class-legislation. Although this method would be likely to act well on however small a scale it were applied, and to act in itself as a solvent to class-sympathies, and a stimulus to personal energy, still it is more peculiarly in a democratic state, where it would collect suffrages from a large average and be unimpeded by the passions

that political privileges invariably arouse, that Personal Representation must be expected to produce the most valuable results, and to prove an important step both in Representative and Democratic government. Political classes being abolished, permanent community of interests between individuals will be reduced to what, as an actual element in society, has a claim to be represented. The removal of the great mass of mistake, prejudice, and exaggerated dislike which accumulates round all privileges on the one hand, and disabilities on the other, would itself clear away the greater part of class feeling. The scope for the action of private opinion given by personal representation to those whose individual convictions are in opposition to their class-sympathies would neutralize another large portion. Legislation in the interest of those classes who have hitherto been neglected or oppressed would, by removing the causes for combination, prevent the growth of the class-sympathies to which combination gives rise. And what, after all this, remained of disposition towards class-legislation would be no more than coincidence in that self-assertion which is one of the very facts in human nature on which free institutions or self-government are founded. In order that this instinct of self-assertion should be guided by rational judgment towards the attainment of its objects, it may be, we think it is, desirable to institute an educational test for the possession of a vote. Government is the application of means to ends, and before a man takes part in it he ought to be able to show an average command of these means according to the level of the society to which he belongs; but every man, as he is himself, has a right to his own objects, and to use his own individual influence to induce his fellow men to let him have them in peace. Education and individual liberty appear the two safeguards of Democracy, and it is some collateral evidence that Democracy is the most perfect form of political society that it requires, to work well, what are also the requisites of all social progress.

The representation of minorities, in favour of which so strong a feeling has grown up of late years, is, in fact, an effort to obtain a more perfect representation of all, and therefore of the real majority. It would give a rough approximation to true representation, and is a transitional idea, valuable in itself, but still more valuable for having suggested and led up to that of personal representation. The representation of minorities ought not to be confounded, as it very often is, with government by a minority. The representation of minorities will give to each minority a share in the members of the representative, only proportional to its share in the electoral body, along with such influence as it may be able to obtain by the opportunity for statement and discussion of its opinions in the Legislative Assembly. Now to carry out this object thoroughly it is necessary to dissolve both the majority and all minorities into their constituent elements of individual voters, and to group these, solely according to political opinions, into unanimous groups of

electors, so small as to leave scarcely any variety of opinion outside the pale of one or other of them. If to this could be added some principle of classification or grouping which should leave each individual free to choose his own place, and at the same time free to change it at pleasure, we should seem to have come as near to an ideal of thorough and genuine representation as the present state of political thought makes it easy to imagine.

These are precisely the objects proposed by Mr. Hare in his treatise on the election of representatives, and his scheme completely reconciles the rights of minorities with those of majorities, those of individuals with those of society as a whole, not by sacrificing any, but by giving more to each than has ever yet been claimed for them. The publication of Mr. Hare's work must be looked upon as an epoch in political philosophy, for it is only since then that the possibility of an effectual separation for political purposes of the individual members of the community, from the classes or localities to which they accidentally belong, has been clearly put before the world. Nevertheless it is certain that the course of political discussion has for a long time past been tending to define the peculiar dangers of democratic progress which Mr. Hare alone has seen how to avert, and the wants which his scheme is calculated to supply.

It is a remarkable evidence how widely felt this want has been, and how generally this method is adapted to supply it, that Mr. Hare's idea has already attracted attention, and found advocates in Belgium, in Switzerland, in France, Germany and Holland, in the Free States of America, and in the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria. In the parliament of New South Wales a bill was introduced in 1862, for adapting the principle to the election of the Upper House. It was introduced by the then Ministry, whose resignation soon afterwards caused it to be dropped; but it gave rise to a discussion, and to a report of a Select Committee appointed to examine into it, which do the highest honour to colonial statesmanship and the representatives of a very enlarged suffrage. In the report occurs the following statement of the characteristics of the scheme:—

"The leading feature of the plan is the representation of *all* the electors, in the proportion of the numbers of their respective parties and sections, instead of the representation merely of the majorities prevailing in each local electorate, while leaving the defeated minorities wholly without representation. Under the usual system, if one interest or prejudice be prevalent in a majority of the electors in twenty constituencies, twenty members may be elected to represent those majorities, although the minorities may collectively amount to a number not far short of the successful majorities. A difference of one vote in each electorate might thus determine the fate of twenty elections, leaving thousands of electors, forming the minorities, without a single representative. This is doubtless an extreme supposition: but the merits of any system may be fairly illustrated by showing to what it tends when carried to its

utmost length. The system of Mr. Hare provides a remedy: but while it renders this injustice to minorities impossible, it equally maintains all the just rights of majorities. It establishes a true representation of the whole society, with its various interests and opinions represented in due proportion; and the manner in which this is effected, is, when fully explained and understood, extremely simple."

A still more remarkable evidence that this plan is not in advance of what we have a right to hope for in our present stage of progress is the coincidence of thought between Mr. Hare and Mr. Andr  . This latter having been commissioned, in 1855, by the Danish Government to draw up a scheme for the election of representatives for the Rigsraad, an assembly common to Denmark and Schleswig, recommended a plan very closely resembling that of Mr. Hare. It was adopted, and no difficulty was found in the working of it during the eight years that elapsed before the separation of the Duchies from Denmark.

The special characteristics of Mr. Hare's system may be defined as—1st, the liberty of the elector to choose whomsoever he will to represent him; and 2d, the fact that every representative represents an unanimous constituency. If we follow out the working of these two principles, we see that their first effect upon the elector will be to induce him to choose for himself, by giving him just hope that his vote will not be useless. An elector can never know, on this system, until after an election, whether there may not be, throughout the whole country, enough other electors, of like opinions with himself, to secure the return of the person he prefers, and therefore he has a motive to name the candidate who stands first in his own estimation, there being always room to hope that this one may prove successful. The dwellers in every borough, says Mr. Hare, are not bound together by any indissoluble bond:—

"They may be told to be, if they can, unanimous in the choice of a representative; but if an elector cannot agree with the majority on one side of a parish boundary, there would be no necessary breach of the order, or even of the courtesies of society, if he be permitted to unite himself with a number of his fellow-countrymen on the other side. He is not precluded from choosing his friends or associates beyond the limits of his own borough, and there does not seem to be any sound reason why he should not be allowed, with a like freedom, to seek elsewhere his fellow-constituents. If the legal obstacles in the way of this exercise of individual volition were removed, and the elector were enabled to add his vote to the votes of any other of his countrymen, agreeing with him in sympathy and opinion, and sufficient to form a constituency, it is obvious that, so far as representation is concerned, the question as to minorities would cease, for the minorities would be absorbed. An age which has achieved the freedom of commercial intercourse in spite of the pretensions of local protection and monopoly, may not unreasonably hope

* "Treatise on Representation," Appendix F, p. 308.

to find advocates for the free interchange and communication, as well of political action as of political thought, against the far less plausible and more insolent claims of dominant inhabitants of arbitrarily selected and privileged boroughs and districts to a monopoly of the great right of national representation."*

The freedom of the elector to name any person he chooses to represent him in parliament is, in fact, the mere evident complement of the franchise, and it is a curious example of how slowly ideas are developed that it should not have been long ago recognised as a necessary part of all free representative institutions.

The second provision, that every representative represents an unanimous constituency, is no less essential to thorough than the first is to genuine representation, and it provides as effectually for the due weight of the majority as the other does for the liberty of the individual. The balance between them is complete, and each follows from the other. The perfection with which these two parts of Mr. Hare's scheme work into and through each other, and the numbers of concurrent advantages flowing from them, are among the surest indications that they are the true solution of the political problem which has occupied so many minds. The simplicity of these two ideas is so great and their harmony with the first principles of free representative government is so evident, that when once the mind has grasped them it has difficulty in realizing the fact that it can ever have dispensed with them. This method has, indeed, the essential characteristics of scientific progress; it seems to have been arrived at by the following out of principles step by step, and when once hit upon, it is confirmed by a mass both of negative and positive evidence, ramifying in many directions. It is at the same time so clear and simple, that even when pointed out, many people miss it by looking for something which shall seem more novel and elaborate.

To decide how many members we wish to have in our House of Commons, to divide the population of the country by this number, to leave every individual elector free to name any man he will as his choice, and then to send to parliament every man who has been named by the necessary number of electors, is, in a few words, the plan Mr. Hare proposes.

This being the object, the means of attaining it are open to discussion, and can scarcely fail to be perfected with time. Mr. Hare himself has worked out the details of a scheme for carrying out his plan, and, as might be expected, the consequence is that he has been reproached with extreme elaboration, and those who have found difficulty in following out the steps of the operation, have confused the details with the plan itself. Had he only proposed the object and left the details to others, he would have been reproached with the imperfect and immature state of the scheme, and told to show how such a plan could ever be carried into practice. As he has himself remarked—

"In what is proposed there is much less complexity than is daily encountered and overcome by the purest mechanical arrangements in the clearing-house of the London Bankers, or in the General Post Office. In conveying to the mind, in the shape of a written narrative, the process of operation, every sort of machinery has an appearance of complexity. This would be immediately felt by any one who should endeavour, in words, to explain to another, who had not seen it, the operation of Jacquard's loom, or of the steam engine."—pp. 158, 159.

It may indeed be cited as a humorous example of practical paradox, that any English lawyer should declare the difficulty of understanding Mr. Hare's system a reason why it could not work well.

Some inventions begin to be put into practice in a rough form, and get elaborated by degrees, little by little. These are often the most elaborate at last, but people have grown up accustomed to them, and find no difficulty in understanding what they find no difficulty in doing, but what they would mostly find it impossible to explain in words. There are few people who could tell us the history of a loaf of bread, beginning with a geological theory of the formation of the soil, and ending with the rules and customs of the baker's trade, yet we get our bread for all that. Each person concerned knows enough to fulfil his own part in the process, and is urged to do so by the same simple motives we have advocated as motive-power in politics; while many different pursuits—chemistry, political economy, philanthropy—help to suggest some new improvements, and combine to make the whole thing more elaborately incomprehensible and more conveniently good and cheap. Other inventions (and it is the tendency of civilization to multiply the proportion of these latter) are brought to a high degree of perfection by their first inventors. Although they are thus calculated to be more useful at once, yet this very fact raises a repugnance against them in a large class of minds, such as are either indolent or naturally indisposed to the organization of details. In this case it is sufficient to recommend the principle itself to all candid persons. If it be once admitted that the object is desirable, let the method be tried on a small scale, and let every one be urged to take it into consideration, and to contribute his mite towards the object to be achieved.

ART. II.—RATIONALISM IN EUROPE.

History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. By W. E. H. LEOKY, M.A. In two volumes. London: Longmans. 1865.

For eighteen hundred years civilization in its ebb and flow has exhibited the working of a principle, which under certain conditions substitutes a spirit of unselfish tenderness for the

* Hare on Representation, pp. 21, 22, 3rd ed.

hard and cold ideals of Greek and Roman polity. With whatever success, the society which professes to embody this principle has striven to teach men that the self-dependent magnanimity of Aristotelian ethics is a mere dream, and that its realization would fill the earth with tyrants. It has obliterated generally the cruel distinction which Athenian philosophy drew between natural freemen and natural slaves. By its beneficent influence slavery, in Europe at least, has given place to serfdom, and serfdom has been gradually merged in liberty. It has taught men that their mutual relations have no meaning and no force except as based on an eternal and inalienable relation of all mankind to a Father whose justice cannot be wearied with iniquity, and whose love is not to be conquered by ingratitude. It has striven to throw down many barriers which ignorance, superstition, and mistrust have interposed between man and his Maker; to teach them that the empire of an all-righteous God cannot be shared with apostate spirits or malignant demons; to transfer to the oppressed and suffering the sympathy which had been reserved for heroes and philosophers; to show them that in the sight of Him with whom we have to do, there is no distinction of Greek, Roman, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free. In this slowly-working heaven of Christianity we discern a living spirit, for which we look in vain in the dreamy *Theoria* of Aristotle, or the ideal polity of Plato. We see it in the vehement conviction of Saul of Tarsus, that the final issue of the great conflict will be the victory of Truth and Love, a victory by which the last enemy of man shall be destroyed, and God shall be all in all. We trace it in the art of the Catacombs, which refused to delineate not only the sufferings of martyrs, but even the passion of Christ; which, instead of exhibiting the terrors of the Day of Judgment, displayed in its merciful and loving emblems a hope and a forgiveness alike pathetic and sublime.

Yet even in this dawn of brilliant promise there were ominous signs of coming storms. The strong conviction of impending doom presented fatal hindrances to the development of a civilization which might be stigmatized as secular and carnal. The obstinate assurance that Christians were already in possession of all truth was an evil augury for the free exercise of human thought. In the firm belief that without the Church there was no salvation, lay the guarantee that they who now submitted eagerly to tortures and to death, would, if they rose to power, inflict in their turn tortures and death on others. The hour of triumph was not long delayed; and from the first moment of victory the dominant church began to furnish the materials for a great indictment, which in the sacred interests of truth must be plainly and unequivocally drawn. If the several counts exhibit a catalogue of crimes almost incredible from their very magnitude, we must for the present beg the reader to remember that the charges are urged not by ourselves, but by Mr. Lecky. We have simply compressed into a few pages the

grounds of accusation which he has exhibited in a minute and elaborate analysis. If his facts may be trusted (and his opponents, probably, will rather evade than meet them), the following sketch may give some idea of the working of a society, which, from the day of its establishment as the Imperial Church, has been struggling to obtain dominion over the bodies as well as over the souls of men. During the ages which have since passed away, it has won great victories and undergone some humiliations. On the nations which have been brought within its reach, its influence has been in part beneficent and in part disastrous. By its own profession, it has laboured for peace; but its words have commonly been the signal for battles, not altogether befitting the Bride of the Lamb. It has proclaimed its mission of rescuing mankind from unrighteousness and sin; and beyond all doubt it has wrought a work which, with those who accept the yoke, passes for the regeneration of mankind, and from all who look on it with the temper of impartial judges calls for patient and serious thought. With startling vehemence or cold formality, it has announced the impending destruction of the world, has declared that human life is a feverish dream, has anathematized all who treat it as a sober reality. Sometimes it may have modified the haughtiness of its tone; but, on the whole, it has proclaimed, with praiseworthy consistency, the utter blindness, misery, and degradation of mankind. It has taught men that they are living in an accursed world, which has brought forth thorns and briars from the moment of the great aboriginal catastrophe. Denouncing the reasoning faculty as the very source and root of all evil, it has insisted on absolute submission to the Church, in which alone there is safety for the soul. On this basis of authority it has been no hard task to raise the superstructure of traditional theology. The human mind could never by searching find out God: it could conceive no limit to his power: it could not presume to define his morality. There was nothing, therefore, for man to do but to accept the teaching of the society through which alone He had been pleased to impart the knowledge of Himself.

The claim was unqualified; but there was not much reluctance in admitting it. The appeal was made to feelings which in the infancy of mankind were all-powerful, and which, even under the highest civilization of Athens and Rome, had never died away. The worshipper of Zeus and Mithras believed not less heartily than did the Christian apostles in the commingling of things visible and invisible, and in the action of spiritual agencies, not only on the human mind, but on the inert matter of the universe. As in the old Hellenic creed *Athéné* spake face to face with *Achilleus*, and *Aphrodité* lured on *Paris* to his ruin, so in the belief of the Christian disciples the angels were descending continually from heaven upon the children of men. The sun might know his going down, the stars might seem to rise and set in fixed order, but the functions of all created things were subject to

arbitrary interference at the will of beings who sought either the welfare or the misery of man. Thus far the spirit of the new belief was congenial with the temper of the Paganism which it sought to vanquish. It only remained to turn the old heathen faith into the channel of Iranian dualism, to tell them that the world was a battle-field in which the souls of men were a prize for the contending powers of good and evil. Henceforth the Christian moved amidst crowds of invisible warriors. His impure and carnal thoughts were blasts from the abode of rebellious devils; his heavenward aspirations were breathings of immaculate angels who stand before the throne of God. The end of all things earthly was not far off; but whether the number of the elect should be fulfilled in one generation or in more, the moment of death was to each man the end of the brief and fearful struggle. The earth was not his home; its business was for him full of snares and delusions; he had nothing to do with its interests and its wants. The impressions of his senses were not to be trusted: his passions were to be crushed, his appetites utterly mortified; and if the work was not done before he came to die, he fell for ever into an abyss of endless and irremediable woe.

The enthusiasm of a faith thus fighting hand to hand with a world which lay in wickedness imparted an irresistible weight to the Christian phalanx. The gods of heathenism were hurled from their thrones; but they become no mere nonentities. In the city and in the desert they exhibited to the Christian warrior their true character of malignant demons, and exercised over the unwary or the depraved a power even more tremendous than that which they had wielded of old time. With this victory of Christianity over Paganism began the real action of the Church upon the world. The true soldier of Christ was dead to its corrupt society; but he was not left alone as he fought the good fight of faith in his march through the weary wilderness. Surrounded by wonders in his own day, he had also inherited vast stores of supernatural wealth. For him the sun and moon had stood still in the heavens; for him an ark had moved upon the waters which destroyed all flesh that had not sought the saving shelter; for him dumb beasts had spoken in human language, the iron axe had floated on the stream, the dead bones had sprung to life on the touch of a prophet's body. What, then, to him were the rise and fall, the progress and decay of empires? what for him the calculations of statesmen, or the welfare and rights of citizens? But although these were in themselves as nothing, reasons of most constraining power impelled the new society to grasp at temporal dominion. It had to do battle with the world, the flesh, and the devil; and it became a blessed work to wield the secular sword on behalf of the Lamb of God. Its influence was soon felt. Henceforth the functions of government were construed more and more into obligations to maintain the truth, and to punish not only crime, but sin. The Catholic belief had got the upper hand;

and the instincts of humanity, or, as the phrase ran, the corrupt longings of the unregenerate heart, met with little indulgence in the unequal warfare. The weak barriers presented by natural affection were breached or stormed in rapid succession; and a gross darkness fell upon the nations for many a weary age. The stoutest hearts were cowed into abject submission, or took a desperate delight in making earth a hell. In the utter enervation and thralldom of mind and body, there was nothing else worth living for. If men multiplied on the earth, they did so only by yielding to a brutal necessity. The true relation of man and woman was that of deadly antagonism. To the fervent Christian woman was, in the belief of Chrysostom, "a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic peril, a deadly fascination, and a painted ill." For the relations of parents to their children there was reserved a still more potent curse. All men at the instant of death passed to a state of endless bliss or never-ending torment: and hell was the doom not only of the wilfully impenitent, but of all who had died without baptism. For the heathen of mature years, who had led a decent life, some evasive theory might perhaps open the gates of heaven or of a colourless and monotonous limbo. For the infant dying unbaptized there was no such hope. The mother, to whom the premature death of her child must bring a biting agony even in the kindest age, was assured "that not only men who have obtained the use of their reason, but also little children who have begun to live in their mother's womb and have there died, or who, having been just born, have passed away from the world without the sacrament of holy baptism, administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, must be punished by the eternal torture of undying fire." Life was indeed a dismal mockery. St. Mary of Egypt, after years of debauchery, received the reward of her macerations in heaven—the babe unborn and the infant of a span long crawled upon the floor of hell. The Church, like Atë in the old myth, had done her work effectually. The poison had spread through the veins of humanity, and (in Lucretian phrase) the taint of religion had passed on the world of sense and the world of thought. If the Greek of the Homeric age looked on every man as his foe until a special compact made him his friend, so to the Christian his father, his wife, his child, were less than nothing, if lack of faith or perversity of belief placed a gulf between them. The priests had sown the seeds of terror; the crop came up in a frightful indifference to human suffering, and ran to waste in an exquisite delight at the infliction of ingenious and artistic tortures. Why indeed should they feel compunction? Why listen to the foolish dictates of a carnal mercy? The sinner, and more especially the heretic, as the worst of sinners, walked on the very verge of hell. All things might be done to snatch the brand from the burning. The mortal body might be thrust into the flame to save the undying soul; and if a slow fire added to the bitterness of death, so much the better, whether as a means of bringing the victim to

repentance, or as a foretaste of the mightier pains of hell.

Mere human instinct might kick against the pricks for a little while. In spite of all corrupting influences, in spite of the logic which followed to its extremest conclusions a theology astoundingly iniquitous, the shedding of blood for heresy still remained distasteful to the writer, who, as Mr. Lecky has remarked, "was destined to consolidate the whole system of persecution, to furnish the arguments of all its later defenders, and to give to it the sanction of a name that long silenced every pleading of mercy, and became the glory and watchword of every persecutor." But while Mr. Lecky is fully justified in maintaining that on Augustine, "more than on any other theologian, more, perhaps, even than on Dominic and Innocent, rests the responsibility of this fearful curse," he has, we think, been tempted by the richness of Augustine's imagery and the superfluous wealth of illustrations not seldom fallacious, to present in too flattering colours his portrait of this great offender against the well-being of mankind:—

"A sensualist and a Manichæan, a philosopher and a theologian, a saint of the most tender and exquisite piety, and a supporter of atrocious persecution, the life of this father exhibits a strange instance of the combination of the most discordant agencies to the development of a single mind, and of the influence of that mind over the most conflicting interests. Neither the unbridled passions of his youth, nor the extravagances of the heresy he so long maintained, could cloud the splendour of his majestic intellect, which was even then sweeping over the whole field of knowledge, and acquiring in the most unpropitious spheres new elements of strength. In the arms of the frail beauties of Carthage, he learnt to touch the chords of passion with consummate skill; and the subtleties of Persian metaphysics, the awful problems of the origin of evil, and of the essence of the soul, which he vainly sought to fathom, gave him a sense of the darkness around us, that coloured every portion of his teaching. The weight and compass of his genius, his knowledge both of men and of books, a certain aroma of sanctity that imparted an almost inexpressible charm to all his later writings, and a certain impetuosity of character that overbore every obstacle, soon made him the master intellect of the Church. Others may have had a larger share in the construction of her formularies; no one, since the days of the Apostles, infused into her a larger measure of his spirit. He made it his mission to map out her theology with inflexible precision, to develop its principles to their full consequences, and to co-ordinate its various parts into one authoritative and symmetrical whole. Impatient of doubt, he shrunk from no conclusion, however unpalatable; he seemed to exult in trampling human instincts in the dust, and in accustoming men to accept submissively the most revolting tenets. He was the most staunch and enthusiastic defender of all those doctrines that grow out of the habits of mind that lead to persecution. No one else had developed so fully the material character of the torments of hell, no one else had plunged so deeply into the speculations of predestinarianism, very few had dwelt so emphatically on the damnation of the unbaptized. For a time he shrunk from, and even condemned persecution; but he soon perceived in it the necessary consequences of his principles. He recanted his condemnation; he flung his whole

genius into the cause; he recurred to it again and again, and he became the framer and the representative of the theology of intolerance."—Vol. II., p. 23.

The world has heard much of the intellect of Augustine, because he used it chiefly to extend the power of a system which even without him was fast acquiring predominance: it has heard little of the intellect of others whose instinctive truthfulness led them to question statements regarded by Catholics as fundamental, and whose difficulties were at least as great as any that beset the path of Augustine. A really dispassionate critic might find reason to modify, if not to reverse, the verdict, after a close comparison of the Augustinian reasoning with that of Pelagius, Cassian, Julianus of Eclana, and others, who for saying that man is not wholly bad and God not wholly unjust, have been flung aside by the church as mere refuse. But Mr. Lecky himself has dealt roughly with the lingering humanity of Augustine. If that great ecclesiastical saint shrank from shedding the blood of heretics, he did not hesitate, with Catholics and Donatists alike, to praise enactments enjoining the sentence of death on all "who celebrated the rites of the religion which had a few centuries before been universal in the empire."—ii. 26.

But Augustine was concerned not with the welfare of men, but in building up the City of God. His tender and exquisite piety never turned his thoughts to the fortunes of the women whose hearts he had wounded, or of the men whom he had seduced into grievous error. The Manichæan philosophy he had thrust aside, because, professing to start with demonstration, it went on to propound fanciful and absurd theories about the Divine nature and the government of the world; and he had felt a sensible relief in embracing a system which, bidding him receive absurdities not less extravagant as matters of faith and not of evidence, insisted formally on the duty of credulity. In this new atmosphere he had learnt to make short work of human ethics. The lies with which the Israelites cheated the Egyptians were acts of piety, the omission of which would have been sinful. They were commanded by God, who likewise commanded Samson to destroy himself; and in all such cases "who shall criminate obedience? who accuse the service of piety?"* If the holy books seemed here and there "to teach something unsound,"† the drawing aside of the mystical veil would display the beauty hidden beneath the ghastly covering. In his new school he had discovered that there was no wrong in sending away the mother of his son, because he had promised to marry another woman.‡ The

* We confine ourselves to passages quoted by Dr. Pusey in support of a statement in the "Confessions," that God may at certain times command the performance of acts which he has forbidden at others.—*Confessions of Augustine* (Library of the Fathers), p. 41.

† "Confessions," vi. 4.

‡ The sequel of the story, as given by himself, heightens the cold-blooded cruelty of the whole

philosophy which had taught him that Moses was right in lying to Pharaoh, and Samson right in destroying himself, had shown him also that the leaves of the New Testament furnished an excellent substitute for those of the Sibyl. The strong man was hopelessly fettered; he had abandoned himself to the belief that the Divine mercy could not be exercised beyond the pale of the Catholic Church, and he could not resist its logical sequence of a predetermination of human destiny irrespectively of the human will. This doctrine, Mr. Lecky remarks, "Augustine illustrated by the case of a mother who had two infants. Each of these is but 'a lump of perdition;' neither has ever performed a moral act. The mother over-rides one, and it perishes unbaptized; the other is baptized, and is saved." It is but fair to add that Augustine was singularly rich in illustrations pointing this consolatory moral, and that he postponed his own baptism to lessen the heinousness of sins which he might commit before the reception of that sacrament.

The lot of Augustine had fallen on palmy days. The church was singing its hymn of victory over the prostrate gods of heathenism; but if it was a comfort still to know that the executioner's sword was ready to smite the remnant of their besotted worshippers, we may well understand how keen a satisfaction in seasons of persecution might be derived from the thought of those undying flames which should soon engulf the persecutor. At such times we can scarcely wonder that Christians should fasten on the idea that the bliss of heaven received its keenest relish from the sight of the agonizing torments of the damned. With a subtle and concentrated malice, for which persecution inflicted on himself furnished the only palliation, Tertullian chuckled at the coming contrast when he should feast his eyes on his enemies in Hades, while he himself reposed in Abraham's bosom. "How shall I wonder? How shall I laugh? How shall I rejoice? How shall I triumph when I behold so many and such illustrious kings, who were said to have mounted into heaven, groaning with Jupiter their God in the lowest darkness of hell. Then shall the tragedians pour forth in their own misfortune more piteous cries than those with which they had made the theatre to resound, while the comedian's powers shall be better seen as his limbs become more flexible by the heat. Compared with such spectacles, with such subjects of triumph as these, what can prætor or consul, quæstor or pontiff afford? and even now faith can bring them near, imagination can depict them as present."

When, some centuries later, Christian priests sat in the seat of kings and wielded more than regal power, the orthodox instincts of Tertullian and Augustine demanded their legitimate satisfaction. Then came a time during which the sun was blotted out of heaven, and the unclean fungus of superstition spawned everywhere under the baneful atmosphere of relig-

transaction; and even to the last, while he deplores the sin of incontinence, the thought of his real duty seems never to have crossed his mind.

ious terror. All rare or unusual phenomena, comets and eclipses, famine and pestilence, storms and wars, were judgments inflicted by an angry God, or plagues wrought by devils, or by human beings acting in league with devils. The flood-gates were now opened, and the foul stream of cold-blooded and calm malignity could overspread the earth unchecked. If the heretic could sin against God and the Church by calling into question the utter depravity of man or the justice of endless punishment, the sorcerer and the witch might pollute the world with their enchantments, and kill the bodies while they imperilled the souls of the righteous. The contagion spread through every class of society. Philosophers who could speak soberly on other subjects, judges who could be impartial in dealing with ordinary crimes, swallowed with unhesitating credulity the most grotesque and sickening tales of the intercourse of men and women with incubi and succubi. How indeed could they dare to doubt facts to which the infallible Church had set its seal, and for which there was a mass of evidence more overwhelming in its weight and worth than any that could be brought forward for the commonest accidents of life? If the facts of witchcraft were not certain nothing was certain. The Levitical law, which was the absolute utterance of God, had given vivid pictures of witches, and enjoined the infliction of death on all without exception. No punishment could be too great for such blasphemous exercise of spiritual powers. The horrible orgies of the witches' Sabbath, the mad excitement of nocturnal journeys through the air, could not be atoned by the slow torture of a half smothered fire, the faint foretaste of a fiercer flame which should never be put out. To strangle the poor wretch before the burning was in itself an outrage against the majesty of Divine justice; and fathers and mothers could look on with dry eyes while young girls and aged crones, who had sprung half-burnt from the fires, were forced back into the smouldering pile. Orthodox cruelty could scarcely go farther. The heretic might die with some faint comfort from the thought that he had done battle for the truth, and that after ages might hold his name in honour. For the wizard or the witch there was nothing but the blackness of darkness here, and tortures unimaginably awful hereafter. With minds weakened and maddened by the traditional theology, they believed themselves to be what their judges represented them; and, smitten down by the execrations of their fellow men, sank into the flames, raving in a hideous despair, and cursing the Christian's faith, the Christian's practice, and the Christian's God.

Such in Catholic lands, and in those which called themselves Protestant, was the working of dogmatic Christianity; and as being its genuine work, it was wrought without compunction and without shame. Judges boasted of the thousands whom they had slain, and avowed a keen appetite for slaying more. But these things could not be done without method; and the bloody code of Christendom was accordingly based on an elaborate philosophy, which

embraced all social life and defined the functions of civil government. The magistrate was set in his place not for the protection of person and property, but to uphold and advance Christian truth. It was his office to pry into secret chambers and regulate the private life of the citizens, because his duty bound him to the "maintenance of true religion and virtue." The idea of justice gave way before that of vengeance, and punishment, even for the most trivial offences, assumed the form of retaliation. The God who ruled in Heaven was a God of vengeance, who tortured the new-born babe and transmitted the guilt of fathers to their children. If a few might be favoured by a gleam of mercy, His anger rose at the slightest provocation. Causes purely spiritual produced physical effects. Priests of unholy lives infected with St. Vitus's dance the children whom they baptized; and the reception of a sacrament in a wrong frame of mind called down sore judgments of disease, madness, or death. Nay, the very benefits which Catholic Christianity seemed to confer upon mankind, turned, slowly perhaps, but surely, into poison. The slavery of the heathen world had deprived labour of its due honours; the monk strove earnestly, and with some success, to restore the balance. But the toil which he enforced was a toil of mortification. It was right that men should eat bread by the sweat of their brow; it was wrong that their labour should yield them profit, that their profits should create new wants, should lead to appliances of decency, comfort, or luxury—should bring about a traffic between nation and nation—should render wars less frequent, in the end perhaps impossible—should realize, in a sense which was not orthodox, the brotherhood of mankind. Nothing less than a negation of the whole faith was involved in a development which led to usury, which made men lukewarm in the suppression of vice and heresy and tempted them to doubt the reality of witchcraft, which placed secular on a level with (if not above) theological interests, which regarded the education of mankind as little more than begun, which looked forward to mighty physical results through an indefinite vista of progress, while the Church proclaimed that the friendship of the world was enmity with God, and that each generation was the last time.

If from this picture of a deadly conspiracy against the welfare and happiness of mankind, we turn to the spirit already dominant in some countries of Europe, and gradually gaining strength in all, we see nothing but a contemptuous disregard or an open defiance of every principle which has marked the career of the Catholic Church. Where this spirit has gained full sway, the belief in angelic or diabolical agency has died out. Famines are no longer traced to divine interposition; diseases and thunderstorms are no longer ascribed to the charms and spells of witches and sorcerers. The whole fabric of modern civilization has risen on the basis of an inductive philosophy, which receives no evidence but that of fact, and owns no authority but that which is derived from experience. The new method has

unfolded wonder after wonder. Marvellous discoveries, before which the mightiest miracles of the old faith dwindle into insignificance, have enormously extended the empire of man, and promise to extend it still more; but each discovery has at the same time established on a surer footing the dominion of law. Wherever science has found its way, in all the phenomena which it has recorded or analysed, the evidence of an unfailing and unbroken order has been accumulated with astonishing rapidity. Gradually, but steadily, the region of miracle has been circumscribed. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini sought vainly in Scotland for the Barnacle Goose; and the sober defenders of authoritative belief now content themselves for the most part with maintaining the truth of Biblical miracles only, and maintain these chiefly or wholly on the ground that in their general character they are more seemly and solemn and more calculated to confirm a wavering faith, than the marvels of ecclesiastical history. While this repugnance to any idea of arbitrary interference with the order of the natural world has been gaining strength, the laws of evidence have been anxiously scrutinized; and belief is accorded, suspended, or withheld, according to the measure in which alleged historical narratives meet the tests which must be applied to all. Narratives palpably contradictory are set aside at once. Inconsistencies and absurdities in one book are treated like inconsistencies or absurdities in another; and the mythology of the Jews is handled like that of Greeks, Romans, or Hindoos. The history of Christianity has not failed to impart further wisdom. In faint tones, perhaps, or with faltering accents, the voice of human instinct has made itself heard, even in ages of the darkest superstition. If Tertullian made merry over the grotesque postures of emperors in hell fire, Origen could maintain that the Divine Being must be able to heal every creature that He has made. If Augustine could consider it an article of faith to affirm the ceaseless torturing of infants, Pelagius could reply that God cannot punish the innocent for the guilty, and that guilt can never be transmitted. The interminable tomes of the schoolmen showed at least that even within the limits of orthodoxy there might be vast differences of belief, and bitter conflicts of theory. The philosophy of Abelard, or Scotus Erigena, might not produce conviction, but it served to attest the sinlessness of honest error. With this conclusion the fabric of authority, as such, fell to the ground. If any portion of Christian dogma was henceforth to be received, it must be received only by the consent of the mind which has tested its truth. If any one dogma was rejected as false, if any one narrative in an alleged infallible book was shown to be impossible or absurd, the doubt must extend to all dogmas and all narratives without exception. Theologians might be left to discuss the principles on which God would punish sinners hereafter; it was quite certain that earthly legislators had nothing to do with the chastisement of sin as sin. The limits of government were more and more strictly defined. The idea of retaliation was

in increasing measure rejected from the theory of punishment, and punishment itself was inflicted almost as much for the benefit of the offender as for the protection of society. The accumulation of wealth created highly-complicated interests, and exploded fallacy after fallacy, which had ruined kingdoms and plunged whole nations into barbarism, but on which the Church in every age had bestowed her enthusiastic approbation. The progress of commerce depended wholly on the recognition of self-interest as the motive of action, and made it simply impossible to hate the world or the things of the world. The Catholic Church, when wearied with the work of slaughtering Saracens in Palestine, or heretics in Provence, could proclaim a truce of God and suspend for a moment the feuds of quarrelsome princes. It was reserved for the spirit of traffic to link nations together by ties which cannot be snapped without causing wide-spread ruin. The teaching of the Church has deluged the earth with blood; the working of trade has made wars more costly and warfare less savage, while it promises to substitute the doctrine of a brotherhood of nations in place of that so-called charity which is confined chiefly to the household of faith, and at best seeks only to heal wounds when it might have destroyed the weapons which inflicted them. It has shown men how they may in the end come even to love one another, and made them slow to believe that the Divine Mind can take pleasure in inflicting tortures from which the human mind turns away with utter loathing. It has striven to smoothe the path of life, to lessen the wretchedness of poverty, and is content to look forward cheerfully to another state, where even theologians and ecclesiastics may learn not to hate those whom they have anathematized and tormented here.

It is impossible to exaggerate the antagonism of these two systems, which exhibit the old Iranian dualism with the parts of the actors inverted. Science, commerce, and civil legislation are ranged on the side of Ormuzd, while the traditional Christianity strives as zealously to debase and impoverish mankind as if it were fighting under the banner of Ahriman. Whatever uncertainty may hang over other points, this at least is clear, that if the latter could have full sway, it would promote the interests of man in a future state at the cost of all that makes life valuable in the present. To the inductive method of philosophy all dogmatic Christians, as such, must feel in secret the bitter antagonism which a few like Dr. Newman are not ashamed to avow openly. The acceptance of facts without regard to consequences must be fatal to a system which rests, not on conclusions drawn from experience, but on an authority which is perpetually clashing with experience. The two cannot permanently exist together. The observation of facts may lead to the formation of a system of ethics; but the very rise of this moral philosophy marks the decay and ensures the fall of dogmatic religions. Morality must be based on dogmas, or dogmas must derive all their sanction from morality. In the latter case they stand obvi-

ously in a secondary position, and the spell of their authority is broken. The even harmony of ethical science rebukes the shifting discords of theology. The one admits of no exceptions, the other strives to pass off a piece of wretched patchwork as the seamless robe of truth. The war between sacerdotal authority and rationalism is internecine.

Of this mighty struggle all must be conscious, and few impartial judges will care to deny that the balance inclines to the side of the Rationalists. The names given to the opposing forces may not be altogether clear and definite; but for all practical purposes the adherents of every school of dogmatic Christianity may be ranged together as Sacerdotalists, while they who refuse to accept any doctrine on the mere ground of authority are Rationalists in heart, if not in profession. The question of a sacramental or a non-sacramental religion is manifestly secondary. The fiercest opponents of ecclesiastical authority will in the long run take shelter behind its bulwarks, so long as they enforce on others a single precept on the ground that so it is written. When Martin Luther insulted humanity by his blasphemous nonsense about free-will, he made his appeal to the page of an infallible book, as Belarmine appealed to the teaching of an infallible Church. His monstrous proposition that the manifest iniquity of God was the true ground of Christian faith, was itself the evidence that he would have cast aside that faith with indignation, if he could but have freed himself from the shackles of authority. When Wesley said that they who abandon belief in witchcraft are in fact abandoning their belief in the Bible, he was speaking with a prophetic foresight with which all adherents of traditional Christianity sympathize in heart, and which they would justify openly if they dared. To them as well as to him the gradual weakening of a belief which was once coextensive with Christendom, and which, as asserting the constant action of the invisible on the visible world, has beyond every other the emphatic sanction of the Old Testament and the New, is the presage of the last great defection, when the mysterious being whom they are pleased to term the man of sin shall defy the hierarchy of heaven.

The growth of the spirit which assigns to conscience a supreme authority in matters of religion, and analyses with fatal severity all assertions of facts transcending ordinary experience, Mr. Lecky has treated in a history which places him in the foremost rank of English thinkers. The "Latin Christianity" of Dean Milman had exhibited in vivid contrast the dull stagnation of English speculation, and the restless vehemence of Western energy. It had shown that, when compared with the orthodox communion, even the Roman Church was liberal and progressive, and that there was hope of better things for a body in which Scotus Erigena could preserve his fame and Robert Hallam could die without suspicion of heresy. But no writer before Mr. Lecky has scrutinized every phase of the long warfare which promises to end in the triumph of that spirit which, for lack of a better name, he has

termed the spirit of rationalism. Few writers before him have so struck chords which must vibrate through the hearts of all men. None owe their eloquence so much to an intensity of sympathy with the victims of undeserved suffering and disproportioned punishment. His book is written with a sobriety of feeling which, when we think of the tale that he has to tell, is nothing less than astonishing. The reader may be pardoned if the narrative rouses in him a spirit of antagonism from which the writer, by a noble effort of judicial impartiality, has kept himself free. The records of the world contain no history more mournful than that of Christianity. Its brilliant dawn was soon blotted out by the storms of angry passion and furious zeal; and from that time to the present the world has suffered grievous wrong from societies which profess to establish peace on earth and goodwill among men. Mr. Lecky has sketched forcibly the rapid change from a religion of love to a religion of terrorism, over which brooded an atmosphere of miracles, fantastic, profane, or ludicrous. He has traced the influence of this appalling power on Christian art, and in the destruction of every sentiment which was not congenial to gross and brutal superstition. In the doctrines of exclusive salvation and transmitted guilt, he has laid bare the source of that indifference to human suffering which has raised Christian persecutors above all possibility of rivalry. He has shown the terrible consequences of converting emotion into dogma, and the real affinity of the dogmatic Protestantism, whether of Calvin or of Luther, to that ecclesiastical despotism against which they had rebelled. But more especially he has earned our gratitude for the plainness of speech with which he has proclaimed his conviction that there is a long and bright future before the nations, and that a science with so secular a name as that of political economy can furnish the only corrective for evils which are imbedded in the very heart of traditional Christianity.

But when we turn from the changes effected in the religious and social belief of Europe, to the causes which have produced those changes, we cannot but feel some regret that Mr. Lecky has been tempted to generalize on evidence too slender to warrant his conclusion; that he has treated causes which abundantly explain a portion of the phenomena as if they explained the whole, and that he is, therefore, led from time to time (perhaps unconsciously) to modify his own statements. For, although he admits that changes in public opinion "may be the result of a controversy which has conclusively settled the question," he yet avows his belief that the most important changes have been brought about, not by any direct arguments, but wholly by the spirit of the age. (I. 11.) The main object of his whole work is to show "that there is a law of orderly and progressive transformation, to which our speculative opinions are subject, and the causes of which are to be sought in the general intellectual condition of society." (I. 817.) If, since the days of Luther and Calvin, the notion of transmitted guilt has been indefinitely weakened, this, he

says, is "entirely due to the diffusion of a rationalistic spirit, and not at all to any active propagandism, or to any definite arguments." (I. 411.) At the end of his work he repeats the broad proposition that "a great religious change is effected, not by direct arguments, but by a predisposition to receive them, or, in other words, by change of sympathies and bias." (II. 318.) But if this predisposition be produced by an atmosphere of thought which results from the arguments of the few, it is not easy to see what is gained by stopping short with the proximate cause. Mr. Lecky betrays the weakness of his generalization when he admits that the work in which Beccaria denounced the practice of torture, "vastly accelerated the movement that produced it;" (I. 368;) and still more, when he allows that one of the two "main causes" of theological change is "the appearance from time to time of great religious teachers," who "cast abroad the seeds of religious truth," while the successive phases of civilization provide the different atmospheres by which those seeds are in turn developed. (II. 10.) In either case the change is traced ultimately to thought and direct argument; and the unqualified proposition becomes rather a specious than a real basis for philosophy.

In truth, Mr. Lecky seems to us not only to underrate the force of direct argument, but to exaggerate the extent of changes produced by the spirit of the age. A hearty agreement with his moral conviction might tempt us to acquiesce in his statement of fact; but a wider experience of the world as it is can scarcely fail to show him that the battle is not quite so nearly won as he takes it to be. The ideas of exclusive salvation, of penal torments, and of vicarious atonement, may be (and we believe that they are) rejected by the really-educated portion of the people; but the number of such persons is at once enormously reduced if we take the term in the only sense in which it can be so applied with truth. If we put aside the comparatively few who are able to form an independent judgment, the fetters of ancient dogmatism are not yet broken. We may have no doubt of the direction in which the thoughts of even the most priest-ridden are gravitating, but Mr. Lecky draws an ideal rather than an actual picture of society, when, of the doctrine of endless torture, he asserts that "it has now been thrown so much into the back-ground, it has been so modified and softened, and explained away, that it scarcely retains a shadow of its ancient repulsiveness." (I. 841.) He has so thoroughly convinced himself of the reality of this change, that he repeats the statement again and again with a natural satisfaction. "How completely that teaching has passed away, must be evident," he assures us, "to anyone who will take the pains of comparing old theological literature with modern teaching. The hideous pictures of material fire and of endless torture which were once so carefully elaborated, and so constantly enforced, have been replaced by a few vague sentences on the subject of perdition, or by the general assertion of a future adjustment of the inequalities of life; and a doctrine which grows out of the

moral faculty, and is an element in every truly moral religion, has been thus silently substituted for a doctrine which was the greatest of all moral difficulties." (I. 368.) The realities of fact break somewhat rudely on Mr. Lecky's pleasing dream. Eleven thousand of the clergy of the Church of England have recently set their seal to this doctrine in its most unqualified form; and their leaders leave us in no doubt of the meaning which they attach to it. After all abatements made for the decay of ecclesiastical influence, it must be admitted that the clergy of the English Church have some share of moral power, and that this power is not wholly confined to the section which rejects these inhuman doctrines.* It is a mere delusion to suppose that the old dogma is softened in the hands of English Sacerdotalists and Bibliolaters. It would be more true to say that the physical hell of mediæval theology has, by not a few of them, been intensified in horror. That gloomy realm, with the scene-

ry of which Catholic historians and chroniclers were so familiar, was an abode of passive suffering. Instruments of white-hot iron tore the flesh of unbelievers. Tyrants and heretics were plunged into freezing water, or imprisoned in thick ribbed ice. The images under which their sufferings are portrayed may be repulsive, ghastly, or ludicrous; but there is something indefinitely more disgusting in the hell of the Bishop of Oxford, in which all condemned sinners are hurled into a chaos where passion, violence, and lust riot without check or hindrance. The essential torture of this pandemonium is the utter anarchy in which brutal murderers and lustful savages are left to smite and buffet men like Gibbon, Shelley, and Voltaire. The very sting in the agony of the truant school-girl is, that she lies physically at the mercy of the most ferocious and abandoned miscreants. Something more than a shadow of ancient repulsiveness falls on the pictures which Bishop Wilberforce, for the special edification of the young, draws of devils torturing drunkards by the instrument of their intemperance, and seizing the lustful man by the instrument of his lust.* We have not yet done with this disgusting subject. The University of Oxford has lately listened to an enumeration of hell-torments, which might have won laurels for any preacher of the Middle Ages. Dr. Pusey, who, because the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council failed to find his favourite dogma in the Thirty-nine Articles, accused the Lord Chancellor of poisoning the springs of English justice and branded him as the enemy of the faith and of God, has stood forth in the cathedral church of Oxford to repeat the old tale which Mr. Lecky regards as a worn-out fable, and has received no rebuke. We do as Dr. Pusey bids us: "Gather in your mind all which is most loathsome, most revolting; the most treacherous, malicious, coarse, brutal, inventive, fiendish cruelty, unsoftened by any remains of human feeling; conceive the fierce, fiery eyes of hate, spite, phrenzied rage, ever fixed on thee, glaring on thee, looking thee through and through with hate, sleepless in their horrible gaze; hear those yells of blaspheming, concentrated hate, as they echo along the lurid vault of hell." We weigh well his words; and we say deliberately that, as uttering such thoughts, Dr. Pusey lays himself open to the retort that he is an enemy, not indeed of the traditional faith, but alike of God and of mankind. The phenomenon before us is full of instruction. Here we have a man of kindly feeling, living in what is perhaps a somewhat sentimental age, yet betraying an utter indifference to the infliction of vindictive tortures. Mr. Lecky, in tracing the history of persecution, has remarked that its most important emotional cause is to be found in the teaching concerning the future world. "It was the natural result of that teaching, that men whose lives present, in many respects, examples of the noblest virtue, were nevertheless conspicuous for ages as prodigies of barbarity, and proved absolutely indif-

*Mr. Lecky does full justice to the beneficial influence of Christianity in tempering the sterner characteristics of the ancient civilization, in which "the pathos of life was habitually repressed." (II. 110.) But, while seeking to prove that in the Jews theological zeal answered to that feeling of Roman patriotism which sacrificed the individual to the community, he has strangely brought forward an ideal picture as the evidence of historical fact. If a careful analysis of Jewish history can teach us anything, it teaches us that, down at least to the time of the Babylonish captivity, the people were utterly incapable of realizing any idea of theocratic union. A few earnest thinkers, deeply moved by the degradation of their countrymen, might strive to raise up a polity based on unity of religious conviction; but the events of Josiah's reign furnish abundant evidence of the scanty success which attended their efforts. For the notion that their frequent relapses into idolatry are to be ascribed to a wilful rejection of spiritual blessings long familiar and once cherished, there is absolutely no historical ground whatever. The clumsy contradictions of the Book of Deuteronomy should have made Mr. Lecky pause before he treated as historical facts the "awful punishments" inflicted for such alleged rebellion. (I. 215.) Still more should the manifest mythology of the Exodus have checked the broad assertion that "all the traditions of their religion were identified with splendid national triumphs. The rescue from Egypt, the conquest of Canaan, and the massacre of its inhabitants, the long series of inspired warriors who had broken the chains of a foreign master, . . . had all contributed to interweave in the Jewish mind the association of the Church and of the State." (II. 112.) Even the Dean of Westminster has confessed his inability to trace this association, by frankly admitting that down to the time of the captivity the religion of the Jews was simply the idolatry of the grove. Mr. Lecky is seldom wrong in his inferences from facts belonging to periods strictly historical in character; but he has not surveyed with sufficient care the debateable land which lies between mere oral tradition and real contemporary history. We must candidly confess our astonishment at his statement that, after the two earliest and most degraded periods of art had passed away, a higher art was created by Dædalus. (I. 254.) This is no better than the criticisms of Thucydides on the tale of the war at Troy.

* "Eternal Punishment." By Presbyterian Anglicanus, p. 18.

ferent to the sufferings of all who dissented from their doctrines. Nor was it only towards the heretic that this inhumanity was displayed. It was reflected more or less in the whole penal system of the time." (I. 860.) He has further contrasted the old system with that spirit which is gradually acquiring more and more power in modern politics, and which makes it "a main object of legislation to inflict the smallest possible amount of suffering." (I. 883.) We might therefore have anticipated that Dr. Pusey would have no liking for a code softened on such principles; and he does not disappoint our expectations. In the same sermon which paints the agonies of the damned, he expresses his emphatic disapproval of a system in which the reformation of the individual offender is made the prominent object of human punishment; and this condemnation is grounded on the assertion that reformation is not the object of divine punishment. The spirit of the old inquisitor still lives in the kindly English gentleman. We see before us, in Mr. Lecky's words, the "tendency or disposition of feeling that harmonizes with persecution, removes the natural reluctance on the subject, and predisposes men to accept any reasoning of which persecution is the conclusion." (I. 360.)* But when there is a sincere conviction that salvation is to be found in the Church alone, there will be not

merely a readiness to persecute, but an eagerness to be persecuted. As in England it would be scarcely prudent to avow the former, the advocates of authority in belief are obliged to content themselves with the latter; and so, as in the church of St. Alban's, Holborn, they make the people sing—

"Our fathers chained in prisons dark,
Were still in heart and conscience free;
How sweet would be their children's fate,
If they, like them, could die for thee."

We have to thank them for the information that, when the country is won back to this faith of Augustine and Jonathan Edwards,

"England shall then indeed be free."

We do not in the least question their sincerity; but the English people has good reason to be thankful that the lion has had his claws cut, and his teeth drawn.

But these wholesome safeguards come wholly from the civil power. Mr. Lecky has weighed—on the whole, impartially—the merits and shortcomings of the Anglican clergy. He does not forget that Anglicanism was, "from the beginning, at once the most servile and the most efficient agent of tyranny;" and that "no other Church so uniformly betrayed, and trampled on the liberties of her country." (II. 193.) Yet he seems inclined to attribute to her system in itself an amount of flexibility which is the result simply of pressure applied to it from without. He feels satisfaction in the thought that in this Church "we find the phraseology, the ceremonies, the formularies, the external aspect of some phase of belief that has long since perished, connected with a system that has been created by the wants and is thrilling with the life of modern civilization." (I. xxi.) We wish that it were so; but the truth of facts compels us to admit that, regarded in itself, the Church of England sanctions and justifies the principle of all those fallacies and superstitions which have made the history of Christian nations a weary tale of lamentation, mourning, and woe. The statements may be more guarded or more refined, but the theory involved in them is not less deadly. The whole course of modern civilization tends to establish the proposition that the people is the source of all authority; and society, to use the words of Abraham Lincoln, is seeking to solve the problem, how the government of the people by the people for the benefit of the people may be made most thorough and most efficient. The Church of England still attributes to the sovereign a direct divine authority without intervention of the people, and maintains, with a laudable disregard of ethics, that the hearts of kings are in all cases disposed and turned as seems best to the Divine wisdom. The tendency of modern politics is to restrict, with a zealous care and within narrow limits, the province of government, to leave the citizen perfectly free in his private habits and his private life, to deal with vices only when they take the form of offences against individual citizens or against the state, and to grapple

* Mr. Lecky rightly asserts that Protestants have persecuted as fiercely and cruelly as Catholics; but the Protestant may at any time be led to take his stand distinctly on the ground of reason as contrasted with faith. The sacerdotalist, in proportion to the sincerity of his conviction, must feel that liberty of thought is the very abomination of desolation. In the present age he may fancy that he dislikes the idea of secular penalties for intellectual error; but while he denounces the Inquisition, he must, by insisting on the necessity of submission, maintain the theory of which the Inquisition is the direct result. A curious example of this dilemma is furnished by the "Christian Remembrancer" for July, 1853, art. "Cloister Life of Charles V." The reviewer asserts that, "if either side be justified in assuming a control over men's minds, it is the Church of Rome: the Protestant, aiming at the same object, stands self-condemned before the whole world." He allows "that more blood has been shed by Catholic princes and inquisitors than by Protestant kings and peoples. But the former act on a principle which in their eyes furnishes a full justification; the latter profess one which proclaims their own entire condemnation. But without adverting to the excess of persecution, it is plain that the infliction of any punishment for intellectual delinquencies at once breaks through the principle. The question, thereafter, remains one not of kind but of degree. For ourselves this subject involves very little perplexity. We do not believe that any system can allow liberty of thought in a direction alien to its own; the idea of such liberty is a delusive phantom which we may pursue, but which we can never grasp." We have no quarrel with the reviewer's minor premises; but the utter futility and iniquity of all dogmatic systems follows from it as readily as the correctness of any one system. A writer who can so clearly grasp principles, may, like Saul of Tarsus, come to regard as a duty that exercise of reason which he now anathematizes as the greatest of sins.

with manifest physical evils in the condition of the people without heeding the denunciations of theologians that we are thereby legalizing sin. The Church of England holds that the office of the civil magistrate is to maintain the truth, and that the indifferent administration of justice lies in the punishment not of crimes but of vice, and in the maintenance of true religion and virtue.* The enthusiasm of Dominic and Torquemada never propounded a theory more directly tending, unless forcibly repressed, to the cool precept of the Albigensian crusader, "Slay on: God will know His own." The same bigotry still hinders all attempts to deal with the grave physical evils attendant on unregulated prostitution, because to apply the remedy of police is to take part in sin and do violence to the Christian faith. If the doctrine of exclusive salvation and transmitted guilt issues logically in persecution and torture, the Church of England has fully allied herself in spirit with the most oppressive churches, by cursing all who maintain the sinlessness of honest intellectual error.† Nay, even for the theories of witchcraft and possession she has been careful to allot a place in canons on exorcism and in prayers directed against evils which the craft and subtlety of the devil or man may work against us. If mediæval Christianity filled the world with misery by linking the idea of physical judgments with strictly spiritual offences, the Church of England still cherishes in her sacramental theory the hydra-headed superstition which saw in sickness, epidemics, and thunderstorms, chastisements for sacraments wrongly administered or unworthily received. By retaining the threatenings of the second commandment, it preaches the doctrine of transmitted guilt in a form which incurred the indignant reprobation of Ezekiel. By keeping silence on the destiny of infants dying unbaptized, it justifies the theology which invests Augustine with the character of a cold-blooded murderer. By proclaiming that an unworthy participation in the Lord's supper provokes God to plague us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death, she keeps

alive the fetishism which Mr. Lecky thinks is dying or dead. All this the Church of England does wilfully, and in statements more or less explicit. By the whole tone of her offices, her articles, her homilies, her canons, she upholds that spirit of the old theology which is thoroughly antagonistic to all the interests of modern civilization.* If the principles of po-

* The portrait which, in his "History of My Religious Opinions," Dr. Newman has drawn of Mr. Keble, must suffice to acquit us of all exaggeration in so speaking. Possibly by some genuine moral superiority, Mr. Keble has won for himself a reverence so general among the adherents of the sacramental system, that he may be fairly taken as the ideal of nineteenth century sacerdotalism. Nor must it be forgotten that, though he has talked some nonsense about the abolition of hell and the devil by the Judicial Committee, he has not indulged in the sanguinary scene-painting of Dr. Pusey, or mapped out the regions of Pandemonium with the familiarity of Dr. Wilberforce. He is willing to soften differences, and to keep things which may be unlovely in the eyes of sceptical Englishmen, as far as he honestly can, out of sight. But this characteristic makes his antagonism to the whole spirit of modern society only the more significant. The latter trusts only to reason, and receives only the evidence of facts. "Keble was a man who guided himself and formed his judgments, not by processes of reason, by inquiry, or by argument, but, to use the word in a broad sense, by authority. Conscience is an authority, the Bible is an authority, such is the Church, such is antiquity, such are the words of the wise, such are hereditary lessons, such are ethical truths, such are historical memories, such are legal saws and state maxims, such are proverbs, such are sentiments, precepts and prepossessions. It seemed to me as if he ever felt happiest when he could speak or act under some such primary or external sanction, and could use argument mainly as a means of recommending or explaining what had claims on his reception prior to proof. He even felt a tenderness, I think, in spite of Bacon, for the idols of the tribe and the den, of the market and the theatre. What he hated instinctively was heresy, insubordination, resistance to things established, claims of independence, disloyalty, innovation, a critical, censorious spirit." (p. 290.)

Little more need be said. If the recent Encyclical of Pius IX. is taken as proving that the Pope and his advisers are hopelessly blind to the spirit of the age, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that Mr. Keble is ranged on the same side with the viceroy of St. Peter. We acquit Dr. Newman of any wish to flaunt in the eyes of Englishmen a gratuitously offensive picture; but it remains for Mr. Keble to disavow a portrait, not much less contemptible than that of the miserable devotees who in feverish anxiety turned over the Sibylline pages or trembled in the cave of Trophonius. Like Dr. Newman, he may try to throw dust into the eyes of his countrymen by drawing distinctions between true and false liberty of thought; but the day is past for distinctions which, if admitted, would stultify all modern legislation and government. If any mischief has ensued in the exercise of reason, it has arisen not from liberty of thought, but from defective or vicious education. To avoid it for the future, men must learn to judge not less but more, and be convinced that without the exercise of reason on first principles an assertion of those principles is worth nothing.

* The difficulties involved in this theory forced themselves thirty years ago on the attention of Lord John Russell. Speaking of the uncertainty of the Criminal Law, he said:—

"Two men, for instance, are tried at Launceston for sheep-stealing: both are found guilty; one is sentenced to death, and the other to be transported seven years to Botany Bay. It is evident there is no proportion in the punishments. What is the reason? The one has a good character, the other a bad one. So that an Englishman is hanged, not for the crime of which he has been found guilty, but for the general course of his life (i.e., for his wickedness and vice.) Now this is a matter far above any earthly tribunal—such a system leads to injustice, cruelty, and confusion."

These remarks acquire still greater significance when taken along with the conclusions at which Earl Russell has arrived respecting capital punishment, and which he has avowed in the recent edition of his "History of the Reform Bill."

† XVIIIth Article.

litical economy are allowed to work out their result, it will be because the Church of England is tightly fettered, and not because it is free.

With some reluctance, in the last place, we have to charge Mr. Lecky with the use of an ambiguous phrase; and we do so because in some quarters, where but for this phrase the fallacy would soon be exploded, it covers a real confusion of ideas. Probably Mr. Lecky knows well what he means by Christianity. Unfortunately he has not told us what he means by it. After sketching with unequalled force the stupendous evils wrought by what Lucretius termed religion—after showing that in almost every conceivable way dogmatic Christianity has insulted and defied the deepest and most sacred of human instincts, and given full play to the foulest oppression, falsehood, and cruelty—Mr. Lecky asserts that “the great characteristic of Christianity, and the great moral proof of its divinity, is that it has been the main source of the moral development of Europe;” and he tells us that it has done this “not so much by the inculcation of a system of ethics, however pure, as by the assimilating and attractive influence of a perfect ideal.” (I. 337.) But what is that ideal? From the several portraits of Christ, as given in the Gospels, are we to get rid of every feature that may seem to us harsh, forbidding, or repulsive? From his discourses are we to reject every assertion which harmonizes (and many do so harmonize) with the Christianity of the Middle Ages? If we do so, what will remain? What scope is there for the industrial development of rationalism in the charge that, like the birds who neither toil nor spin, we should take no thought for the morrow? What room is there for ethical science in the assertion that an inchoate phantasy is not less sinful than a completed act; what space for theories of civil government in the warning that the whole order of society may be broken at any moment, and must inevitably be broken soon by the coming of the Lord to judgment? If, because we do not like the conclusion that follows, we affirm that he never said these things, would it not be better to say plainly at once that we are taking our stand on certain principles which, with the growth of modern society, are continually acquiring more strength, and which seem likely in the issue to receive their full justification? Even an Anglican sacerdotalist may demur to Dr. Newman's axiom that Christianity is a phenomenon, one and indivisible; but where is the line of severance to be drawn between ideal Christianity and the religion which, almost within a generation, we see that it became? Mr. Lecky leaves us in no doubt of the nature of that religion almost before it had left its cradle.

‘At a time when the Christian Church formed but an infinitesimal portion of the community, at a time when almost all the members who composed it were themselves converts from Paganism, and reckoned among the Pagans those who were bound to them by the closest ties of gratitude and affection,

the great majority of the Fathers deliberately taught that the entire Pagan world was doomed to that state of punishment which they invariably described as literal and undying fire. In any age, and under any circumstances, such a doctrine must have seemed inexpressibly shocking; but it appears most peculiarly so, when the convert who accepted it, and who, with a view to his own felicity, proclaimed the system, of which he believed it to form a part, to be a message of good tidings, must have acquiesced in the eternal perdition of the mother who had borne him, of the father upon whose knees he had played, of the friends who were associated with the happy years of childhood and early manhood, of the immense mass of his fellow countrymen, and of all those heroes and sages who, by their lives or precepts, had first kindled the moral enthusiasm within his breast. All these were doomed by one sweeping sentence, nor were they alone in their condemnation. The heretics, no matter how trivial may have been their error, were reserved for the same fearful fate. The Church, according to the favourite image of the Fathers, was a solitary ark floating upon a boundless sea of ruin.” (I. 414.)

There is indeed (and we admit it with thankfulness) a sense in which we may say with truth that neither the progress of science nor the development of the laws of trade carry with them any danger to religion and Christianity. But although dogmatic theologians may find a grateful shelter under smooth, ambiguous phrases, all their parading of true religion and true Christianity will not save the traditional faith of the Middle Ages or our own. The Dean of St. Paul's is more cautious as well as more earnest when he assumes that only the primal and indefeasible truths of Christianity shall not pass away, and that all else is transient and mutable; but that his assertion should not have been indignantly disclaimed by the adherents of all authoritative systems, is among the most astonishing phenomena of the day. These primal truths may, for all that the dean has said, be confined to the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind. They may mean simply that God has made us, that He loves us, and that He is guiding us all to our highest good. If this be Christianity, it may with truth be said to stand on the rock which shall never be moved; but if Dean Milman and Mr. Lecky mean this and no more, it would be better to say so openly. Such, indeed, is the faith to which the world is hastening—a faith which may make men better and happier, but for which none can ever have the wish to persecute, torment, or slay. It may do as much good as ever was wrought by the traditional religion, and it may achieve much more; but it can never be guilty of the execrable wickedness which has filled the prisons of Protestant England and the dungeons of the Catholic Inquisition. But while the struggle still lasts, it must never be forgotten that not the most monstrous of Christian superstitions, not the most grotesque of Christian miracles, not the most inhuman of Christian dogmas, fail to find their prototype in the books of the old Testament and the new. Kings and Popes, witchfinders and miracle-mongers, may all plead their cause in words taken from that medley of docu-

ments, which, with much that is true, pathetic, and sublime, contains not a little that is false, inhuman, or immoral.

It will be long before the laws which political economists have brought to light shall be generally recognised, and thoroughly acted upon. It may be longer still before men really learn that the Divine order is never disturbed, and that we are in the hands of a Being who can know no passion, who can take no vengeance—a Being into whose mind the idea of retaliation cannot enter—a Being who loves all His creatures, who is righteous in all His ways and holy in all His works, as men, with all their defects and misdoings, understand justice and goodness. It is possible that Mr. Mansel's fallacies may for a brief season impart a factitious strength to dogmatic systems which independent thinkers are determined to scrutinize on their merits; they may increase the hardness of the struggle to those who cannot cut the Gordian knot with the sword of Mr. Mill;* but we must remember that—

"In our age these struggles are diffused over a very wide circle, and are felt by men of many grades of intellect. This fact, however, while it accounts for the perturbation and instability that characterize a large portion of contemporary literature, should materially lighten the burden of each individual inquirer. The great majority of the ablest intellects of the century have preceded him, and their genius radiates the path. The hands of many sympathizers are extended to assist him. The disintegration around him will facilitate his course. He who, believing that the search for truth can never be offensive to the God of Truth, pursues his way with an unswerving energy, may not unreasonably hope that he may assist others in their struggle towards the light, and may, in some small degree, contribute to that consummation when the professed belief shall have been adjusted to the requirements of the age, when the old tyranny shall have been broken, and the anarchy of transition shall have passed away." (II. 106.)

Mr. Lecky's hope will assuredly be fulfilled. The true human feeling which pervades his pages will lighten the path of many who need only to know the full extent of the evil wrought by the traditional creeds of Christendom. He has fought bravely against the most potent curse that has ever desolated the world. He has laid bare the great catalogue of crimes perpetrated by the Churches which curse "the human intellect, by cursing the doubts that are the necessary consequence of its exercise," and curse "even the moral faculty by asserting the guilt of honest error." (L. 54.) The seed has been well sown. When the harvest is ready, mankind will have avenged itself of its cruel adversary; and the vengeance taken will be the proclamation of a real peace and a lasting love—the peace and the love of Christ himself—in place of the miserable counterfeit with which dogmatic Christianity has cheated a suffering world.

ART. III.—CAPACITIES OF WOMEN.

1. *Essays on Woman's Work.* By BESSIE RAYNER PARKES. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.
2. *The Agamemnon, Choephoroi, and Eumenides of Æschylus.* Translated into English verse. By ANNA SWANWICK. Translator of Faust, Tasso, Iphigenia, &c. London: Bell & Daldy. 1865.
3. *Studies; New and Old, of Ethical and Social Subjects.* By FRANCES POWER COBBE. London: Trübner & Co. 1865.
4. *Broken Lights.* By the same. Second Edition. 1865.
5. *Italics (Italica). Brief Notes on Politics, People, and Places in Italy.* By the same. 1864.
6. *Theory of Morals.* By the same. Third Edition. London: Trübner. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1864.
7. *Religious Duty.* By the same. Second Edition. Trübner. 1864.
8. *The Cities of the Past.* By the same. Trübner. 1864.
9. *Essays on the Pursuits of Women.* By the same. Trübner. 1863.

"WHERE the condition of women is bad, there the nation is nearly half unhappy." So declared the sententious Aristotle. We are not about to pretend that his measure of the good and bad state of women was or could be ours; but it remains a fact, that half the world—more than half the British nation—consists of women. It is then impossible to deny the vast importance of the topic. But neither are we at present intending to invite our readers' attention to the details of that vast question the Rights and Wrongs of Women. It will be enough to limit ourselves to general principles, and to vindicate the propriety and necessity of gifted women standing forward in behalf of the rights of their sex; or rather, we wish so to write, as to elicit our readers' own judgment on the question whether any vindication is needful. We have placed at the head of this article the names of three women, all authoresses, but diverse, as all must be, who diligently develop their several talents. We will not call them representative women, as though collectively they could suffice to exhibit what, in their present cultivation, English women can achieve; yet at least they will show how much their talents and their sound accomplishments deserve respect: how unjust and how superficial is that tone of disparagement, so easily (we had almost said, so naturally) assumed by an anonymous reviewer, whose task it is to write down a woman, or the cause which she is maintaining.

The self-complacent vanity of the male sex swallows with full assurance any statements which ascribe to it the exclusive possession of solid faculties; just as a false patriotism lays us open to believe compliments paid to our morality or our sound sense at the expense of other nations. Men who are not personally conceited, often display conceit, at once offensive and injurious, in the claims which they

* "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," ch. vii.

make for their church, their country, their race, or (we will add) for their sex. The ancient Jew was apt to appropriate divine favour to his nation: yet a time came, when *some* Jews rejoiced to discover that even Gentiles were admissible to common blessing. We claim that at least men will cultivate a willingness to enlarge their judgments and hearts, and a humility which shall apply not to their single selves alone, but to every class of which they are a unit. But, let us at once insist, we have nothing here to do with the question, whether the female sex, *collectively*, has equal talents or powers to the male sex *collectively*. The fallacy of parading this topic, to the darkening of the real questions before the public, is constantly practised; exactly as in the effort to maintain injustices against coloured men in America or in India, the "inferiority of the race" is insisted on. To clear our way, and avoid this popular confusion, it may be of use to consider class-exclusions a moment from a wider point of view.

The comparative weakness of a class may no doubt be a reason for special legislation concerning it, in order to protect it where it cannot protect itself, or in order to debar it from powers which it could not use rightly—by which indeed it might harm itself or society. The case of *minors* is here undeniably demonstrative. On those of tender years, and necessarily inexperienced, we must not bestow the rights or impose the duties of adults. Nevertheless, even in this most necessary form of exceptional legislation, the universal tendency has been to *oppress* those whom we ought to *protect*. The father was a despot over his children in ancient times; and with increasing enlightenment his power has been lessened. Among the old Romans the father retained power of life and death over his adult son: the old Germans regarded a youth as "part of the state" only after he was able to bear arms in the public service; but English law claims even new-born children as part of the State. The right of young people to perform some legal acts is now conceded; much domestic oppression is still possible and common, nor is it by any means certain that we have yet perfected all the legal reforms here needful, much less the moral and religious influences of society. Again, wherever a more civilized people, or one accidentally superior, has within it, or on its borders, another nation which it does not admit into political equality, we are safe in saying, that even if the laws were honestly made, with the intention of protecting the inferior race, they invariably in fact oppress it. And the reason of this is manifest. Well-meaning persons may delude themselves by the plausible metaphor, "we treat them as *minors*;" but in truth they do not: the analogy is false. A minor grows up and soon ceases to be a minor; his limitations drop off from him by mere lapse of time. His place is filled by new births, and his successors need the legal restrictions as much as ever he needed them. But if a tribe of Kafirs live mixed with British settlers, fifteen or thirty years make a great change in the inferior

race; yet the law concerning them does not change; they do not pass into the English ranks by learning our arts, or even our habits and sentiments; and in a short time it is felt that the law is made *against* them. Much more is this true, when the two races concerned are like those of England and of India; where the race politically inferior has individuals highly accomplished, born of a stock in which mental cultivation is hereditary, and so populous that its exceptional and superior men outnumber the mediocre talents of our limited officials. Yet even in this glaringly unjust state of law the fallacy which we denounce is displayed as a triumphant defence: "It is *necessary* to maintain exclusions, *because* the race is collectively inferior to ours." Nay, surely one ought rather to replace the word *necessary* by *unnecessary*. Needless restrictions do but irritate. Without peculiar acuteness, one must see that the secret logic of the case is more truly expressed by the opposite reason to that alleged: namely, "it is necessary to *us* to maintain exclusions, because (it is to be feared) the race which we treat as inferior would else soon prove itself our equal." And nothing is more certain, than that many of the exclusions which Englishmen uphold against women, perhaps under decorous pretences, are really valued for securing profit or power to men. So the Irishman at New York fears the competition of the negro, and swells the cry against negro-equality.

Nothing is more certain than that a race which has been oppressed for centuries, and has been denied mental cultivation, and even the leisure for acquiring it, will be collectively in a low state of intellect; yet it is at the same time obvious to all who have no sinister bias, first, that this collective inferiority does not justify continued oppression (although it is always adduced by the oppressors as a justification); secondly, that the inferiority being largely accounted for by the past oppression, is likely to lessen or to vanish under juster treatment; thirdly, that already perhaps exceptional individuals of the lower race are superior to hundreds of the higher race. For all these reasons, the topic of "collective inferiority" should affect a race, legally and socially, only in the same mode and under the same limitations as it is just towards the lower classes of a homogeneous nation: especially, it is never just to invent and maintain by law artificial barriers, or to deny to industry and merit their natural rewards.

So much may suffice to indicate that we have nothing to do with the abstract question of women's collective inferiority, if it be a fact: on one thing we firmly insist—that no has a right to try to *make* it a fact. But here a curious question has of late been opened. A traveller, recently returned from Africa, spoke at the first annual meeting of the Female Medical Society this summer a short speech, of which the following is the substance. (We do not venture to say more than that his remarkable testimony deserves a careful hearing, and dictates further inquiry.) He said:—

"I am a medical man. I have spent several years in Africa, and have seen human nature among tribes whose habits are utterly unlike those of Europe. I had been accustomed to believe that the muscular system of women is necessarily feebler than that of men, and perhaps I might have dogmatized to that effect; but to my astonishment I found the African women to be as strong as our men. Not only did I see the proof of it in their work, and in the weights which they lifted, but on examining their arms I found them large and hard beyond all my previous experience. On the contrary, I saw the men of those tribes to be weak; their muscles small and flabby. Both facts are accounted for by the habits of the people. The men there are lazy in the extreme: all the hard work is done by the women."

If we remember, he added, "even the fighting and the running," with some allusion to the celebrated Amazon guards of African potentates. He continued: "This experience has further led me to consider whether the mental inferiority which we ascribe to our women may not be due wholly to the habits of our nation, which do not allow to women the same mental exercise as to men." Concerning the relative stature of the sexes there, he said nothing. If it be a law of nature that the average woman shall be smaller than the average man; then, with equal cultivation of strength, we presume that the average man will be the stronger. There may be a like relation of minds; but no such opinion, true or false, concerns our practical duties. It suffices for us just now to insist, that no one has a right to treat as *abnormal* the powers and accomplishments of such women as Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Somerville, and others of preceding times, who have been illustrious for mental capacity. The whole sex ought to have the credit of them, in this sense, that they show what women can attain when circumstances favour their cultivation. When we see one woman among us excel in a particular study or art, the natural and reasonable inference (which has a right to stand until disproved) is, that there is nothing in it which may not be counted on under similar conditions. No age, no country in Europe has been without women, who in powers and accomplishment far surpassed average men; and their solid attainments have been greatest where society most opened a career to their talents. In the United States this fact is every five years more developing itself. We claim, therefore, that the talents and attainments of individual women shall not be idly set down as exceptional, or still more idly scoffed at as unfeminine; but shall be made an index to the powers of the sex in general.

Miss Bessie Rayner Parkes has met, we are sorry to say, with rudeness, from anonymous male writers, who seem to imagine that she is bent on unsexing women, or is unalive to the essential necessity of some feminine virtues. The small book before us, "Essays on Women's Work," appears to us a model of good sound sense, and keeps eminently aloof from any extreme views. She does not fall into the error of her male assailants, who set up their own

ideal of the world, instead of manfully accepting what they find, and seeking to make the best of it. She refuses to shut her eyes to facts. She finds that machinery, free trade, competition, emigration of men, and premature death of husbands, draw great numbers of women away from their homes. Domestic work being no longer profitable, they are doomed to work in factories. This (she says) is the great and, for women, often the terrible fact:—

"On no small body of ladies in London, on no committees or societies trying to struggle with the wants of the time, can rest the charge of *unsexing women* by advising them to follow new paths away from household shelter and natural duties, when a mighty and all-pervading power, the power of trade, renders the workman's home empty of the house-mother's presence for ten hours of the day, and teaches Englishwomen the advantage of being *out on strike*."

In every rank of life women are exposed to peculiar misery from events over which they have no control. If a trade be stopped through the breaking out of a war, or the imposition of a tariff, the women and girls working in the mills are the worst sufferers. Needlework may pay the skilful while their eyes and health last, but the number of competitors has always been too great, and the sewing-machine will soon make the competition of hand-workers hopeless. The state of governesses is still more deplorable: at least, we believe that "distressed needlewomen" are not always guiltless of their own distress. If space allowed, we would gladly make large quotations from Miss Parkes, but we rather recommend the perusal of her compact and very readable volume. When the scheme first took shape "for affording assistance privately and delicately to ladies in temporary distress:—

"The committee met once a fortnight, and the amount of actual *distress* among educated women which thus came to their ears is appalling. . . . The committee examined 102 cases and assisted 56; of the remainder the greater number were reluctantly declined for want of sufficient funds. The report gives a sad classification. . . . One woman had saved nothing during twenty-six years of exertion, having supported her mother, three younger sisters, and a brother, and educated the four. Three were entirely impoverished by attempts to uphold their fathers' efforts in business. Six were burdened by the support of invalid sisters, who had no other props in life; and three were incapable of taking another situation from extreme nervous excitement, caused by *over-exertion* and anxiety."—p. 91.

"The report for 1857 states, that on a recent occasion there were 120 candidates for three annuities of 20*l.* each—all accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of at least our middle classes. Of these 99 were unmarried; and out of this number 14 had incomes of or above 20*l.*; 23 had incomes varying from *twenty shillings* to 17*l.*; and 83 had absolutely nothing. . . . All are [by the conditions] above 50 years of age, and of the utterly destitute 49 were above 60."—p. 98.

In short, the worst impoverishment was through working *for others*; then if ill-health come, and enforce cessation of industry, any small fund is soon absorbed. Miss Parkes pro-

ceeds to detail the further benevolent efforts elicited by such discoveries; but all that can be done is only as a few drops in an ocean of misery. It requires moral courage, and a strong sense of duty, to come forward and propound remedies, where remedies are so difficult to find: but we had not supposed that any man with a heart in his bosom could meet such efforts by taunts—by declaring that a woman's only business is to get married, and that (a widow? or) an old maid is to be considered as having "failed in business," though how that relieves the question is not clear. Miss Parkes faces the problem bravely. She says that it may not be quite right, yet it seems to be a fact, that young men like their bride to have some dowry; and if certain reviewers rightly call marriage "a business," the dowry is the woman's capital, which is as needful to her as mercantile capital to her brothers. Where a young woman is not trained to any gainful art, it is unjust in her father to leave her portionless.

"It seems as if no extensive relief of our suffering class of educated women could be achieved until fathers are won over to see the matter in its true light. But it may be said that fathers cannot afford to give capital, of however small an amount, to their sons and daughters too; but I submit that they are equally bound to their children of either sex, and that in very many cases where they bring their sons up to *professions* and leave their daughters *portionless*, they ought in justice to give the sons a lower and less expensive start in life, and keep some money laid by for their girls."—p. 146.

"It is absurd to keep servants and to bring up daughters to *idleness* and *penury*, unable to do household work, and disgusted at the idea of marrying in a rank where it would be necessary to do it. The way in which all girls who can possibly be supported in idleness shrink from real active household work is a great mistake and a great misfortune. *It does not help their intellectual development the least in the world.* They would be a great deal cleverer and healthier and happier if they did it; and if poor middle-class fathers would bring up their little daughters to do the housework, after the fashion of Mary in the 'Minister's Wooing,' and pay the money which they would otherwise give to a servant for wages and board, to an assurance office to secure their daughters dowries, it would be a great deal the better plan in innumerable cases, and plenty of time would remain for mental cultivation, though less for shabby and showy accomplishments."—p. 152.

A woman who writes thus may be called prosaic, but our readers must judge whether she is not more solid, more sensible, and more bent on the real welfare of her sex, than the men who talk high of the refined and beautiful accomplishments which we have a right to demand in the female sex, reckless of the widespread misery that the universal striving after them entails. As long as tender fathers may, without loss of repute, rear their daughters to be mere ornaments of the drawing-room in their youth, and leave them to a middle age of privation, with the chance of an old age of misery, so long, we fear, younger men will pass unreprieved for making women their toys for a short space, and then abandoning them to the streets. But if we confine our attention to

women wholly free from reproach, the evil is certainly on a scale to be called national. The number of the distressed is so vast, that Miss Parkes deliberately reiterates from Madame Bodichon a paragraph which, she says, has been called the *ne plus ultra* of wild arithmetic:—

"Apprentice 10,000 to watchmakers; train 10,000 for teachers to the young; make 10,000 good accountants; put 10,000 more to be nurses under deaconesses trained by Florence Nightingale; put some thousands in the electric telegraph offices all over the country; educate 1000 lecturers for mechanics' institutions; 1000 readers to read the best books to the working people; train up 10,000 to manage washing-machines, sewing-machines, &c. Then the distressed needlewomen would vanish; the decayed gentlewomen and broken-down governesses would no longer exist."—p. 108.

In short, very many new trades, and on a very large scale, must be opened to women: to try to shut them out is little short of inhumanity. Scruples of a very honourable kind have been broken down for the convenience of trade, and women now work in gangs away from their home. So much the worse, says Miss Parkes; but it is a fact. Now, in a rank a little higher, other scruples must give way—when ladies are liable to suffer real cold, real hunger, sickness, and terrible anxiety. Medical men judge a woman's suffering to be acute when her feminine susceptibility to their intermeddling with her is small: how cruel it would be to taunt her for this! We think it is hardly less cruel to jibe at women as unfeminine, when for the sake of earning an independence, they lay aside the artificial limitations with which pampered wealth surrounds itself. The men who struggle in this bad cause will, no doubt, prolong the sufferings of the weaker and tenderer half of humanity, but they cannot succeed. With the example of France and the United States before them, the rising women of England cannot be repressed. Miss Parkes is but one of a resolute noble band which will multiply year by year, and their success is assured by the high predominance which *moral* interests hold in their mind over all mere economics. We cannot quote on this head as much from Miss Parkes as we desire:—

"The wife, in our civilization, is the centre of domestic and also of social life. She is the mistress of a social circle and of a group of children and of servants. When sensible men say that the vast majority of women are destined to marriage, what they mean—the idea which really lies at the bottom of their minds—is, that were it otherwise the whole constitution of modern society would literally go to pieces. . . . As I believe therefore firmly, that the married household is the first constituent element in national life, so I consequently believe that the immense majority of women are; and ought to be, employed in the noble duties which go to make up the Christian household; and while I fully admit the principle of vocations to religious and also to intellectual and practical life apart from marriage, I think that people are quite right who say that these will ever be, and ought ever to be, in the minority."

We may add that a minority is absolutely

assured by the imperial position of England, by the waste of male life in her armies, her fleets, her fisheries, her engineering; also by the large emigration of unmarried men. When the United Kingdom has perhaps 200,000 more women than men, what a stupid as well as unmanly insult it is, to tell women that they must not seek to maintain *themselves*, but must set their caps to get *husbands* who will maintain them! At the same time every man of common sense must be aware, that the woman who is most in need of getting a husband is the most likely to get a bad one—which, especially under English law, is ten times worse than being unmarried.

We pass abruptly from Miss B. R. Parkes and her economics to a totally different atmosphere, into which Miss Anna Swanwick leads us. This lady was already favourably known to the public by her elegant translations from Goethe and Tasso. If we do not mistake, the eminent publisher, Mr. Bohn, summed up the opinion of critics by pronouncing her, beyond a doubt, our most accomplished female translator. The late Baron Bunsen was so much struck by the skill and faithfulness which she had displayed in dealing with so very difficult a poem as Faust, that he initiated a suggestion to her—that she would undertake the translation of Æschylus. The suggestion from such a quarter was in itself a very high compliment; and it is made higher still, if we are rightly informed, that Professor Blackie's translation of Æschylus had been aided by Prussian funds through Bunsen, to whom Blackie dedicates his volumes. The coincidence has led us to compare the translations carefully, and we must say that Miss Swanwick has achieved a high credit, not for herself only, but for her sex. Blackie is generally admitted to be a man of genius, if somewhat too rollicking; he is undoubtedly a man of active mind and much learning; but in accuracy* of scholarship he is probably deficient, as he certainly is in conscientiousness of translation. We are not reviewing Professor Blackie—indeed writing anonymously, we dare not express any opinion on the score of mere taste without enabling the reader to verify our remark; nor shall we comment on Mr. Blackie at all. But the reader (who cannot be presumed familiar with Æschylus) will have no measure of Miss Swanwick's merit unless, in some passages at least, we exhibit another translation side by side. We only add our testimony that hers is beyond

comparison more faithful to the original, and that the things which the reader may perhaps wonder to find in Blackie and miss in her, are not in Æschylus.

The first passage which we selected as a comparison was one of peculiar beauty from the second choral ode of the Agamemnon:—

1. Blackie.

She went, and to the Argive city left
Squadrons shield-bearing, battle-preparing,
Swords many-flashing, oars many-plashing,
She went, destruction for her dowry bearing,
To the Sigeon shore.
Light with swift foot she brush'd the doorstead, dar-
ing

A deed undar'd before.
The prophets of the house, loud wailing,
Cried with sorrow unavailing.

1. Swanwick.

Bequeathing to her people deadly stour
Of spear, of shield, and ships' array,
And Ilion's ruin bearing as her dow'r,
Swift thro' the gates she took her way,
Daring what none may dare. With many a wail
The palace-seers peal'd forth the tale.

(The latter is line for line with the original, and as close as a prose translation need be.)

2. Blackie.

"Woe to the Atridans, woe!
The lofty palaces fallen low!
The marriage, and the marriage-bed,
The steps once faithful, fond to follow
There where the faithful husband led!"
He silent stood in sadness, not in wrath,
His own eye scarce believing,
As he follow'd her flight beyond the path
Of the sea-wave broadly heaving.
And phantoms sway each haunt well-known,
Which the lost lov'd one wont to own.
And the statued forms that look from their
seats (?)
With a cold smile serenely, (?)
He loathes to look on; in his eye
Pines Aphrodité's leantly. (11)

2. Swanwick.

"Alas, the royal line, the princely house!
Alas, the couch, the trace of her once true!"
Dishonour'd, yet without rebuke, the spouse
Stands speechless, yearning still her form to view
Lost o'er the salt sea-wave. His dreamy pain
Conjures her phantom in his home to reign.
He loathes the sculptor's plastic skill
Which living grace belies:
Not Aphrodité's self can still
The hunger of his eyes.

(The third and fourth lines are very corrupt in the Greek MS. Both translators seem to have followed the same conventional but imperfect correction: neither of them accounts for the future tense, *δόξει*).

3. Blackie.

In vain he sleeps; for in the fretful night
Shapes of fair seeming flit thro' his dreaming,
Soothing him sweetly, leaving him fleetly,
Of bliss all barren. The shape fond Fancy weaves
him

* Venus.

* As a small gage that we do not speak at random we point to Agam. 824, where he does not understand that *δαίμων* (*monster*) is in apposition to *νεοσσός*, and renders it *bite*. In Agam. 932, he translates the masculine partic. *διαφθερούθρα* as if it were feminine. In Agam. 1082, he renders *οὐ μόλις* with *light labour*. In Agam. 911, *δῶμ' ἱ ελπτον*, an unlooked-for home (i. e., the home of Pluto), he renders, against all grammar and without a particle of excuse, "his long-lost home with unexpected train." In short, in many instances he seems to us not to understand the original, or to be perfect in Greek grammar; but his extreme laxity often makes it hard to bring him to test.

His eager grasp would keep,
In vain : it cheats the hand, and leaves him,
Sweeping swift o'er the paths of sleep.

These sorrows pierce the Atrean chiefs,
And, worse than these, their private griefs.
But general Greece, that to the fray
Sent her thousands, mourns to-day ;
And Grief stouthearted at each door
Sits to bear the burden sore
Of deathful news from the Trojan shore.
Ah ! many an Argive heart to-day
Is prick'd with wail and mourning,
Knowing how many went to Troy,
From Troy how few returning.
The mothers of each house shall wait
To greet their sons at every gate :
But, alas ! not men, but dust of men
Each sorrowing house receiveth,
The urn in which the fleshy case
Its cinder'd ruin leaveth.

3. *Swanwick.*

And dreamy fancies, coinage of the brain,
Come o'er the troubled heart with vain delight.
For, rapture deem I vain,
When forms belov'd, in visions of the night,
With changeful aspect mock our grasp, and sweep
On noiseless wing adown the paths of sleep.
Such sorrows o'er the hearth brood evermore,
And woes o'ertow'ring these. The warrior train,
Comrades in danger, steer'd from Hellas' shore,
Leaving in Hellas' homes heart-withering pain,
For, many sorrows rankle at the core.
Each household keeps in faithful ken
The lov'd ones to the battle sent,
But back receives for living men
Their arms and ashes, sad equivalent !

(Miss Swanwick has rightly understood that in
vv. 3—6 the poet generalizes.)

4. *Blackie.*

For Mars doth market bodies, and for gold
Gives dust, and in the battle of the bold
Holds the dread scales of Fate.
Burnt cinders, a light burden, but to friends
A heavy freight,
He sends from Troy. The beautiful vase he sends
With dust, for hearts, well lin'd, on which descends
The frequent tear.
And friends do wail their praise : this here (!)
Expert to wield the pointed spear ;
And this, who cast his life away
Nobly in ignoble fray (?)
For a strange (?) woman's sake :
And in their silent hearts hate burns.
Against the kings
The moody-mutter'd grudge creeps forth
And points its stings. (?)
Others (?) they mourn, who, 'neath Troy's wall
Entomb'd, dark sleep prolong,
Low press'd beneath the hostile sod,
The beautiful, the strong !

4. *Swanwick.*

For Mars, who traffics not in gold
But flesh of man, the scales doth hold
In battle of the spear.
From Ilion, back to sorrowing friends
Rich dust fire-purified he sends
And wash'd with many a tear.
To their embrace, hears'd in sepulchral urn
Ashes, not men, return.
Weeping, each hero's praise they tell : —
How one excell'd in strife ;

And how in war one nobly fell,
Wag'd for another's wife.
Breathing such murmurs, jealous hate
Doth on the Atrean champions wait.
Achaïans, cast in fairest mould,
Entomb'd 'neath Ilion's wall,
The foughten shore now firmly hold,
The hostile sod their pall.

Miss Swanwick, in the opening of the last strophe, has more clearly brought out the poet's ingenious metaphor. A common money-changer traffics in gold or gold-dust, but Mars in flesh and in man-dust. Each holds the scales—the one to weigh precious metal, the other to weigh out victory. The gold-dust is washed with water, the human dust with tears : each is refined by the fire. The four strophes above quoted suffice to show that not only in tenderness, dignity, weight, and in that masculine attribute, *terseness*, but also in understanding and intimate feeling of the Greek, the lady need not fear comparison with the Greek professor. We venture to add that she has a truer sense of the poet's rhythm, which is highly chastened and accurate, and is ill represented by the jerkings and the roughnesses which Blackie imports—imitating Shakspeare's negligence, where Milton, and poets later than Milton, are a truer parallel. Our limits forbid further comparison of passages, but we may exhibit single lines characteristic of the poet and trying to translators : —

Ag. 17. *ἕπνον τό δ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος.*
Bl. making song,
Sleep's substitute, surgeon my nightly care.

Sw. Such against sleep my tuneful counter-charm.

Ag. 34. *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ βοῶς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκεν.*

Bl. The rest I whisper not : for, on my tongue
Is laid a seal.

Sw. The rest I speak not : o'er my tongue hath pass'd
An ox with heavy tread.

Ag. 95. *φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις—*

Bl. With the gentle soothings cherish'd
Of the oil that knows no malice—

Sw. Charm'd with pure unguent's soothing spell—

Ag. 120. *βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων.*

Bl. ——— a timorous hare,

Whose* strength could run no more—

Sw. Amere'd of future courses.

Ag. 155. *οἰκονόμος δοῦλᾳ μνάμων Μῆνης τεκνόποινος.*

Bl. Stern-purpos'd waits the child-avenging Wrath
About the foredoom'd halls,

Weaving dark wiles, while with sure-memoried
sting (!)

Fury to Fury calls (!)

Sw. For child-avenging Wrath, with fear and fraud,
Dread palace-warden, doth entering wait.

Ag. 643. *δίλογχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνορίδα—*

Bl. A twinspear'd harm, a yoke (!) of crimson
slaughter—

Sw. Twinspear'd calamity, a gory pair—

Ag. 1123, &c. — *ξυνανύτει βίον δυντὸς αὐγῆς.*

Bl. The blithe blood, that crimson ran
In my veins, runs pale and wan

* *βλαβέντα*, *neut. pl.* Miss Swanwick applies it to the unborn young, who are amere'd of their *reversionary* runnings. Professor Blackie limits *βλαβέντα* to the mother-hare, though if *accus. singular* it will be a masculine.

With the taint of yellow fear,
 As when in the mortal anguish
 Life's last fitful glimpses languish,
 And Fate, as now, is near.
Sw. Pallid through every vein
 Blood to my heart doth run,
 Which to the battle-slain
 Quencheth life's sun.
Ag. 1281. μητρόκτονον φῆμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός
Bl. A mother-murdering shoot (!)
 The gods shall send from far to avenge his sire.
Sw. Seed matricidal, venger of his sire.

We picked these lines from the Greek and then turned to the English. They bring us always to one conclusion, but our readers may form their own. Next, we must allow them to see in continuity the vigour of Miss Swanwick's version:—

Ag. 914 (887 *Sw.*)

Daughter of Leda, guardian of my home!
 Such as my absence was, is now thy speech,
 Drawn out to ample length. With better grace
 My praise had come from others than from thee.
 And for the rest, seek not in woman's fashion
 To pamper me, nor in barbaric guise
 Gape out loud cries in homage at my feet.
 Make not my path, with royal purple strewn,
 A mark for envy. To the gods belong
 Such signal honours; but for mortal man
 On rich embroidery to plant his foot
 (I own it) is to me not free from dread.
 As mortal honour me, but not as god.
 Without rich carpeting or gorgeous web
 Glory resoundeth. An untainted mind
 Is heav'n's best gift: him only call we blest
 Who ends in fair prosperity his days.
 If thus I bear myself, I need not fear.

Choeph. 183. (175. *Sw.*)

Rolls o'er my heart a surge of bitterness:
 Smitten am I, as with a piercing shaft;
 And from these eyes, while gazing on this lock,
 The thirsty drops of sorrow's wintry flood
 Flow unrestrain'd. For how may I conceive
 That other of the townsmen owns this hair?
 And certès, she who slew him shear'd it not,—
 My mother,—all unworthy of the name,
 Who tow'rd's her children bears a godless mind.
 Though not with full assurance may I call
 This off'ring his, dearest of mortal men,
 Orestes,—still, hope fawns upon my heart.

Choeph. 585.

Full many a horror, drear
 And ghastly, Earth doth rear:
 With direful monsters teems encircling Ocean.
 Meteors, with threatening sheen,
 Hang heaven and earth between:
 The tempest's wrath still raves with wild commotion.
 These, and dire wing'd things, and things that
 crawl,
 Thou may'st describe them all.
 But man's audacious might
 What words can paint aright?
 Or woman's daring spirit who may tell?
 Her passion's frenzied throes,
 Co-mates of mortal woes?
 For love unlovely, when its evil spell
 'Mong brutes or men the feeble sex befools,
 Conjugal bands o'errules.

* * * * *

But first of woes in every clime
 The *Lemnian* is deplored;
 And still the most detested crime
 As *Lemnian* is abhorred.
 Branded with infamy by men
 The impious disappear;
 For, whom the righteous gods condemn,
 No mortal dares reverse.
 The lore, which thus we chant in choral strain,
 Say ye,—doth Reason at her bar arraign?
 Right thro' the lungs doth Justice's hand
 Drive home the bitter steel:
 For all must perish, who withstand
 Her mandates, and with reckless heel
 Trample high Jove's command.
 Firm-bas'd is Justice. Fate of yore
 Forg'd weapon for the blow.
 Deep-soul'd Erinnyes* doth restore
 The Avenger to his home, and lo!
 He pays the bloody score.

We have felt it worth while to go through with great care the *whole* of Miss Swanwick's translation, comparing it minutely with the original, and we find, first, that it is everywhere conscientious in the extreme, and that she is fully possessed with the principle avowed in her preface, that "any wilful or unacknowledged deviation from the original is *tantamount to a breach of trust*." Every line bears the mark of honest laborious thought, with delicate sense of the Greek. Next, the passages adduced above are not peculiarly successful, but are fair averages. We could extract dozens equally good; nay, if we open the book at random, we find a general equability, though not all passages are alike convenient to extract. Thus we think we have given to the reader samples which are materials for a fair judgment.

Besides a moderate preface, Miss Swanwick has prefixed an introduction, which is really an ample, elaborate, and learned essay on the growth and improvement of Greek religion. All who have taste for mythology will read it with interest. In outline its truth is unquestionable—but Mythology is a slippery subject, and we hesitate to say that in detail we can follow her. At any rate, she goes with such authorities as Welcker, and Max Müller, men of genius; and shows at once a hearty enthusiasm and an independent judgment. The close of the essay is designed to urge a topic which is likely to become more and more important in the public mind with the increase of intelligence, viz.—the *moral* uses of Poetry and Art as national educators. Many look to Religion alone, as fulfilling this function; many others to what they call Knowledge—putting on the word a very limited and dry sense. The former perhaps overlook the poetical element involved in religion itself. Be this as it may, neither Religion, nor Poetry, nor Art, can educate a nation, except in proportion as these influences are themselves pure. The palsying superstitions mixed with Religion, the lasciviousness of Poetry and Art, are the detestable mischiefs which make these great powers sources of corruption—and,

* The Fury.

it would seem, priests are not more bent on preserving the base alloy in religion, than are many literary and artistic pontiffs in perpetuating the voluptuousness of poetry and art. Undoubtedly, the Theatre and the Opera House ought to be great schools of *virtue* and intellect, but who will now dare to call them so? Under a virtuous queen, in a reign of twenty-eight years, one might have hoped some sensible improvement. How vain it is to blame Puritans as sour for totally avoiding and preaching against these places, if no hope is shown of purifying them! But looking to the future (oh, might it be a near future!), we see the dream of Madame Bodichon, Miss Parkes, and Miss Swanwick fulfilled. It will be a *profession* for women as well as men, to read aloud to large companies, and also to definite classes of pupils, select literature and select Poetry, with correct and melodious elocution, mental improvement and the imbibing of noble sentiment being the ends definitely proposed. Elocution classes will be more effective still: for when the pupil has to repeat with right intonation the words which have been heard from the teacher, they sink far deeper into the imagination and memory. A new and a nobler poetry will rise, free from old pollutions. Let those who fancy Inspiration to be dead, and that all religion is to be learned from parchment, believe also that the heart of Poetry is exhausted—in fact, old poets are in some sense like dead languages. Even when an old poet is singularly noble, it is generally the *few* only who sympathize with him or can learn from him. They have to translate him for the *many*. But let that pass. So much is to us certain: *first*, that in the very proportion in which men cease to find their national religion to be an elevating and purifying influence (a common case both with artisans and with academicians), they need the best influences of Poetry and of Art, and, *next*, that neither Poetry nor Art has yet attained its noble state. How could they indeed? They retain all the weaknesses of the individual and national mind which generated them; and the age which has made any genuine advancement is able to develop higher expressions of itself, and is equally bound to do so as to improve its tools.

The numerous volumes bearing the name of Frances Power Cobbe impose on a reviewer a troublesome and anxious task. The versatility of this lady is certainly remarkable. If she had dealt with only half of her subjects, no one would have suspected that she was able to write on the other half. Hence we are reminded that a reviewer puts himself into a false and silly position, who affects to give an exhaustive account of one who is as likely to comprehend, as to be comprehended by him. We trust we shall not assume any position of wrongful superiority, with whatever freedom we write. It is not merely in the variety and rapidity of her works that Miss Cobbe leaves upon one a sense of *power*; but still more in a certain directness and simplicity with which she approaches every subject, though in a manner and tone varied with the nature of it. If she deals with topics of a practical and

popular kind—workhouses, hospitals, poor-laws, celibacy, female charity—nothing can be more unpretending and businesslike. She everywhere leaves on one an impress of simplicity of purpose, truthfulness, and high, noble sentiment. Indeed, in every moral question she rises and kindles, as soon as the argument passes into the domain of theory and motive. The moral and the religious are intimately, indissolubly combined in her view; and in treating such topics she displays an ardour and an intensity truly rare. Whether she is born to be a prophetess of Theism it is not for us to say; but if she is not, it will not be from lack of living enthusiasm. Even if she had not written the little volume on the “Cities of the Past,” we could have discerned the strong poetical element in her; but without this and her book on Italy, we probably could not have guessed her descriptive powers. It is quite clear that if she would condescend to write popular novels (which, especially when “sensational,” appear to pay better than anything else), her exuberance of humour and her rich graphic ability would secure her an immense circle of readers. But she evidently is studying, not how to enrich herself most, but how best to make her talents bear the fruit for which they are designed. We despair of giving any suitable and complete account of the works before us: yet we must try to say something. But first, we may remark, that women who have on the whole so great an impetus and momentum as Frances Cobbe, have been (as far as we know) rather esteemed or respected than loved, and perhaps are generally feared. No one indeed could easily love a Medea or a Queen Elizabeth; and the remark may be applied to some energetic women nearer to these times. But we make bold to say (for we believe we state notorious fact) that the qualities in *this* lady which inspire affection in both sexes, are more active than those which excite admiration. Therefore let the orthodox beware, lest she prove a dangerous apostle.

Miss Cobbe's first work was her book on the “Theory of Morals” in 1855, which has been twice reprinted without any changes that we discover. This we much regret, for (as might be expected from an inexperienced writer) it has very grave faults of composition, which damage its sterling and characteristic excellences. Probably she found that the changes needed were so large as to amount to a re-writing of the book, and she has been too much occupied in new work to encounter the effort. It is the work of a person who has lived in mental solitude with books and philosophers, and is profoundly unaware how bewildering to common minds is metaphysical language; how wide the interval of the scholastic and the popular.

Not only is the style overrun with phraseology which, when sufficiently irritated by it, we call *jargon*; but it occasionally steps from English into French, as when she talks of *envisaging* a question, instead of *viewing* it; and *resuming* it, when she means *summing* it up: so, *motived* for *animated*, *rehabilitate* for *re-establish*. (These blots, we submit, ought

to have been corrected at any rate, in the recent edition; a corrector of the press could do it, if allowed.) Even the learned illustrations have often a pedantic sound, from being presented in too purely scholastic a form, for instance:—

"He who should argue, that because people ignorant of geometry did not know the *sesquialterate ratio* of the sphere, cylinder and cone, therefore no man could know it; or, that because they disputed it, therefore it was uncertain; would argue no more absurdly than he, &c. . . ."

In place of the words which we print in italics, *relative capacities* should be substituted, in mercy to common mortals. Does Miss Cobbe suppose that we all know what *sesquialterate* means? We confess it puzzles us, to hear speak of a *ratio* of three figures. "Sesquialter" means one and a half. The cone is one *third* of the cylinder, one *half* of the sphere; but this does not suggest to us anything "*sesquialterate*."

Nor is this the worst. Miss Cobbe's learning, though very extensive on the subject of human religion, and such as commands our high respect, is not accurate in respect to the Latin and Greek languages. This circumstance, which is not difficult to discover, requires of her somewhat more diffidence in her quotations, and makes it appear ostentatious in her to obtrude on us pieces of Plato untranslated, as though Platonic Greek were familiar to all. She is fond of the following sentence from Seneca, which is quoted by her in three different places recently noticed by us:—"Hic (Deus) prout a nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat." According as God is treated by us, so He Himself treats us. She always translates it: "As we draw nigh to Him, so He draws nigh to us," as though *tractare rem* meant "to draw nigh to a thing!" It is marvellous that she should persevere in such a blunder.* Presently she adds (Ed. 3, p. 129), "Menander sung 'God is with mortals by conscience.'† By the Greeks such *συνειδήσις* was commonly spoken of as the household guardian, the domestic god, the spirit of the place." A note to verify this, stands as follows, †*ἑποροις ἀπασιν ἡ συνειδήσις θεός* . . . *οἰκίος φύλαξ, ἐνοικίος θεός, ἐπίτροπος δαίμων*.

We complain, that learning thus administered is a disagreeable potion; for we cannot trust it, can but half understand it, and have not the means of verifying it. The only thing quite certain is, that Miss Cobbe does not understand the Greek: why then does she meddle with it, and leave absurd mistakes in a third edition? Has no kind friend pointed it out? *Ἐπίτροπος δαίμων* does not mean "the spirit of the place" (*τόπος* for *τῶπος* seems to mislead her), but means Guardian spirit;—*Guardian* or *Trustee*

* Remarkable as is the passage, Seneca writes it as a *polytheist*. He says (Epist. 41): "O Lucilius, a sacred spirit sits within us, observer and watch of our good and evil. No man is good without (a) god. . . . In every good man there dwells,—*what god, is uncertain*." The last words either make the translation *sine Deo*, "without a god," correct, or show a rapid vacillation from Theism to Polytheism.

in relation to a *Ward*. *Οἰκίος φύλαξ* probably means, not *household* guardian, but *familiar* (or personal) protector. *Ἐνοικίος θεός*, we believe, means *indwelling* god, not the *domestic* god. She does not denote whence the phrases come, hence we cannot tell whither to look for the context. We can only conjecture that this solemn scriptural phraseology belong to the most highly developed school of New Platonic Theism. But it is startling to find her say (what is to us quite incredible) that conscience was by the Greeks *commonly* thus spoken of; and the form of her note would imply that these words are a continuation of the passage quoted from the comedian Menander. Menander's rhythm would be completed by:—

ἑποροις ἀπασιν ἡ συνειδήσις θεός.

"[for] to all mortals Conscience is a god."

But Miss Cobbe unjustly elevates it into "God is *with* mortals *by* conscience," and coolly uses *συνειδήσις* in an English sentence as though Greek letters and Greek sounds were universally understood.

We notice a still wilder blunder in the long note to p. 151 (3rd Ed.—p. 99 of 1st Ed.), where an invective of St. Jerome against the heretic Pelagius is quoted: "*Nec recordatur stolidissimus et Scotorum pultibus prægravatus*—" "and this very stupid man, surfeited with British (?) porridge, *does not remember*—" But she translates it, "*Neither let him be set down as stupid and unwieldy with Irish stirabout*." It surpasses conjecture what can have misled her. Now since the number of Englishmen who can understand an easy Latin sentence is very large, and those who can judge of a metaphysical controversy are very few, Miss Cobbe damages her book extremely by such absurdities: for those who see her haste and inaccuracy in Latin quotations, will be apt to impute a like inaccuracy to her fundamental philosophy.

But this leads us to another defect, almost graver than any error of detail; namely, that she commits the great unfairness to her own moral system, and to those whom she means to edify, of insisting that it shall be received through the door of the Kantian philosophy. This is like Judaical Christians, who would not admit Gentiles into the Church except through the door of circumcision and the Sabbath. Sound morality is matter of universal need; but all have not taste for metaphysics, nor have we all stomach for Kant's doctrine about *homo noumenon* and *homo phenomenon*. When we go to church and wish to be edified, it is very vexatious to be *bored* by metaphysics, and we get sick with technical terms, in every one of which we justly suspect a trap. Such words as necessary and contingent seem to Miss Cobb conducive to accurate demonstration: to us they seem pregnant with fallacy. But they are only a small fraction of her copious metaphysical vocabulary. Words, according to the proverb, are the counters of wise men, but the money of fools. In metaphysics too many of us are certainly fools, as our sharp and pertinacious oppositions prove. The only way to have a chance of avoiding delusion, is, perpetually

to recur to first principles, by resolving our words back into their definitions. Technical terms are expressly invented to save us the trouble of going back to first principles. Hereby they are of great value when our foundations are undoubtedly sound, as in mathematics, but they are the densest covert of fallacy, whenever there is unsoundness beneath; and at best they are always apt to cheat us with mere shadows, unless we diligently cultivate the habit of looking through them to the bottom of their meaning. If we *cannot* translate them into a more popular dialect, it is all but a proof that they are deluding us: hence we look with extreme jealousy on every writer on metaphysics, who finds technical terms necessary; and the history of past systems justifies us in this. The late eminent Professor Boole, than whom no modern mathematician has made more splendid generalizations of and by technical nomenclature, enunciated it as an axiom, that "there is no more certain way of *emasculating* the mind, than by early overlaying it with technical forms of high generalization." He spoke as a mathematician. With equal confidence do we predict that it would be ruinous to young minds to bring them to morals through the portal of Kantism, and initiate them into the artificial phraseology which overflows on Miss Cobbe's pages. We are aware that it is no more possible wholly to avoid metaphysical controversy in morals than controversy in religion: there are in all, fundamental points on which men are not agreed. But the metaphysics of the question should be brought to the minimum, not driven to the maximum, as by Miss Cobbe; and if controversy, more or less, be unavoidable, at least technical terms can almost always be avoided; and certainly it is an urgent duty to avoid them, whenever they involve ambiguity. As we are not disposed here (or anywhere) for needless metaphysics, we decline altogether to enter the question whether Miss Cobbe's Kantism be *sound*: it suffices to say that it is wholly *unnecessary* to her moral theory. (Alas for the world, if it were otherwise!) Indeed in her preface she says that her *main design* is, to *make Morals a popular science*.

Her theory is simple, noble, and speaks for itself. If any one do not receive it, when stated in her eloquent and fervid words, they certainly will not the more be brought to assent, when it is argued for through a nauseous phraseology, or pressed by geometrical analogies, which to many minds will seem wholly out of place.

What then is the Moral Theory for which she contends? It is this: that Virtue is forgetful of self, is *disinterested*, in proportion to its purity and elevation; that the highest end of our being is Virtue, not Happiness; that the Good, the Right, is something higher than the Useful, inasmuch as the end is higher than the means, and that the pure love of Absolute Goodness is fundamentally the same thing as the love of God. For this reason her morals ever culminate into religion. We give a specimen of her style when not deformed by tasteless technicalities. (Ed. 8, p. 43.)

"But it is not only the Justice, it is the Goodness of God, which makes Virtue and not Happiness the primary end of creation. Those who have believed that this happiness is his sole aim, have rested exclusively on this attribute of goodness. But has love *indeed* nothing better to desire for its object than the gratifications of intellect, affection, and sense? It seems to me that there is something more precious than these that it would far rather bestow. Who that has loved deeply, nobly, worthily, does not know that the honour, goodness, truth, purity of our friend is dearer to us than his enjoyment of all the pleasures of life, fondly as we would pour them also at his feet? How base would be the love which should regard our friend's virtue with indifference, and, while praying for his worldly prosperity, breathe no aspiration for his moral perfection! They were *mothers* who have said—'I would rather have seen my son in the grave than prosperous in iniquity.' But if this be so with us—if poor-sighted human love, so often dazzled with the glitter of earthly happiness, so incapable of comprehending the true grandeur of virtue, can yet choose that virtue before all things for the one beloved, what must be the choice of that Divine love which from heaven looks down to see happiness a grain of dust in the balance against virtue!" . . .

"If we believe in this unbounded power of growth in the human soul, its capacity for endless progress, we cannot, I think, fail to recognize such capacity as the most important attribute of a finite intelligence. In comparison of [with?] the ideas of Godlike goodness, ineffable peace, purity and magnanimity which thus open to us, as possible for us, all the delights of this life, the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, seem unworthy of a thought. We feel that the one thing real in this world of shadows is the state of the soul; its progression towards, or its retrogression from, this glorious bourne. And God, who sees even now down the far-off cycles of the future the blessed virtue to which the child of clay may, ay, *shall* assuredly attain, must not He set forth that consummation so prominently as the end of His creation, that in comparison thereof the pleasures of this life shall be accounted but as the toys of an infant to the throne he shall inherit hereafter? Who will say, Goodness seeks but the happiness of the creature? It would be, not goodness, but direst cruelty, which should set our happiness on earth before our virtue through all eternity."

Many persons suppose that the doctrine of "Intuition" is Miss Cobbe's great peculiarity. To that doctrine we shall recur; but the opinion is a mistake. Her peculiarity lies in her indissoluble union of God and Immortality with Morals. Ever since Lord Herbert of Cherbury, we believe, Theism has been formulated into three articles—God, Duty, and Immortality; but no reasoners before Miss Cobbe, as far as we know, have embraced the first and third article as developments of the second. Whether she is right or wrong, we are not now arguing; but we desire to call attention, wherein lies the essential importance of human immortality to her theory. As she abhors the idea that God is always studying His own *glory*, equally does she disdain the miserable meanness which teaches that each man is to study his own *interests* on the other side of the grave, to sacrifice happiness on this side in exchange for more on that, and look to be reimbursed for present losses.

On this subject she intensely rejects the doctrine of Jesus. But Immortality is that which gives the element of *infinity* to the human soul—making its virtue so precious, that it is worth while to cherish it to the last at any amount of sacrifice. It is also that which soothes and comforts us in the anguishing sight of unrelieved and apparently purposeless human miseries. Now we may be wrong; but we have seemed to observe that persons who have not Miss Cobbe's full assurance of faith in immortality, are angry with her for getting it, as seems, so cheaply and easily. (As a clever amiable nobleman is said to have said, "What I do not like in Macaulay is, he is so *cocksure* about things.") To us her faith appears enviable. Like Theodore Parker, she sees Immortality with equal directness, clearness, and certainty, as Duty and God, and does not, like others, work towards it by elaborate, complicated argument, which when soundest can never have the power, the momentum of direct perception, and is apt to fail us in the very day of trial. If anything would make us doubt the sound simplicity of her faith, it is the greediness with which she grasps at the belief that it is the faith of universal man. We cannot but feel that here both she and Theodore Parker greatly overstate facts. But until each of us can be sure that in fervent love of pure goodness he is the equal of these two persons, it is wise rather to suspect defect of vision in himself, than to cast scorn on a doctrine of ennobling and mighty power which cannot be sneered down.

Now as to Intuition, Miss Cobbe could not help using the word, or something equivalent, because here she is undeniably in collision with certain unreligious moralists. But perhaps she has made the word too prominent, and at any rate her opponents (Christian Missionaries primarily) are blind to the fact, that only those who are willing to dispense with all religion whatsoever, can dispense with her doctrine of Intuition. Let it be conceded as admissible for an avowed Atheist to say, that he believes nothing by Intuition, not even the Axioms of Euclid, but only by Experience—yet it is ludicrous for a religious person to say that he knows by *experience*, or by *induction*, that God is eternal, is blessed, is pure, is free from malice and falsehood, &c. Most of the truths discerned as axioms have after-verifications, but such a truth as that God is eternal, or God is blessed, never can have any verification at all—but *either* stands for ever as a truth of mere Intuition (or it may be of Deduction), *else* it must be absolutely renounced. Christians are absurd who scoff at Miss Cobbe's doctrine of Intuition: Atheists have no right to single her out for reprobation. All that they can justly say is, that she partakes in the common error of believing in God's perfections, but is more discerning than her religious opponents as to the ground of their common belief.

We have not exhausted the excellences and defects of her first treatise. It abounds with lengthy notes, which contain the fruits of enormous reading, aptly and powerfully applied. Such tedious passages of Christian controversies as most active-minded members of our old

Universities once read in their youth, but have gladly forgotten—more of the same sort in the polemics of Romanists with Protestants, or Protestants among themselves, and a scattering of Neo-Platonic, Mohammedan, or Indian religion—may be found in these notes, besides modern metaphysics. Notes of enormous length are a deformity to a treatise, but most of the matter here is very valuable. Now if the useless and hurtful excess of metaphysics were cut out from the book, these notes might profitably be worked up into the text. Since Miss Cobbe does not do it herself, we murmur against the law of Copyright, which forbids our getting it done by another. By reprinting without improvement this first and crude essay of her pen, Miss Cobbe may naturally seem to be enamoured of its blemishes. To any who are severe against those blemishes, we would suggest how very buoyant must be its excellences, when,—weighed down by that heaviest of cargoes, metaphysics—launched anonymously, damaged by the revelation that the metaphysics came from an unknown female mind—the book could reach a third edition in nine years. The operation which we think to be needed is similar to that which Bentham endured from Dumont, who "threw overboard tons of unreadable matter," translated execrable, unintelligible phraseology into pure clear French, and thus out of Bentham's materials produced a work which has enlightened Latin Europe and the whole of South America in jurisprudence.

Miss Cobbe's second treatise of this series is called "Religious Duty." As far as we have gathered opinions concerning it from religious persons, it is judged to be somewhat too severe in its exactions, and (what may be called) too stoical. Yet it is like a keen shower-bath, bracing and exciting. As we may say of her first treatise, that we never before read a book on morality which seemed to kindle one to a love of goodness; so of the second we may say, that of the sermons we have heard, there are indeed few that have so purifying and invigorating a power.

A third treatise was promised on the *details* of Practical Duty. Of this we have valuable instalments in the volume which is called "Studies, Ethical and Social." In it we particularly advert to four essays—that of Self-Development and Self-Abnegation, that on the Philosophy of the Poor Laws, that on the Claims of Brutes, and that on the Morals of Literature. All are valuable—the first which we name is peculiarly original, and is to us a promise how large a crop of important moral truth will be gathered, when minds and hearts, ardent at once and pure, approach the study systematically. There is indeed in Miss Cobbe a form of bravery which, appropriately enough, yet very rarely, is found in a person of intense religious conviction and considerable stoicism: she is not at all afraid to rebuke an excess of self-sacrifice, and extravagant claims of honour and obedience to parents. The whole essay ought to be read; the parts which we fain would quote are too long. One short paragraph may suggest the spirit of the whole:—

"Self-abnegation may be noble or base. It is noble when its sacrifices are inspired by the conviction, that thereby God's work may best be done and man's wants best supplied. It is base when it springs—first, from cowardice; second, from indolence; third, from a readiness to make spiritual capital out of the selfishness of others, whom it encourages in a soul-destroying vice, while it tries to build itself up in a celestial virtue; fourth, from an immoral acceptance of the principle of passive endurance, which relieves the mind from the agony of strife or the solemn weight of responsibility."—p. 58.

This passage suggests what in many other places we might say, that Miss Cobbe is as yet most imperfectly aware how intensely opposed to the dogmatic ethics of the New Testament are her practical ethics. When, most inconsistently, she eulogizes the precepts of the three gospels, she builds up with one hand and destroys with the other. Whether old associations or affections for persons blinds her to her own self-antagonism in this whole matter, we have not the means of conjecturing.

In the same volume there is a remarkable essay on ART, occupying 56 pages, which shows that she has not only studied the subject largely and keenly, but has digested her thoughts upon it with great care, and reduced them to a system. Even if space here allowed, it would be unbecoming in the immediate writer of these pages to pass his judgment upon her. He can but testify that her pages eminently deserve a candid and careful perusal. The main question seems to be, what is the Truth and what the Poetry which is to enter all Art. Miss Cobbe, we gather, has an intense belief that Art must be truthful and must be a revelation of the beautiful—will, in fact, be religious:—

"When we have aided a man to acquire a high and pure taste for poetry, we may be assured we have aided him to somewhat more than a refined and blameless pleasure—we have aided him to receive a Revelation of God."—p. 312.

What a revolution of thought is this, side by side with the idea that the Church Catechism, with the Natural History and Geography of the Bible, are a liberal mode of elevating and refining mankind! What a contrast also to those who pardon and almost admire the voluptuousness of Art, if it be but beautiful! Miss Cobbe also demands for Art a *worthy subject*, and deprecates as false the admiration for great powers applied to a subject intrinsically unworthy of them. With much diffidence, we earnestly recommend the study of that question to students of Art.

The Essay on "Christian Ethics and the Ethics of Christ" was written for a theological review, and might probably have received modification, had the author been free to speak her whole mind. Yet we fear that we should still have to remark on her gross inconsistency, for we find the same in her beautiful little treatise called "Broken Lights," concerning which we need say little—because we believe the public has rightly appreciated it; at least, in less than a year they called for a second edition. It has also been reprinted in America. Her earnest desire to discover and display the best side of

every system of religion, to see it from the point of view taken by its noblest or most respectable advocates, is in refreshing contrast not only to ordinary malignant or narrow-minded controversialists, but also to Theodore Parker, whose weakness in this matter she reluctantly admits.

Her preface to Parker's works is a very vigorous piece of writing, and may almost be called a moral and spiritual biography. Here, as in her "Broken Lights," she shows a grasp of mind very rare among men—doubly rare hitherto among women; yet through all, how beautifully feminine affection and enthusiasm shines transparent! Though this consists of only 31 pages, it is so closely printed as to be a little book in itself, and is well worth a perusal by those for whom Theodore Parker's own writings are too voluminous. We find it is to be had separately.

Among Miss Cobbe's less-noticed works are her volume on the "Pursuits of Women" and that on "Italy," which by a strange error of taste has been called "*Italica*." (It might have been "*Italica*.") The character of the former book assimilates it to the writings of Miss Parkes, Madame Bodichon, Miss Nightingale, Miss Elliot, and other estimable ladies. It did not give room for Miss Cobbe's more characteristic powers: yet it is not the less valuable, as her contribution to great, difficult questions, urgent on every philanthropist and every patriot; and she has evidently worked out her problems with great zeal and conscientiousness, never neglecting statistics and practical fact under any attractions of theory. But her book on "Italy" seems to need here more particular notice.

If we had been asked an opinion—What is the weak side of Miss Cobbe's intellect? we might have been tempted to reply, History. Like Plutarch, she seems to have a mind too vehemently moral to retain historical impartiality. Plutarch, it is observed, is very untrustworthy as to mythical characters—as Romulus, Numa, Theseus; nay, as to those who, though strictly historical,—as Solon, Publicola, Camillus,—yet lived before the times of copious literature: apparently because he is too eager for moral results. Miss Cobbe, in our opinion, is generally superficial and delusive, when she ventures to quote from classical history. She is unaware of the great uncertainty, both as to facts and characters, in the traditional tales, and of the severe criticism which they need; but she snatches at some moral result from them. So, her treatment of the deeds and words of Jesus is wholly arbitrary: she seems to receive or reject, just as pleases her moral taste, without any grounds historically justifiable. Nevertheless, as Plutarch is eminently trustworthy and valuable when he deals with the life of one, concerning whom the literary documents were abundant and accessible, because his pure amiableness made him unbiassed, and glad to give even to the worst men such praise as they deserved; so we find Miss Cobbe, when dealing with men and things as they were before her in Italy, beyond comparison more trustworthy than in a problem of the distant past, where truth is to be gleaned from few and doubt-

ful documents. Her book on "Italy" has perhaps nowhere been rightly represented; we were ourselves surprised on reading it. A very large part of it is a most unpretending but useful summary of recent facts, not easy to get collectively anywhere else. After a short introduction concerning Italy in the travail of new birth, she treats in successive chapters on the new *Roads*; on the new *Schools* and Reform of Colleges or Universities; on the new *Armies*, with a short notice of the Navy; on the new *Jury* system and its difficulties, with the efforts for a new code of law; on the *Newspapers*, and the slight beginnings of literature. In these five chapters is an honest and elaborate effort to furnish the readers with all the statistics; indeed, she goes so far as to give a list of the principal newspapers and of all the magazines of which she could learn. In her chapter on the Political Parties of Italy she is on ground, on which everyone's perceptions are liable to be coloured by their own political opinions; but we do not see that she has any opinions *for* or *against* Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Republicanism to bias her. At the same time, her warm sympathy with the United States, otherwise known, forbids us to believe that she has any anti-republican sentiment.

In this chapter she enters on a digression, entitled "How can we most certainly provide that the Right shall be done?" which is virtually a little treatise on the Suffrage. If an angel wrote a treatise on that subject he would leave many unconvinced, and perhaps would be called prejudiced, narrow-minded, or wild. We may, however, here state her conclusion:—

"We are shut up in a circle. The aristocrat may argue, that he alone who possesses power should always keep it; and that the plebeian never having had it [and therefore being unqualified to use it] ought never to get it. The democrat, on the contrary, may argue, that the plebeian should be given it, precisely because by possessing it he will become capable of exercising it rightly. *Very little doubt, I think, can exist, that this last is the true view of the case . . .* and the only problem that remains is, *how this power should be extended. . . .*"—p. 157.

She decides for a gradual, steady enfranchisement descending in society. There is nothing in this at all original; but neither is there anything to offend or startle. Concerning Mazzini she has a passage of noble recognition and admiration, though she thinks that the Mazzinians, through an unreasonable impatience, hurtfully aggravate the difficulties of the Government; which, with the best intentions, cannot succeed in repressing crime, where witnesses so fear assassination that they will not give evidence. We find her chapter on the brigands, and that on Father Passaglia, very interesting. Without presuming to guarantee the truth of her colouring as to the women of Italy—through whom the priests hope to recover their dominion—and a few other topics as to which no two minds see quite alike, we certainly feel that this book is a valuable and interesting contribution to our knowledge of Italy in transition.

Her description of Baron Usedom's villa is

striking and graphic, and reminds one of her light and elegant book, "The Cities of the Past." Occasionally grand metaphors in her other writings show the hidden poet. Thus in the opening of her preface to Theodore Parker's works:—

"The progress of religious belief from a less to a more enlightened stage is carried on apparently by a series of waves of thought, which sweep over the minds of men at distant intervals. There are periods of comparative calm and stagnation, and then times of gradual swelling and upheaving of the deep, till some great billow slowly rears its crest above the surface, higher and still higher, to the last; when, with a mighty convulsion, amid foam and spray and noise of many waters, it topples over and bursts in thunder up the beach, bearing the flood-line higher than it had ever reached before. *A great national reformation has been accomplished.*"

But in "The Cities of the Past," Miss Cobbe shows a temperament not merely poetical, but romantic, such as makes one say, "Had she been a *boy* what a harum-skarum being that boy would have been!" We are heartily glad that she is a woman, has come home from Mount Lebanon with her neck safe, and that her horse never failed her. There may be too much "champagne" in this little volume for elder people; but unless mammas are afraid of exciting their daughters to imitate Miss Cobbe's audacious travelling, we think it is likely to become a favourite parlour book. She is certainly at home everywhere under God's heaven, and sees the world everywhere smiling with the hues of her own happy heart.

We approach the end of the task which we prescribed to ourselves—to give some exhibition of the quality of mind displayed by three women, as some very imperfect sample of the work which Englishwomen are about to perform. It is surely high time that a man who dares to write insolently concerning the female intellect, should not only be regarded as rude, but should incur the imputation of deficiency in his own powers. If we have not yet reached that point, we cannot be far off from it; for it is only the meaner male intellects that are capable of jealousy, or of ungenerous appreciation.

ART. IV.—PALGRAVE'S TRAVELS IN ARABIA.

Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-1863).
By WILLIAM GIFFORD PALGRAVE. London: Macmillan.

If it be true that the chief aim and end of all the rivulets of human knowledge is to construct by their sedimentary deposit a Science of History, then a really good book of travels is not the least precious of the tributary streams. It is now a truism that the most arbitrary exercises of human volition, no less than the most capricious accidents of the phy-

sical world, are sternly regulated by undeviating rules. These rules or laws can only be ascertained by Induction, and the process of Induction rests from first to last, for its efficient performance, upon Comparison. Now no class of intellectual labourers have it in their power to supply more numerous, more varied, more reproductive data for comparison with a view to establishing some general principles of civilization, than travellers in different lands. For such a purpose the estimate of a given traveller's tale will be made partly from a consideration of his own personal achievements, literary and locomotive—partly from regard had to the special situation or circumstances of the lands he has visited. A book of travels does not admit of the test of cross-examination. It will, therefore, be reliable and serviceable so far only as by its particularity of detail, by its varied and copious anticipation of every question and every want, and by a certain ingenuous transfusion of the author's own personality into the story, it at once supersedes and forbids a judicial scrutiny. It depends on the traveller himself how he makes his observations, and what observations he makes; how he multiplies them, and how he records them. It is for his readers to classify those observations, to select from them, and turn them to account as best they may—each appropriating what is adapted to his own special needs and independent province of inquiry. So much for the qualifications of the traveller. Further, the maximum of value will be attained by a book of travels where the special circumstances of the territory visited are such that in the smallest geographical area there is found the widest possible diversity in all that belongs to the necessities, conveniences, and refinements of human life—where, if it be possible, every intermediate chord is played upon in the ascending scale from anarchy to constitutional liberty, from pauperism to luxury, from brutality to manhood—where, religions being different under the same climate, and climates differing with the same religion, the resulting condition of the people in either case is the most accurately transcribed. These advantages will be enhanced if special historical associations, and a certain traditional and romantic splendour have for ages invested the country, and tinged with a brighter or darker glow the spirits of its inhabitants.

It is no more than according to Mr. Palgrave the reward due to his perseverance, sagacity, and courage to say, that taking into account the exceptional conditions which hemmed him in on every side, and restricted and limited all his investigations, he has done his work after a manner that deserves all praise and congratulation. Fortunate in the country he has selected—a country which, standing midway between East and West, both historically and topographically, has at all times ineffaceably impressed the imagination of the philosophic student and the politician, and yet which, for all purposes of precise inquiry, has been up to the present day shrouded under a mist of ignorance and prejudice—Mr. Palgrave is thrice fortunate in the intellectual and social

qualifications which have fitted him for the brilliant task he has achieved. Of those who read this work, few will be they whose sympathies will not be kindled at the evolution of the grave, pathetic, yet severely human drama, as the stately procession of places, people, and incidents move along. Few will be they whose curiosity will not be stimulated at the representation of modes of life, ceremonies, intrigues, religious formalities, so distinct not only from familiar usages in Europe, but from what has been told of all other Eastern climes. Few, again, will accompany the traveller from one Khāwah, or reception-room, to another, and from one royal court to another, who will not heartily respond to his generous hope, that the best blood of Arabia—blood not more colourless than that of the proudest Europeans—may one day be free from the paralyzing yoke of a bigoted and intolerant despotism, and nobly develop its instinctive tendencies in commercial and political rivalry with the progressive states of the West.

In what may be called the first distillation of the results of travel, by which the total process of applying those results to the ultimate uses of mankind is initiated, the desultory or gossiping mode of story-telling is by far preferable. It is far the best for the traveller to tell us everything he sees or hears, just as he sees or hears it; and everything that happens, just as it happens. As he approaches a city, we shall thus have first a piece of pictorial description or scene-painting, then a chapter of politics, then a sprinkling of economical notices, then some careful architectural drawings, and the whole varied and enlivened by personal incidents, views of manners and customs, and recollected scraps of anecdote and conversation. The same must be done all over again for the next place, and so on. This is not only the most convenient style for the traveller and his readers, discharging the former from the inappropriate functions of selecting, systematizing, and classifying, and leaving the latter to arrange as they will, but it is also, however apparently cumbersome and unscientific, the most likely avenue to truth. For the religious life of a people, least of all an Eastern people, cannot be severed from their political life without disfigurement and loss—nor, again, can the life of a family be safely dismembered from that of the city and the state. It is in the union of all modes of life and energy, and the reciprocal reactions of each, that the aggregate human result is attained.

It is however otherwise in what may be called the second distillation, when the circumstantial details are in everybody's hand, and it is of moment to call the attention of the public to certain conclusions to be evolved out of those details, or to certain important aspects in which those details admit of being viewed. In such cases it is more convenient, though undoubtedly with the sacrifice above noticed, to distribute the leading results under a few obvious and interesting titles, and to show the bearing of the results comprised under the several titles upon the chief countries visited in succession, and thence on

the general interests of mankind. Thus, descending from such phenomena as are generally common to the largest areas to those differentiated throughout the smallest integral portions, we may consider the facts brought to light by Mr. Palgrave as included under one or other of four titles in order, that is to say, physical, political, social, religious. Such is an obvious mode of classification when applied to almost any other land than Arabia. Here, however, the political and religious phenomena have been at all times so intermixed, and the former has been (to speak mathematically) so invariably a "function" of the latter that we shall give the religious phenomena the precedence of the political and the social, and shall further be under the necessity of combining at times the religious and political history in one.

First, however, briefly to notice the conditions under which Mr. Palgrave made his observations. He assumed the character of a physician and a Christian from Syria, and had with him as a companion a native of the village of Zahleh, in the plains of Cœlo-Syria. He also took with him on setting out from Mâân, a small town situated on the great pilgrim road from Damascus to Mecca, and at the south-eastern corner of Syria, a number of articles for exchange in case it might seem expedient to alternate the *rôle* of doctor with that of travelling merchant. Such articles were an ample provision of cloth, handkerchiefs, glass necklaces, pipe-bowls, and two large sacks of coffee. His dress was that of an ordinary middle-class traveller of Minor Syria. It consisted of a long stout blouse of Egyptian hemp, and under it loose cotton drawers. Round his head were colored headkerchiefs girt by head-bands of some pretension to elegance. Loose red leathern boots completed the toilet. This was the dress for the desert. For better inhabited and more civilized districts, travelling-sacks at his camels' sides contained suits of a more elegant appearance, rendered necessary by the assumed character of travelling doctor. This reserve toilet numbered articles like the following: coloured over-dresses, the Syrian combay, handkerchiefs, where silk stripes relieved the plebeian cotton, and girdles of good material and tasteful colouring. Mr. Palgrave tells us in his preface, that he was at the time of his undertaking in connexion with the Order of the Jesuits, and that, having passed the best part of his life in the East, he possessed such a familiarity with the Arabic language as to make it to him almost a mother tongue. In an interesting passage of his work Mr. Palgrave treats on what may be called the theory of successful personation in the East. He deals with the subject from a practical, as well as a casuistical point of view. It is his belief that the worst of all possible disguises is that of a wandering Darweesh, and that none of those who are rumoured to have followed this plan in Mahometan countries really passed undiscovered. The Asiatic Mahometan, even where he has best reasons for doubt, is designedly unsuspecting with regard to any

one who outwardly professes the same faith, and he is so in accordance with a duty enjoined him in the strongest terms by the Koran: "Do not say to one who meets you and salutes you, 'You are not a true believer;'" and, "O ye true believers, avoid suspicion, for suspicion is often a crime." So also, "He who casts on a believer the slur of infidelity, is himself an infidel," is a saying attributed by tradition to the Prophet. A melancholy story is added of an European traveller who assumed the Darweesh disguise, and on being enticed with delusive promises into the capital of the Wahhabee empire, was told on reaching it, "that the Wahhabees stand in no need of Darweeshes in their territory; so let the stranger put himself early to-morrow morning on his way to Mecca, where he will assuredly be more at home than we can make him here." The message was accompanied by a sum of money, a camel for riding, and a promise of guides to the next halt. Orders had been given to conduct him by a road leading through a ruined town, where the fiercest fanatics of the Wahhabee sect reside. The villagers were warned that under the fictitious appearance of a Darweesh was concealed an European spy. A few minutes later the traveller was lying dead under the palm-trees, with several musket shots through the body.

Mr. Palgrave's opinion is that the chief danger lies, not in being detected for a Christian, but for an European. To be known, he says, in Arabia for a Christian (Mecca and its appendages excepted, in a certain degree and under certain coincidences,) occasions no danger, and hardly any inconvenience. To be recognised for an European, or the agent of Europeans, might probably enough be fatal, and at the best would assuredly cut short the traveller's explorations by a premature and compulsory return to the frontiers, he being closely watched, too, on the way. We cannot stay to follow Mr. Palgrave into his casuistical reasoning, which opens out more numerous and more complex problems than he has solved. It is certainly by no means clear that the line dividing moral from immoral personation can be determinately drawn between occasions of direct religious observances on the one hand, and of social and political intercourse on the other. The natural and popular tendency to make such a demarcation has no root whatever in absolute morality, nor can be countenanced by any professedly moral creed. It is not for us to untie the knot.

Such are the general circumstances under which an European traveller must make his way, if he make it at all, through Arabia. We now proceed to give a concise account of the most noticeable facts which the successful enterprise of at least one traveller has brought to light. Following out the mode of distribution suggested above, we proceed to give a brief description of (1) the physical features of the country explored.

Most people's idea of the geographical limits of Arabia is, perhaps, only less vague than that of its historical and social characteristics. For the purpose of clearing up all confusion, we

will adopt the concise description given by our traveller himself, which will be found sufficiently intelligible to all who have any lingering reminiscence of the relative position of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

"Arabia and Arabs begin south of Syria and Palestine, west of Basrah and Zobeyr, east of Herah and the Red Sea. Draw a line across from the top of the Red Sea to the top of the Persian Gulf: what is below that line is alone Arab; and even then we do not reckon the pilgrim route, it is half Turkish; nor Medinah, it is cosmopolitan; nor the sea coast of Yemen, it is Indo-Abyssinian; least of all Mecca, the common sewer of Mahometans of all kinds, nations, and lands, and where every trace of Arab identity has long since been effaced by promiscuous immorality and the corruption of ages."

Now, the subject of the present narrative is that portion of the peninsula which does not include the scenes of the early life of Mahomet and the rise of his sect—that is, Hejaz and Yemen on the west—nor the great Sandy Desert or Dabna, with the territory of Hadrimaut, on the south. Thus the northern, central, and eastern provinces of Arabia are the special subjects of the present description. These provinces are represented by four distinct seats of independent government—that is, independent of all mutual control or interference; though in some cases recognising their subordination one to another by fealty, services, or tribute. The seats of government are Djowf, Hayel, Riad, and Mascat. The respective provinces having these towns for their capitals, and ranging in order from the north-western to the south-western corner of the peninsula, are the Djowf, Shomer, Nejed, and Oman. Each of these provinces and each of the capitals were visited by Mr. Palgrave in succession. At Hayel and Riad he remained for weeks together, and practised his assumed profession; thus making himself familiarly acquainted with persons of all ages and conditions. He represents himself as going in and out of the hovel and the palace, now discussing politics or medicine with kings and ministers, now entrapping the shopkeeper or the casual passer-by into easy dialogue, now among a few chosen friends in his private lodgings, beguiling the time with Arab songs, Nabtee poetry, or unrestricted gaiety and fun.

As Mr. Palgrave was not in a position to make minute geological or botanical investigations, we can only gather from scattered notices the superficial aspects of the scenery through which he passed. Much of this scenery is familiar to the imagination of all. We have brought before us the long black desert, now covered with pebbles, now with patches of sand, and relieved at long and refreshing intervals by deep crater-like pits, containing water, vegetation, and in some cases a few scattered human habitations. Then, on passing from Shomer into Nejed, the whole platform rises into a vast table-land, formed by the flattened ridges of Djebel Toweyk; stretching like a vast crescent from Shomer and Kaseem to the north-west, round and through the very centre of the imperial province of Nejed to the east, and abruptly twisting round

into the desert to the south-west, along the pilgrim route from Nejed to Mecca. Not the least characteristic and harassing part of the journey was that comprised in two slips of the southern desert that have long ramifications to the north. They are called Nefood. One of these slips had to be traversed before reaching the city of Hayel, the other before attaining the high lands of Toweyk. They are described as presenting to the eye—

"An immense ocean of loose reddish sand, unlimited in extent, heaped up in enormous ridges, running parallel to each other from north to south, undulation after undulation, each swell two or three hundred feet in average height, with slant sides and rounded crests, furrowed in every direction by the capricious gales of the desert. In the depths between, the traveller finds himself as it were imprisoned in a suffocating sand-pit, hemmed in by burning walls on every side; while at other times labouring up the slope, he overlooks what seems a vast sea of fire, swelling under a heavy monsoon wind, and ruffled by a cross-blast into little red-hot waves. Neither shelter nor rest for eye or limb, amid torrents of light and heat, poured from above on an unswerving glare reflected below. . . . The tepid and discoloured water in the skins rapidly diminishes even more by evaporation than by use, and a vertical sun—such a sun—strikes blazing down till clothes, baggage, and housings all take the smell of burning and scarce permit the touch."

Mr. Palgrave, having practised so long and extensively as a doctor among the people, is able to give us some interesting and important information about their pathological condition and medical acquirements. With respect to the latter, the traditional reputation of Arabia is certainly not supported at the present day. We are told—

"that their first glimmerings of science and of method were soon effectually closed and cross-barred by Islamic immobility and its misplaced supernaturalism. . . . The fated and all-pervading interference, for such Islam makes it, of the Divine Omnipotence, came in to preclude research, by reducing every phenomenon to the one immediate, universal, and arbitrary cause, and thus cut every knot instead of untying it. Moreover, autopsy and anatomical studies were held, and still are so, in horror, because a violation of the rights of Munkow and Nekeer, grave angels."

Senna and colocynth are almost the only drugs used or understood; sulphur, the sulphuret of mercury, and that of arsenic, constitute the entire ordinary list of external applications. Bleeding is known, but seldom practised. The actual cautery is lavishly employed, and borne with amazing patience. The Arabians exhibit great obtuseness in their general nervous sensibility. While Mr. Palgrave was at Riad, a young fellow insisted on having a bullet, which had lodged deep in his forearm and gave him some annoyance, cut out. The operation was a difficult one; the muscular fasciæ had to be divided down to the bone; meanwhile, the Nejdean held out the arm steady and inflexible, as though it belonged to some one else, and never changed colour, shortly after getting up and walking home, carrying his bullet with him.

The whole central plateau of Arabia is one of the healthiest countries in the world; there seems to be no gout, cancer, nor hysteria. Intermittent fever is extremely rare; typhus and typhoid are unknown throughout Nejed, nor has the plague, whether imported from Egypt or from Persia, ever found its way to the up-hill country. The land is however occasionally visited by contagious or epidemic diseases. Thus, the cholera made an inroad in Nejed, where it seems to have been attended by all its well-known symptoms and horrors. The small-pox has been known in Arabia from time immemorial, and inoculation is still in use throughout Nejed. The scrofulous diathesis is remarkably frequent in the Arab race. The stress of this constitutional malady falls more frequently on the abdominal than on the pectoral cavity. Pure pulmonary phthisis, offering no other prominent symptoms, is comparatively unfrequent. Rheumatism of all possible forms and degrees, sciatica, lumbago, with kindred diseases, are, perhaps, the commonest complaints, more especially among the Bedouins and the poorer villagers. Dyspepsia, and chronic gastritis, are hardly less common than rheumatism. Dysentery, and chronic diarrhoea, are considerably less frequent than in India. We need not further particularise the diseases found prevalent in the country, but will refer the inquisitive reader to the very interesting portion of Mr. Palgrave's second volume, which treats this subject at length.

We have some useful observations recorded on the natural history of the beasts of burden, and the most valuable vegetable products found in the country. We are told that the camel is only "docile" in the sense of being stupid; that he takes no heed of his rider, pays no attention whether he be on his back or not, walks straight on when once he is set a going, merely because he is too stupid to turn aside. He will never attempt to throw you off his back, such a trick being far beyond his limited comprehension; but if you fall off, he will never dream of stopping for you, and walks on just the same, grazing while he goes, without knowing or caring one atom what has become of you. If turned loose, it is a thousand to one that he will never find his way back to his accustomed home or pasture, and the first comer who picks him up will have no particular shyness to get over; the loss of his old master and his former cameline companions gives him no regret and occasions no endeavour to find them again. One passion alone he possesses—that of revenge. A lad of about fourteen had conducted a large camel laden with wood from a village in the plain of Ba'albec, where Mr. Palgrave was residing at the time, to another village at half an hour's distance; as the animal loitered or turned out of the way its conductor struck it repeatedly. A few days later the same boy had to re-conduct the beast, unladen, to his own village. When they were about half way on the road, and at some distance from any habitation, the camel suddenly stopped, looked deliberately round to assure itself that nobody was within sight, and, making a step forward, seized the unlucky boy's head in its monstrous mouth, and

lifting him up in the air, flung him down again, on the earth with the upper part of his skull completely torn off, and his brains scattered on the ground.

We have some extremely interesting particulars given us as to the celebrated breed of Arab horses. When Mr. Palgrave was at Riad, the capital of the Wahhabee empire, one of the mares of the imperial stud had received a bite close behind the shoulder from some sportive comrade. The wound, ill-dressed and ill-managed, had festered into a sore. Mr. Palgrave was requested by the heir-apparent to see the animal and undertake its cure. This gave him an opportunity of inspecting the royal stables from day to day—an opportunity his genuine fondness and appreciation of the horse enabled him to make good use of. He tells us that he had never seen or imagined so lovely a collection of horses; about three hundred in number. Their stature was somewhat low—fourteen hands seemed about their average height; but they were so exquisitely well-shaped that want of greater size seemed hardly a defect. They were remarkably full in the haunches, having a shoulder shaped with exquisite elegance, a little saddle-backed, "just the curve which indicates springiness without any weakness;" a head broad above and tapering down to the finest nose; a most intelligent and yet a singularly gentle look, full eye, sharp thorn-like ear, legs fore and hind that seemed as if made of hammered iron, so clean and yet so well-twisted with sinew; a neat round hoof, just the requisite for hard ground; the tail set, or rather thrown out, at a perfect arch; coat smooth, shining, and light; the mane long but not overgrown nor heavy. The prevailing colour is chestnut or grey. The specially distinctive points of the Nejde horse are the slope of the shoulder, the extreme cleanness of the shank, and the full rounded haunch, though every other part too has a perfection and a harmony unvisited anywhere else.

The genuine Nejdean breed is to be met with only in Nejed itself, nor are the animals common even there; none but chiefs or individuals of considerable wealth and rank possess them. Nor are they ever sold—they are said to pass only by war, by legacy, or by free gift. When policy requires a present to Egypt, Persia, or Constantinople, mares are never sent, and the poorest stallions, though deserving to pass elsewhere for real beauties, are picked out for the purpose. No Arab dreams of tying up a horse by the neck; a tether replaces the halter. In Arabia horses are much less vicious and refractory than in Europe.

Some readers will be curious to hear a little about Arabian coffee, and the mode of its preparation, even at the expense of mingling in their morning's draught an infusion of scepticism and dissatisfaction. The best coffee is that of Yemen, commonly called "Mokha," from the main port of exportation. Very little of the Mokha or Yemen berry ever finds its way westward of Constantinople; Arabia itself, Syria, and Egypt, consume full two-thirds, and the remainder is almost exclusively absorbed by Turks and Armenians. Before reaching the

harbours of Alexandria, Jaffa, Beyrouth, &c., for further exportation, the Mokhan bales have been while yet on their way, sifted and re-sifted, grain by grain, and whatever they may have contained of the hard, rounded, half-transparent, greenish-brown berry, has been carefully picked out by experienced fingers; and it is the less generous residue of flattened, opaque, and whitish grains which alone, or almost alone, goes on board the shipping. So constant is this selecting process, that a gradation, regular as the degrees on a map, may be observed in the quality of Mokha coffee even within the limits of Arabia itself, in proportion as one recedes from the neighborhood of Mecca. The second species of coffee is the Abyssinian, but inferior to the former. With this stops, says Mr. Palgrave, at least in Eastern opinion and taste, the list of coffees, and begins the list of beans, among which are the produce of India, America, and Batavia.

Coffee is, in Arabia, the chief medium of social communication and hospitality; it is offered, as of course, to every visitor and stranger on his arrival, and, the preparation of it always forms the first stage of every social entertainment. There is a stove in every reception-room, or K'hawah, and a slave whose office it is to prepare and pour out the coffee. The stove is formed of a huge block of granite, hollowed inwardly into a deep funnel, open above and half full of lighted charcoal. The bottom of the funnel communicates with a horizontal tube, to which a bellows is applied when it is required to heat the water for the copper. A large coffee-pot about two-thirds full of water is then placed close by the edge of the glowing charcoal and becomes gradually warm, while other operations are in progress. Three or four handfuls of unroasted coffee are in the meantime taken out of a niche in the wall close by, scrupulously cleansed from all heterogeneous substances, and being poured into a large open iron ladle, are placed over the mouth of the funnel. They crackle, redden, and smoke a little, but are carefully withdrawn long before they turn black or are charred. They are then ground in a mortar till they are smashed, but not reduced to powder; a smaller coffee-pot is then half filled from the larger with water, and the pounded coffee is shaken into it. A few aromatic seeds or saffron are added, and the boiling stage is not allowed to be long or vehement. Last of all the liquor is strained off through some fibres of the inner palm-bark placed for that purpose in the jug-spout.

We cannot avoid saying a few words about the date, the fruit of the palm-tree, which Mr. Palgrave describes as the bread of the land, the staff of life, and the staple of commerce. Mahomet is said to have addressed his followers in these words: "Honour the palm-tree, for she is your mother." In the Djowf it is a main object of cultivation, but the richest fruit is obtained in Nejed and Hasa, on the north-western shore of the Persian Gulf. The best are those called "Khalas." They are of a rich amber colour verging on ruddiness, and semi-transparent. Its cultivation is an important item among the rural occupations of Hasa; its

harvest an abundant source of wealth, and its exportation, which reaches from Mosoul on the north-west to Bombay on the south-east, forms a large branch of the local commerce. During his stay in Arabia, Mr. Palgrave counted a dozen kinds of date, each perfectly distinct from all the rest.

It may seem somewhat unmannerly to reserve for the close of our review of the physical features of the country what we are told about the women. Mr. Palgrave has constructed for us, what he calls a "beauty scale," on which the Bedouin women are represented by zero or at most 1°; a degree higher would represent the female sex of Nejed; above them rank the women of Shomer, who are in their turn surmounted by those of Djowf. The fifth or sixth degree symbolizes the ladies of Hasa, the seventh those of Katar; and lastly, by a sudden rise of ten degrees at least, the seventeenth or eighteenth would denote the pre-eminent beauties of 'Omân.

Having thus noticed some of the most important traits in the physical circumstances of Arabia which Mr. Palgrave's narrative has brought into relief, we may pass on to our second and third titles, which comprise all matters (2) religious and (3) political. The extraordinary resurrection of Mahometanism in the middle of last century, resulting in the formation of the fanatical sect of the Wahhabees and in the political influence gradually usurped by that sect over two-thirds of the peninsula, is the event which most of all arrests the attention and warms the imagination. But inasmuch as the series of events which comprise this Mahometan reformation form the natural transition between the religious and political aspects of the country, it will be more convenient, before proceeding to that more signal religious crisis, first to notice certain special forms of faith that are found on the Arabian soil. The most prominent of these are a sort of Sabæan worship, practised by the Bedouins, the Carmathian rationalism or anti-islamism, and the creed of the Biadeeyah.

Mr. Palgrave is of opinion, that a general belief in a Supreme Being, Author and Ruler of all things, has from time immemorial prevailed throughout Arabia. This dogma has been somewhat obscured, and even occasionally thrown into the background by two different tendencies: one, the credit given to astral and planetary powers; the other, a grosser fetichism, prevalent for the most part among the lower and less cultivated classes. About the eleventh century of our era, there arose in Kaseem, the territory intermediate between Shomer and Nejed Proper, a hero of the name of Darim, who succeeded in making himself absolute master of his own town, and in no long time in bringing under his sway the rest of Kaseem. He then attacked Nejed; and reduced the greater part of it to submission. Thereupon turning his arms against Yemen, he defeated her chiefs in the valley of Nejran. His history is important for our immediate purpose, because it was contemporaneously with the rule of Darim and his race that the old forms of Arab superstition, and especially of planetary worship, reap-

peared in Kaseem. Indeed to Darim is ascribed the official restoration of planetary or Sabæan worship. In the very first stage of his journey from Ma'an to the Djowf, Mr. Palgrave had an opportunity of noticing the hold still retained by this primitive form of belief on the Bedouin mind. Hardly had the first clear rays of the rising sun struck level across the horizon, than his Bedouin companions, facing the rising disk, began to recite alternately certain formulas of adoration and invocation, nor desisted till the entire orb rode clear above the desert edge. Mr. Palgrave adds that, among the great mass of the nomad population, Mahometanism has made little or no impression for good or ill; they were one and all no better acquainted than any honest English drover might be with the customary forms of Mahometan worship, with its prostrations and rehearsals, its ablutions and rites; of the pilgrimage they knew nothing except in the way of plundering the pilgrims; and to the obligations and merits of the last of Ramadan they seemed totally indifferent. On the other hand, sacrifices, in which sheep and camels are devoutly slaughtered at the tombs of their dead kinsmen, are of frequent occurrence.

The proper historical pedigree of the Carmathian sect is to be traced to Mahomet's celebrated rival, Moseylumah. The latter, born about the same time as Mahomet, assumed in Nejed the prophetic character already claimed by his countryman in Hejaz. After seeking in vain the co-operation of his competitor, he employed every resource of eloquence and satire to render Mahomet and his work odious and ridiculous in the eyes of Nejdeans, an attempt in which he fully succeeded. Whenever a new chapter of the Koran appeared, Gabriel brought from heaven, a burlesque imitation awaited it, the work of Moseylumah. He was joined by a third impostor, a woman named Shejah; who, after first starting on her own account, subsequently entered into controversial correspondence with Moseylumah, and then married him. For eight or ten years Moseylumah enjoyed the quiet possession of his Nejdean pre-eminence, but at last, in a drawn battle between himself and Aboq-bekr, then caliph, he fell, fighting sword in hand, together with a countless multitude of the warriors of Nejed. The sect received a mortal blow, and Islam was now the official religion of the land. A few constant adherents of the fallen cause emigrated to Hasa and Basrah, where, in common with other malcontents, they laid the foundations of the Carmathian faction. This faction was named after El-Karmoot, who, about three hundred years later, headed a great popular outbreak in Hasa; the armies of Islam were cut to pieces by the infuriated Carmathians, whose hatred of Mahometanism led them so far as to burn all their surviving prisoners alive. El-Karmoot then burst forth with his followers from Hasa, and extended his ravages far and wide over Mesopotamia and Syria. These exploits were thrown into the shade by those of his son and successor. After a struggle of

more than a century the fortunes of Islam prevailed, but the province of Hasa remained permanently alienated from the national faith. It is described as a heap of moral and religious ruins, where naturalism and materialism are mixed and confused with Shiya'ee transmigrations and incarnations, with the now reviving relics of Sabæism, and with the fetichism common among the lower and uneducated classes all over the globe.

The sect of the Biadeeyah, comprising the greater part of the population of 'Omān, is an offshoot of the Carmathians, but though hating and hated by their orthodox fellow-countrymen, is not pledged either in feeling or practice to such inveterate opposition to Islam. They very rarely assemble for any stated worship: the prayers are muttered in a low and inaudible voice, accompanied by inflexions and prostrations different from those employed in Mahometan devotion. Their annual fast of a month is even stricter than that of the Mahometans. One lady alone is admitted to the legal title and honours of spouse. Women are much more on a footing of equality with men in 'Omān than elsewhere, nor are their faces subjected to the Islamic veil. The market-places of Mascat and of the other towns of 'Omān are full of tobacco-shops, and the mouths full of pipes. This last feature would be an abomination in the eyes of a good Mussulman.

We have noticed those special forms of religious faith found in the peninsula of Arabia which are either deflexions from, distortions of, or reactions against the pure and primitive faith of Mahomet. We have now to enter upon what is the most characteristic and entrancing portion of the work before us; the description of the recent Mahometan Reformation, or in other words, the courageous and triumphant attempt made to go back upon the primary essence of Islam, to cleanse it from the incrustations of ages, to curtail its license, to enforce and extend its logical consequences, and to establish its empire for ever at the point of the sword.

No more fearful lesson could be given than this extract from almost cotemporary history of the danger to the liberties of a nation that may accrue from a weak and easy indulgence shown to the earliest displays of intemperate fanaticism, obtrusive self-sufficiency, and indiscriminate hero-worship. There are bodies of men even in England and Scotland who only need the power of numbers to emulate the atrocities committed in the name of religion by the sect of the Wahhabees. The result of the fatal success of the latter is written in glowing characters upon every page of the unsophisticated narrative, and is brought into relief by the contrasted example of neighbouring countries, alike in fertility, climate, and inhabitants, but fortunately as yet unswept by the desolating scourge. Prostrated intellects, public hypocrisy, political stagnation, arrested commerce, and every form of injustice and barbarity, are only some of the most unmistakable accompaniments of Wah-

habee rule. We can only afford here to give the briefest possible sketch of the origin and course of this momentous revolution.

The keystone of primitive Mahometanism is contained in the formula, "There is no God but God." This expression, though it would seem on the face of it to affirm nothing more than the unity of the Godhead, yet, according to Mr. Palgrave, is tantamount to an authoritative assertion of the principles of pantheism, fatalism, and the abortiveness and impotency of all human effort:—

"Thus immeasurably and eternally exalted above, and dissimilar from, all creatures, which lie levelled before Him on one common plane of instrumentality and inertness, God is One in the totality of omnipotent and omnipresent action, which acknowledges no rule, standard, or limit, save His own sole and absolute will. . . . All His creatures are alike tools of the one solitary Force which employs them to crush or to benefit, in the interests of truth or error, honour or shame, happiness or misery, quite independently of their individual fitness, deserts, or advantage, and simply because He wills it, and as He wills it."

This was the central idea of Mahomet's creed, but by way of isolating for ever his followers from all other sects, and chiefly from his most dangerous rivals, the Christians, he further imposed divers ascetic practices and recurring ceremonies which should at once serve as notorious marks of all true believers, and prevent their allegiance, even for a few hours, fading out of their memories. These principles go to clear up much in the religion of Islam otherwise inexplicable, such as the ascetic abstinence from wine and the analogous extension of the same severe rule in after times to tobacco, the assiduous meetings for prayer throughout the day, the profound aversion evinced by Mahomet to imagery or painting, so essential to the Oriental idea of Christianity, the anathema of bells, and the discouragement of commerce conveyed in the words—"He who twice embarks on the sea is an infidel."

Now as these rigorous and unsocial principles had naturally been relaxed in the course of ages, it occurred to a young, ardent, and aspiring fanatic to devote his life to their restoration in their primitive integrity. This man, named Mohammed-ebn-'Abd-el-Wahhab, was born somewhere about the middle of last century. He began life as a travelling merchant, and, when at Damascus, fell in with some bigoted sheyks of that town, whose lessons enabled him to combine once for all, and render precise, notions that he had long before, it seems, entertained in a floating and unsystematized condition. He now learned to distinguish between the essential elements of Islam and its accidental or recent admixtures, and at last found himself in possession of what had been the primal view and starting-point of the Prophet and his companions in Hejāz, twelve ages before. He formed a fixed and solemn resolution to restore the days of the Prophet and his companions, the Sakhābah, and he was confident of success. He first attempted a religious revolution in the city of

Eyānah, and succeeded in attracting a numerous party, but was subsequently obliged to depart from the town. He then went to Dery'eeyah, and laid before the chief of the district, Sa'ood, the following proposition: "Pledge me your word that you will make the cause of God your cause and the sword of Islam your sword, and I will pledge you mine that before your death you shall be sole monarch of Nejed and the first potentate in Arabia." Sa'ood unhesitatingly accepted the offer, and gave himself out as the apostle of the new doctrine and sword of the faith. In the name of God and Islam he attacked one after another his misbelieving neighbours, while to all he held forth, after the fashion of Mahomet, the option between the Koran and the sword. Weaker wills bent or broke before the stronger, and every year added to the territory of Dery'eeyah and the number of the Wahhabee faction. Sa'ood left to his sons the undisputed sovereignty of Inner Arabia, and a name respected and even dreaded throughout the entire peninsula. We cannot here follow farther the history of the Wahhabee dynasty, though it far outstrips in real interest the most enthralling romance. To exhibit the spirit and complete triumph of the principles of the Wahhabees, we will describe a peculiar institution which has lately been founded in Riad, the capital of the Wahhabee empire, for the purpose of chastising the growing laxity of the inhabitants.

In the year 1854 the cholera fell on Nejed like a thunderbolt, and began its usual ravages with a success totally unchecked by any preventive or sanative measures. The capital was depopulated—a third of its inhabitants are said to have perished within a few weeks. The king, Feysul, convoked an assembly of all the principal men in the town, and pointed out to them the need for national repentance and amendment of manners, which had no doubt become shamefully deteriorated. Indeed it was true that relaxation in religious and sectarian peculiarities had been gradually introduced: prosperity and intercourse with the men and government of Cairo had combined to promote this falling away. Tobacco, or the "shameful," had sent up its vapours in the khāwahs of the capital, and heads had been seen profaned by the iniquity of silk and gold thread. The only remedy for the epidemic was a speedy reform. The elders of the town retired, held long conversation, and returning, proposed the following scheme, which received the kingly ratification. From amongst the most exemplary and zealous of the inhabitants twenty-two were selected, and entitled "med-deyyeeyah," "men of zeal," or "zealators." On these twenty-two absolute power was conferred for the extirpation of whatever was contrary to the Wahhabee doctrine and practice, and to good manners in general. Not only were these zealators to denounce offenders, but they might also inflict the penalty incurred, and beat and fine at discretion; nor was any limit assigned to the amount of the mulct or to the number of the blows. The offences brought under the animadversion of these

censors are such as absence from public prayers, regular attendance five times a day in the public mosques being henceforth of strict obligation; smoking tobacco, taking snuff, or chewing a quid; wearing silk or gold; talking or having a light in the house after night-prayers; singing, or playing on any musical instrument. Pacing from street to street, or unexpectedly entering the houses to see if there is anything incorrect going on there, the zelators do not hesitate to inflict at once, and without any preliminary form of trial or judgment, the penalty of stripes on the detected culprit, be he who he may; and should their own slaves prove insufficient, they straightway call in the assistance of bystanders or slaves, who throw the guilty person on the ground, and then in concert with the zelators belabour him at pleasure. Such is the capital of the Wahhabee empire, which extends either its dominion or protectorate over the richest cities and most fertile provinces of Arabia.

Captain Burton, on a late occasion, spoke of himself as favorably impressed with the civilizing influences of Mahometan colonists in Africa. But before he can venture to recommend, in the interests of Africa, the propagation of the Prophet's creed, he must pause to consider the embryonic seeds of fatalism, intolerance, and immorality which that creed implicitly contains. The seeds, indeed, of fatalism and intolerance are necessarily to be found involved more or less in the principles of all possible forms of religious belief. When the soil is propitious those seeds bear their natural fruit, as is conspicuously manifested in certain modes of Christianity professed at this day in Great Britain; nor are the seeds and fruit of immorality likewise always away. Some forms of belief, however, possess intrinsically, and have proved themselves to possess historically, a counter-principle of reaction by which the growth of all those pestilent seeds is arrested, and the claims of human individuality and liberty abundantly secured. Among these last forms of belief it will scarcely be pretended that the religion of Islam can hold its place.

It is refreshing to remove out of the noxious and oppressive atmosphere at Nejed, blighting as it does all the aspirations of the noblest manhood with a upas-shade of bigotry and despotism, into the healthier air of Shomer and 'Omân: the former presenting the spectacle of a wisely administered paternal government, the latter of an approximately constitutional or limited monarchy.

The ruler of Shomer, Telâl, forms one of the most interesting portraits that Mr. Palgrave brings before us. His father was established in the government by the Sultan of Nejed as a reward for important services rendered at a critical time. But Telâl has a bad reputation at the court of Riad for orthodoxy, and is considered as little better than an unbeliever. In return for which, Telâl keeps himself and his country as independent as he can of all connexion and intercourse with the neighbouring empire, at the same time doing his best to mislead and hoodwink the imperial spies. If he

smokes it in private, and by way of remedy, prescribed by the best physicians, for some occult disease. The commerce of Hâyel is not his, but the work of private individuals, with whom, much to his regret, he could not interfere. If he is obliged by business to absent himself from the mosque, he always takes care that his uncle, or some one of his family, shall be there to represent him. Mr. Palgrave tells us that among all rulers or governors, European or Asiatic, whose acquaintance he had ever made, he knew few equal to Telâl in the true art of government.

When he came to the throne his first care was to adorn and civilize the capital. He built a long row of warehouses, the dependencies and property of a new palace commenced by his father and completed by himself. He further built a market-place, consisting of about eighty shops or magazines, destined for public commerce and trade. Round the palace, and in many other parts of the town, he opened streets, dug wells, and laid out extensive gardens, besides strengthening the old fortifications all round and adding new ones. In order to carry out his views for enriching the country by the benefits of free and regular commerce, he so effectually stopped the plundering forays on the high roads that henceforth no Bedouin throughout the whole kingdom could dare to molest traveller or peasant. Merchants from Basrah, shopkeepers from Medinah and Yemen, he invited by liberal offers to come and establish themselves in the new market of Hâ'yel. With some Telâl made government contracts, equally lucrative to himself and to them; to others he granted privileges and immunities; to all, protection and countenance. He affected not to observe their religious discrepancies, and showed even special favour to the dissenters of the Shiya'a sect, fervently hated as they were by all good Wahhabees. He even did his best to persuade Jews and Christians from the north to take up their abode in the capital, where he promised them entire security and free exercise of their religion. Once a day, oftentimes, he gives public audience, hears patiently and decides in person the minutest causes with great good sense. To the Bedouin he makes up for the restraint he imposes and the tribute he levies by a profusion of hospitality not to be found elsewhere in Arabia. The townsmen and villagers love him for the solid advantages of undisturbed peace at home, flourishing commerce, extended dominion, and military glory. With his numerous retainers he is almost over-indulgent, and readily pardons a mistake or act of negligence; falsehood alone he never forgives; and it is notorious that he who has once lied to Telâl must give up all hopes of future favour. His reign has now lasted more than twenty years, and hitherto with unvaried prosperity. He has gone far, we are told, to civilize the most barbarous third of the Arabian continent, and has established law and security where they had been unknown for ages past.

We have dwelt perhaps at somewhat disproportionate length on the lineaments of this re-

markable man, partly because it is only by looking on them as a whole that their accurate truthfulness is irresistibly brought home; and partly because the existence of such a man, or even the possibility of such, is not the least impressive and suggestive phenomenon described in the narrative before us. This one fact at once blows to the winds all arbitrary lines of demarcation drawn between the highly-civilized European and an Asiatic with like factitious advantages. Again, what has been attained in the case of one man may be hereafter attained in that of a whole race. And lastly, if the very reverse of this social prosperity, commercial enterprise, and manly development is witnessed throughout the adjoining province of Nejed, it may reasonably be attributed solely to the crushing incubus of intolerance, ignorance, and fanaticism.

Passing over the mountain-range of Toweyk and reaching the south-eastern corner of the peninsula, we have another government which also deserves our warm sympathies and interest. The sultan of 'Omān is indeed the sovereign of the province, but the chiefs scattered about have independent authority in their own neighbourhood in all matters except of life and death. The principles of the government are absolute toleration and non-interference. We think the general advantages of such a principle stated rather too broadly by Mr. Palgrave, if he intends his animadversions on meddling governments to apply to all governments, however constituted, and to all states in whatever condition of social advancement. It is obvious that a government should be a centre of light and knowledge, a centre of co-operation, a centre of distributive administration. And where a government is amenable to effective popular control, and exposed on all hands to assiduous suspicion, but none the less secured against all spasmodic interference from any quarter whatever, the powers entrusted to such a government can never become viciously intrusive or dangerously great. The case is, however, very different with an Eastern government in the present day. There control from without is of the weakest, and interference in public concerns is pretty sure to be exercised in the wrong direction.

The liberal principles of the 'Omānee constitution have certainly resulted in great material prosperity.

"With a territory containing in square miles scarce half the extent ruled by the Wahabees, they have full twice as numerous a population and twenty times the revenue and wealth. And if their pages present fewer exploits of military prowess, fewer men killed before their time in the field of glory, and less brilliant or bloody events than what signalize the history of power concentrated in one individual hand, they can offer in requital centuries of quiet, well-doing, thriving towns, a thickly peopled land, princes loved by their subjects, and subjects rendered prosperous by their princes."

Lastly, we have to complete our survey of the facts brought to our notice by Mr. Palgrave by a very brief consideration of those which fall under the head of (4) social phe-

nomena. Among these the condition of the negro slaves imported from Africa into 'Omān is not the least important. More than a thousand negroes, men, women and children, are imported into 'Omān every year. Most of these sooner or later obtain their liberty, and thus a new element is added to and freely mixed up with the original or white population. Mr. Palgrave, however, tells us that a negro seldom adapts himself to any position in society except the lowest and the least intellectual. Hence the emancipated blacks remain mostly servants, water-carriers, gardeners, ploughmen, common sailors, divers, and the like; they are only superior to the Arabs in superstition and immorality. Fetchists on their own soil, negroes remain so no less on Arab soil; and with Fetichism they bring all its Libyan accompaniments of juggling, magic, spells, poisoning, and the like, till these discreditable practices have passed to a certain extent into the white society.

In one passage of his work Mr. Palgrave traces an interesting resemblance between the Arab and English character. He finds in each the same depth, seriousness, energy, cautiousness, and friendliness. He also thinks that there is the same amount of actual work accomplished by the eastern as by the western labourer, though the latter has an instinctive notion and acquired habits of combination and co-operation which multiply the result of the work done a hundred-fold. The Arabs are "reverential" but not naturally a "religious" people, whereas the English are "religious" but by no means "reverential."

Arab nationality has been from the earliest times based on the division of families and clans. These clans or tribes were soon by the nature of the land itself divided into two branches of unequal size and importance: the greater section remained as townsmen or peasants in the districts best susceptible of culture and permanent occupation, where they still kept up much of their original clanish denominations and forms, though often blended and even at times obliterated by the fusion inseparable from civil and social organization. The other and lesser portion devoted themselves to a pastoral life, for which the desert, that is, about a third in extent of the Arabian peninsula, affords ample scope.

There are many other significant features of the narrative before us which nothing but lack of space could induce us to pass unnoticed. It would have been a grateful task to record the manly and triumphant resistance opposed by Mr. Palgrave to Abd-Allah, the heir-apparent of the monarch of Nejed, when, with threats of present death, the prince in vain strained every nerve to extort from the travelling doctor some strychnia wherewith to poison his enemies. We should like to have visited and described accurately one at least of the great Arab cities, 'Hāyel, or Riād, or Bereyda, or Hofhoof, or Sharjah, or Mascat. Well worthy too of special notice are the interesting characters of Abd-el-Mahsir, Abou-eyssa, and the Shirazee ambassador. Gladly too would we linger over the siege of Oneyzah just on the point of be-

coming absorbed into the Wahhabee empire, and pertinaciously upholding its independence to the last. The story of the shipwreck in the sea of 'Omān, indeed, we could in no case touch, for its sublime and pathetic interest would hardly survive the harsh process of abbreviation; it must be read in the original, with all the breathless anxiety and respectful homage to the personal qualities of Mr. Palgrave it will not fail to carry with it.

In fine, Mr. Palgrave has successfully accomplished the task he undertook, and established the position for which he has contended: he has stirred up a fresh interest in the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, which, founded as it now at last is, upon accurate knowledge, and stimulated by those sympathies, religious, political, and social, which touch all men at some points and some men at all, will not readily be let die. He has brought before our too sluggish imaginations, with all the grave authority of one who hazarded his life to see what he wished to see and saw it, the life of a people gifted with the noblest capacities, teeming with lordly aspirations, not destitute of the best physical advantages, and yet apparently doomed to dwell alone, and not to be reckoned among the nations. It is a solemn and only too eloquent picture, which will sink deep into the hearts of Englishmen as they complacently look round on their own ocean waves bearing to their ports the ships of all nations, and then turn away to meditate gloomily on those trackless deserts which shut off so mighty a people from the ken and help of their kind.

ART. V.—THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

The Holy Roman Empire. By JAMES BRYCE, B.A. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. Oxford: T. & G. Shrimpton.

THE university to which Mr. Bryce belongs, might, we think, learn a useful lesson from his essay. Repeated efforts have of late been made to alter a system of education, the deficiencies of which become more glaring every day. No sweeping changes indeed are possible in that ancestral stronghold of privileged indolence. To many men it would seem profane to raise an outcry against abuses that are as hallowed in their eyes as the crumbling grey stones of their old college walls. Crowds of candidates will continue to purchase the most paltry apology for an education at the most exorbitant cost. Degrees will continue to be devices by which ignorance is for a heavy bribe decently venerated. Fellowships will continue to be the premium on lifelong laziness. But that without any violent assault upon venerable abuses a great improvement is possible, this essay clearly demonstrates. Here is a work that bears the stamp of genuine merit. Here, upon a vast dust-heap of dross, lies one piece, at least, of good solid gold. Now, were one or more fellowships each year (two or three annual hun-

dreds, that is, out of a huge and idle income) held out as a reward for essays written on a similar plan, the university would before long acquire a series of really valuable treatises, and utilize instead of lose for ever or paralyse for ever, as under its present system, the energies of its younger men. How many a man not by taste or nature idle ends his university career mortified and unsuccessful, simply because he could not bend his mind to studies which he loathed! Hundreds who would have toiled like slaves at the study of their choice, had the prospect of a substantial reward for proficiency in that study solely been held out as an inducement to them, have recoiled in dismay from what appeared to them rightly or wrongly as a dismal jumble of history, theology, philosophy, and scholarship. To some it appears a hopeless task to master with the indispensable minuteness the dreary wisdom of the Ethics, the alternately crabbed, alternately pretty inanities of the Republic. To others the niceties of scholarship seem either not worth mastering, or beyond their capacity to master. And so they fritter away their time, and somehow or other subside into society, cursing, it may be, their own want of resolution, but at the same time execrating their university and its proffered education. Surely it would be worth the while of the university out of its abundance to toss a crumb or two to such starvelings. Already there exists at Oxford a precedent for another and a better system. Already a few out of the crowd of students can look forward with hope to a reward for special excellence. If fellowships for natural science solely already exist, why should not historical fellowships be created, and the test be something already realized by the university, something tangible and valuable, something it might point to as some return for its money, if it never obtained from its elected fellow another line or syllable worth preservation. In nine cases out of ten the fellowship would not be, as now, a snare to lifelong inaction, but a stimulus to future effort. Instead of an examination which is simply a nauseous means to an end, we would substitute an examination the work of which would itself be a labour of love. Mr. Bryce, we are sure, would bear witness how love of his work grew on him as it progressed; and his preface shows how, after the prize was won, he returned to his work with fresh ardour, instead of flinging it aside with the triumphant consciousness that he never need handle it again.

But it may be objected that the calibre of Mr. Bryce's essay is beyond the reach of other men of his age and standing at the university; and it is certainly highly improbable that an equally good essay would be produced every year; but under the influence of a greater stimulus, the average calibre of university essays would be infinitely improved. No brilliantly original theory, it should be remembered, is necessary. Even in this exceptional able essay of Mr. Bryce the theory which he works out is contained in a few pages of Mr. Maine's treatise on Ancient Law. But with that theory to guide him, Mr. Bryce has with admirable industry gathered together each fact which bore

on his subject, and told a story which is not stale, in language which is not stilted. From the polemic of Boeclerus to the sarcasm of Voltaire, all the lore of his subject has been carefully collated and is absolutely at his command. He introduces the right comments in the right place, and has, in short, produced a compendious treatise which may hold its own with far more pretentious works supposed to be essential to an educated man's library. That it is compendious is of itself a strong recommendation. Mr. Bryce, it is true, alludes with some regret to the inexhaustibility of his subject as contrasted with the limited space at his disposal. We congratulate him on having not launched into inexhaustibility. The reigning fashion of writing history not by the page or the book, but by the ream and the dozen volumes, is both ludicrous and alarming. Though half involuntarily, Mr. Bryce has shown wisdom in compressing his narrative, and we are sure the time is close at hand when more than one six or twelve-volume history will be read only in an abridged form corresponding much more nearly with the size of his treatise than with their present dimensions. A series of such treatises we should consider both possible and profitable; possible, because were the standard raised competition would be increased; and profitable, because in the wide waste of historical literature such miniature histories would occupy a distinct position and acquire a peculiar value of their own.

Mr. Bryce was, we think, very fortunate in his subject. As we glance over his synopsis of contents, a vast historical vista opens to our view. If traced from its first origin to its final extinction, the Holy Roman Empire stretches over a compass of well nigh two thousand years. Its foundations were laid by the greatest constructive genius the world has ever seen. It was finally destroyed by one who to his contemporaries seemed the very archangel of destruction. Yet his contemporaries are our contemporaries, while the contemporaries of its creator were the companions of Cicero, of Sulla, of Marius, and of the Gracchi. Inquire into its extinction, and you meet the great name of Napoleon. Inquire into its origin, and you meet the yet greater name of Caius Julius Cæsar. The epitaph that Cæsar uttered over the aristocratic government of Rome might have been, with equal truth, pronounced by Napoleon over the empire erected on the ruins of that government by Cæsar: "—nihil esse rempublicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie."—(Sueton.)

How the Holy Roman Empire rose out of the old Roman Empire may very shortly be described. In the fourth and fifth centuries all the bulwarks of civilization built up by imperialism went down before the reiterated shocks of barbaric conquest, like ripe sheaves before the reaper's sickle. The world that had slumbered so long under the shadow of one great name woke up suddenly to the commencement of an era of confusion. Another chapter in the history of human progress was closed. Never again were men to gaze on the spectacle of one town the mistress of all nations, of

countless myriads the slaves of a slavish senate, of a world prostrate before a single throne. The last and greatest experiment in government had failed. Where it should have been most effective, its failure was most conspicuous. The middle classes, the real props of its power, had been extinguished by taxation. The sturdy plebeians of the old Republic had degenerated into spiritless lazzaroni; its iron-hearted senators had sunk into a herd of sensual idlers; and the emperor was too often but a military puppet. Sapped to its foundation by internal weakness, the majestic fabric of imperialism tottered to its fall. Then, as each wild wave of barbarism swept over the wreck of order, the world fell into a chaos and anarchy which was the more frightful and the more sharply defined from the marked unity of the government by which it had been preceded. But amid the disruption of society, the memory of the blessings diffused by that ancient and venerable system was still vivid in men's minds. It was no mean legacy to leave, this grand tradition of the happiness of order which nothing could obliterate. It lived as a tradition among the sons of those who had enjoyed it, and it was embodied with undying force in that code which was to be the basis of almost all modern law. And while it enthralled men mentally by laws to which they could suggest no improvement, materially, it might be said to be graven upon the earth in characters to be effaced only by time. As Alaric and Attila marched on Rome, the very stones of the roads upon which they trod must have cried aloud to them of the contrast between their victim's humane munificence and their own desolating career. And a strong sentiment of veneration is in fact traceable in each great chieftain who in turn aspired to be master or conqueror of the West, in Alaric, in Attila, in Ataulph, in Odoacer, in Theodoric, in Clovis, and finally, and to some purpose, in Charlemagne.

In spite of Mr. Bryce's arguments to the contrary, we are inclined to regard Charlemagne, not Otho, as the real founder of the Holy Roman Empire. To any one who thoroughly comprehends the essentially heterogeneous elements and composite character of that institution, it may seem of infinitesimal importance to tack to any individual's name the title of First Founder. But if we *must* burn our incense, let it at least be at the shrine of the genuine Θεός Πατριάρχης. We shall find as we proceed, that a misapprehension on this elementary point involves other and important conclusions which, as we think, are untenable. We may identify it either by its title or by certain select characteristics. In accordance with the former theory, we may conceive the Holy Roman Empire as having come into existence, when the full title was first adopted. In accordance with the latter, we must ascend the empire's annals till we come in contact with the characteristics required. As Mr. Bryce himself shows, Otho was not author of the title. He has not been able to discover, nor have we, any extant instance of the title written in full before the year 1156. It remains, therefore, to inquire what the characteristics of

the empire were, and whether they were not as clearly represented by Charlemagne as by Otho.

In describing the empire under Otho, Mr. Bryce, of course, treats of it as inseparably connected with the papacy. It is in his estimate of that connexion that we think he has been led astray. In his elaborate description of the mutual interdependence of the two powers, he seems to us to have confused that which many good men wished them to be, with what they actually were. The "perfect harmony," the "sublime accord," the "complete union" on which he dilates, we regard as a mystic vision which never dazzled the fancy of any one of the great emperors or popes. Mr. Bryce himself admits that it was realized only at few points in their history. We should like some proof of its ever having been realized for a single instant, or of its ever having formed even the daydream of any representative-in-chief of either interest. For that it was the dream of speculative politicians devising an ideal government, and scandalized by the sight of eternal discord, we do not pretend to deny. While Mr. Bryce is urging most strongly his theory of co-equality, the inveterate dualism of the two systems in spite of himself crops out. From such quotations as "*Potestas secularis subordinatur spirituali sicut corpus animæ*," he gathers that so closely were they knit together, that not in thought even could they be divided. What we gather from them is, that such dicta are the dicta of mere theorists or papal partisans. In Frederic Barbarossa's mouth, or at all events in his heart, the maxim would have been exactly reversed—*Potestas spiritualis subordinatur seculari sicut corpus animæ*. When Mr. Bryce says, "The complete accord," * * * * "was finally supplanted by another view of their relations, which professing to be a development of a principle recognised as fundamental, the superior importance of the religious life, found increasing favour in the eyes of fervent churchmen," he seems to us to be engaged in the curious task of assigning reasons for the severance of ties which never existed. Yet it is from the existence of those fancied ties that Mr. Bryce dates and deduces the commencement of the Holy Roman Empire, making their and its existence contemporaneous with and created by Otho the Great. He was bound to give some proofs of the existence of the relation. What he does prove is, that there existed in men's minds a strong yearning after such a relation. We may perhaps best illustrate the point at issue between Mr. Bryce and ourselves by a metaphor. We see two brothers sprung from the same father, each claiming the parental estate, the one on the principle of primogeniture, the other by virtue of a supernatural dispensation. Mr. Bryce sees twins, with an identical and indissoluble claim to the parental estate. An outsider would probably have harmonized the claims of Esau and Jacob in a twinkling. But the true view of their relations must, we take it, be derived from the reciprocal sentiments of Esau and Jacob themselves. Esau thought himself in the right and Jacob in the wrong, himself superior, Jacob inferior. Jacob thought

just the opposite. Now each emperor was, in more points of similarity than one, the Esau of the Middle Ages. Each pope was the Jacob of the Middle Ages. The disputed inheritance was, we think, on all ordinary mundane principles of justice, the birth-right of the Charles', the Othos, the Frederics. But there, as in Jacob's case, the prize was awarded to superior craft. The theory of both sides was the same. But they never consented to share the theory, to make, as it were, a joint-stock concern of the advantages to be derived from it. Mr. Bryce will have it, that in Otho's reign, they twain became one flesh, and that then was born the Holy Roman Empire. Theoretically at all events, pope and emperor were, according to him, from that time, copartners and allies. We contend that then, as ever, they were rivals and monopolists to the backbone. Their power, identical though it really was in origin and aim, rested in theory on perfectly different bases. Their advocates appealed to totally distinct warrants for their authority. The credentials they produced in support of their antagonistic claims were alike only in far-fetched extravagance. They dated from different epochs and were grafted upon alien creeds. Where Mr. Bryce sees only evidence of unity, we can see nothing but repulsion. In the famous simile of the sun and moon, the pope, we imagine, had only in view the superiority of the one luminary over the other. That the two institutions had one fundamental point in common was a fact which he could not ignore. His object was to show that his was the cause of justice, and that it was his rival who was the usurper. This too was the object of the emperors, one and all. They had derived their authority from the pagan Cæsars, who had absorbed the pontificate as they had absorbed all the other engines of government. In their turn, the emperors imagined themselves devolving the Christian pontificate upon others, the truth being of course, that religious supremacy had long ago slipped out of the imperial grasp. Did Mr. Bryce's distinction between the Holy Empire and the Western Empire of Charlemagne hold good, we should expect to find a deference shown to papal authority by the Othos, in contradistinction to the haughty assumption of absolute authority by Charles. On the contrary, no emperors ever vindicated more despotically the right of deposition and election than they. Again, on Mr. Bryce's supposition, how are we to account for the fact, that Frederic Barbarossa was the emperor who used the title in full? How could he, the incarnate essence of imperialism, loyal to the very letter of the old imperial traditions, have voluntarily assumed a title which, even on Mr. Bryce's showing, carried with it a certain confession of inferiority? If he assumed it, it was, we may be sure, a title of which he was proud, not the brand of his humiliation before a dependent who had grown up under the shadow of the throne of his ancestors.

With this premise, therefore, that though an intimate connexion always existed between the empire and the papacy, yet that this connexion

never took the shape of co-equality, we can see no difference whatever between the empire of Otho and the empire of Charles, except such as would naturally result from the lapse of time. Differences there were of detail, but not of principle. In all essentials the two empires were identical, Charlemagne being every whit as much the founder of the empire of Otho, as Napoleon the First was of the empire of Napoleon the Third. Nay, rather, his title is infinitely superior to that of Napoleon.

But it may be asked, how then is the line to be drawn, between the old Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire? Is the name utterly without significance, or if it has significance, what is it? Whence did it come? Our answer shall be as concise and clear as we can make it. Three properties the new empire had in common with the old empire. It was the bulwark against barbarism. It was supreme over all other governments. It was cosmopolitan, not national. One property it had peculiar to itself, to which it owed its special nature, and, as we think, its special name. The religious side of its supremacy was brought out into strong and novel prominence. In the old empire the religious element was completely dwarfed and overshadowed by the political element. The emperors had grasped the symbols of religion as they had all the other insignia of authority, but its ancient virtue had departed from the pontificate. The salt of religion had lost its savour in a society which tolerated all creeds and believed in none. In Charlemagne's time the face of the world had changed. In the room of an all-tolerant, passive, undemonstrative paganism, had sprung up a persecuting, proselytizing church, which had already more than once summoned the whole world to conform to its dictates. If the chief bishops of this church were permitted to pursue a separate path, they would plainly soon acquire a separate and independent dominion, and the eagle-eye of Charlemagne descried the gigantic obstacle it might prove to his autocratic pretensions. The Inconoclastic schism had produced two churches. There were now also two empires. It was only natural that he should have seized on the idea of merging the empire and church of the West, so as to present a bold front to the empire and church of the East. He determined to convert the possible rival into a servicable dependent. He too would have his patriarch, the pale reflection of his own omnipotence, bound by gratitude to use the spells of superstition only to inculcate obedience to his will. While reserving to himself an absolute supremacy in all matters ecclesiastical, while dictating theological tenets with the infallibility of one who was "manifest lord of the whole mind of the West," while sternly checking all sacerdotal encroachments, prohibiting, for instance, all ecclesiastics from accompanying his expeditions, in order to show that he was himself missionary as well as warrior, priest as well as king, he yet made use of the church as the old kings of Rome had made use of the pontiffs, as the old kings of Israel had made use of the prophets, and deigned

to accept their blessing as the sign and seal set by heaven on his august office.

He miscalculated the strength and character of the institution he was attempting to bind to his own interests. The weakest place in his magnificent scheme of policy lay here. Mediæval Christendom was not the scene whereon pope and emperor might re-enact the rôle of Samuel and Saul. "Aut Cæsar aut nullus" was to be the motto of the modern prince of the people, no more than of the modern exponent of the decrees of God. But though implacable rivalry was inevitable between the two systems, the plan so far succeeded that the stamp of sanctity was set upon the empire forever, and if Charlemagne could not obtain for his successors the monopoly and sole movement of this new and potent lever Religion, he at least secured for them as much as might be of its invincible strength. And thus it was, and then it was, that the Roman Empire became the Holy Roman Empire. Carolus serenissimus Augustus a Deo coronatus magnus Pacificus Imperator Romanum gubernans Imperium—this was the proud style in which he asserted to be centred in himself one and indivisible supremacy over the whole political heritage of the past, as well as over the whole intellectual kingdom that the new religion seemed to be unfolding in the future. Nor was the validity of his assumptions impugned by his successors. It was not on his grandfather's fame that Otho the Third relied as a warrant for his all too magnificent pretensions. It was by solemnly entering the tomb of Charlemagne that he sought to wipe away the stain of a broken succession by direct contact with one in whom alone the original right to universal sovereignty was vested, and from whom alone it could be legitimately derived.

We need not discuss here why it was that the empire fell into apparent dissolution at Charlemagne's death. That its dissolution was only apparent is the important point. Just as the old empire remained for centuries "suspended but not extinct" till the time of Charlemagne, so his empire remained in abeyance till the time of Otho. In either case it was a time "of transition, of fluctuation, and uncertainty, in which the office passing from one dynasty and country to another had not time to acquire a settled character and claims, and was without the power that would have enabled it to support them." In either case, too, the principle, the form, the idea proved undying. Whether the title Holy Roman Empire was in use in Charlemagne's epoch we cannot determine. Nor do we think the question of material importance. What is material is the indisputable fact that the idea of "sacredness" was attached to the empire in the popular mind. Possibly in name, positively in popular estimation and in fact, the Roman Empire was turned into the Holy Roman Empire by Charlemagne.

And never, with perhaps one exception, had so splendid a scheme floated before the vision of a statesman as that on which the eye of Charlemagne was fixed. In his view the em-

peror was to combine in himself the justice and dignity of one far above all common temptations. He was to govern as the living impersonation of law and order, and as the elect of God. Under him German independence and Roman organization were to coalesce. His subjects were to make themselves heard in the Diet, but the emperor was to be at its head—a prince of a senate which should not consist of slaves. In his own person he was to unite the functions of statesman, general, and judge. His importance was to be derived not from territorial magnificence merely, but from the universal consent of subordinate rulers to admit him supreme by a right differing from their own. Internally he was to be the arbiter of Europe in matters spiritual and temporal. Externally he was to be the bulwark against all future barbaric invasion. In the one character the last seal would be set to his splendour by the coronation at Rome. In the other, the emperor was to fix his central residence on the outskirts of civilization, amid the new memorials of the second empire's magnificence at Aix-la-Chapelle. Laws that would reconcile liberty with wholesome control would arise from custom. Governments would derive authority from time. Society undisturbed by fresh seeds of anarchy would gradually pass from a chaotic state into one of security and order beneath his paternal supervision. The reconstitution of disorganized Europe, the re-establishment of one government over jarring systems and alien races and conflicting creeds, the restoration of the golden age of the best of the Cæsars, this was the hope, this the life-long labour of the first of the new line of emperors, the true hero of the Middle Ages.

It was only partially that this grand ideal was realized. The anarchical tendencies of nascent feudalism were too strong, the immediate successors of Charlemagne were too feeble, to admit of its full accomplishment. Above all, the papacy, with a pardonable treason, turned on its benefactor, usurped his functions, and attacked his system with such blind and relentless hatred, that it unconsciously cut away the ground from beneath its own feet as it undermined the authority of its rival. Before, however, we take up the history of that great struggle, we must glance at the influence of feudalism upon the imperial system.

Passing over a century we find that the feudal spirit, on which it had been part of Charlemagne's scheme to put bit and bridle, had triumphed over every effort to control its progress. Not even a succession of Charlemagnes could perhaps have checked the progress of disintegration. At all events, it was not for Louis the Gentle, Louis the Stammerer, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, to bear the burden which might have broken down the energies even of Charles the Great. To stem the torrent of barbarism on the Eastern frontier was the only portion of the imperial duty that any ordinarily able emperor could hope successfully to perform. So that less than a hundred years after its creator's

death, the imperial government had diverged into a course very different from that which he had mapped out for it. Imperialism, or society converging to one centre, was Charlemagne's dream. Feudalism, or society in dissolution, was the fact of the age. What was this feudalism? Whence arose this seemingly irrepressible antagonism to unity in Europe? It sprang from two sources, and its germs existed, as the germs of all that was important in the new empire existed, in the old empire of Rome. In the decay of central authority, the inhabitants of the outlying provinces had been taught the bitter necessity of self-defence. Each proprietor of the soil was forced to assert his right to it by being ever ready to stake his life on its possession. So long as he succeeded he was an irresponsible autocrat. But the strongest hand was the strongest title, and he was surest who was girt by the firmest and faithfullest circle of dependents and friends. This state of things was, of course, only intensified by the irruptions of the barbarians. Grappling as it were at each other's throats, jostling one another in a rival race, in turn conquerors and conquered, they presented all the elements of disorganization, none of unity. Each horde was in the end inevitably forced into a posture of self-defence. But the old wild spirit of independence still animated them, and they were less amenable to the feeling of fealty which always binds the clansman to his chief. Nor was any other sentiment yet arisen to take its place. Loyalty with them meant attachment to a bold general. Patriotism with them meant the determination to keep with the sword what the sword had won. To weld such discordant materials into unity it was necessary that a man should possess either the genius of a Charlemagne, or the semi-religious, semi-heroic character which had compensated for the absence of it in chieftains like Olóiv. Only slowly and by degrees did royalty take the place of chieftainship, did the unity of the country take the place of the unity of the clan. The parent of this feudal royalty was imperialism, which, failing to crush out feudalism, put itself at its head, thus becoming the link between the barbaric and the modern systems of government. Emperor after emperor accepted his fate after a resistance proportionate to his ability. All other sovereigns were to him but *Reges Provinciales*; and he was but *Primus inter Pares* among his own vassals.

By thus taking as it were the hue of feudalism, the emperor both lost and gained. He gained, because amid the mutual jealousy of his vassals some material aid was always at the command of the crown. They, too, were made participants in the grandeur of his position, something of a reflected glory singling them out as above the vassals of other sovereigns, just as their king was lord of all other kings. But his plans were always liable to be thwarted by some powerful noble. He was always opposed by a discontented minority. The first act of his reign was always the chastisement of some mortified rival or refractory vassal. Above all, there were not only open

foes but traitors in his own camp. The nobles might individually and at different times be his rivals, but the clerical nobility were leagued together in the interest of his one great rival, the pope. Most gallantly did the emperors make head against such formidable opponents; two gallantly, in fact, for the good of Germany. They tried to be at once emperors and kings, not seeing that the functions of the two were utterly disparate. Till the old disunion of society ended in Europe, they were not on the whole unsuccessful. But as society settled itself under royalty in France and England, and under the moral influence of the popes of Rome, the need of imperialism proportionately diminished. As feudal sovereigns the emperors were by far the most powerful monarchs in Europe. But as feudal royalty was supplanted by independent royalty in other countries, the power of the emperor, which in its very essence was to a great extent nominal, became dwarfed by the power of the king. Thus it was that while in France the central power steadily progressed towards despotism and in England towards constitutional monarchy, in Germany—the very hotbed of feudalism—it grew weaker and weaker, till the emperor remained little more than the chief of a federation, with a title less honoured at home than abroad. It must be admitted that the temptations which seduced the emperors to adhere to the grand policy of a Charlemagne in preference to the safe but narrower path of a Philip Augustus, were very strong. Their pride summoned them to a splendid rivalry. Their shame forbade them tamely to surrender the glories of a triple crown. They would not abandon one iota of their ancient pretensions, even though they had to pit themselves against the tremendous power of the papacy, and fight the fight out upon a foreign soil. Nor was their ambition entirely unwarranted by their resources. Frederic the First, as he girded himself up for the struggle, had at his command means which might well make him confident of victory without his being foolhardy, and which, at all events, were far too substantial to admit of his shrinking from what in his eyes was only his duty. There was still a prestige about his office which overawed his vassal dukes and kings. "It is always ill fighting against the emperor," was the language of one of them when pressed to rebel, and doubtless he expressed the general sentiment. The ban of the empire was as solemn a measure and as rigidly enforced as ever. The duke who had trenched closest on an equality with the emperor—Henry the Lion—was utterly ruined and put to shame when Barbarossa was at last provoked out of his forbearance. In default of an overwhelming superiority on the part of the crown, there was no stronger support for it than the feuds of the nobility. Collectively they could keep the imperial power in check, but there was less scope for united opposition to one of themselves, unless they were under the imperial leadership. Besides this spontaneous obedience of their subjects, the emperors were as a rule more than a match for any one of them

singly. Lombardy was still their regnum proprium. They were still in possession of many domains over the whole extent of their empire. Their immediate vassals were still numerous. The gratitude of the free towns of Germany would supply them with men and money in lieu of imperial charters. Their purse was filled by tribute from the half-conquered Slavonic tribes on the north-east, and by various tolls and taxes in the empire. If their feudal army grew weary of a campaign, they were generally rich enough to bribe it to prolong its service, or to supply its place by mercenaries. They could allure adventurers by their right to create titles. They could summon the Diet at pleasure, and whether or not they could act without its consent in important measures, such as the declaration of war or the filling up of fiefs, they could at all events largely influence its decision. Proud of such strength, confident in their own ability, the Suabian monarchs, while struggling to make their power in Germany despotic, refused to adopt the only policy by which they could have succeeded—that of rigid non-intervention in the affairs of Italy. But such a policy they would have regarded as treason to their name.

There had always been in Italy some influence adverse to the emperors which had taxed their energies to the utmost. The Othos, besides their struggles in the South, where one had been defeated by the Saracens, and another had died, had been bearded by the single state of Rome, which was still tenacious of its departed glory, and aspired to give Italy a king. As the pretensions of the city receded into the background of the pretensions of the papacy, the Lombard states caught up the mantle of rebellion. While the popes were striving against the Franconian Henrys, they either sided with the emperor, or, taking advantage of the revolt of his German vassals, defied his control. And thus unchecked, and almost without notice, they were rapidly advancing in power and wealth. And now as the emperors marched down the Alps into Lombardy, they entered an atmosphere foreign and fatal to their nature. As the heads of Christendom, their pretensions jarred with those of the papacy. As the heads of Feudalism, their authority was set at naught by the mushroom republics. In Germany, the free towns, which had grown up and prospered under the shadow of the throne, were uniformly ranged on the imperial side. Their inhabitants dating as a body their origin to Henry the Fowler, and their civic freedom to the Emperors Henry the Fourth and Henry the Fifth, were well contented with a government from which they received nothing but favours. Their phlegmatic German temperament had not yet been roused to take any part in politics except when their own interest or that of their friends the emperors was threatened by their foes the feudal nobles. In Italy the case was different. Feudalism, dominant elsewhere, had there been outstripped by Democracy. None of the various conquerors of Italy had been left in undisturbed possession, and a feudal nobility had never had time to establish itself. On the other hand, the municipal system of Rome

maintained all along a precarious existence. Strengthened by Charlemagne's alliance with them against the Lombards, the towns continued to be the chief local centres of strength. Gradually they absorbed the remnants of their conquerors, and the barbaric spirit of independence, without losing in intensity, took a republican instead of a feudal shape. Hence the precocious development of democracy, with its fierce political partisanship, its intestine discord, and its defiant attitude towards the emperors. If the emperors could have allied themselves with the Italian towns against the popes, as they were allied with the German towns against the feudal nobles, they might have possibly triumphed over both. Conrad the Third was actually invited by the Roman Republic to realize the dream of Otho, and with Rome as his capital, to put an end to the secular dominion of the papacy. And it was in the same spirit that the demagogue Rienzi and the poet Petrarch subsequently summoned Charles the Fourth to Rome. But the emperors shrank aghast at the thought of leaguering themselves with a spirit which was as much opposed to their own power as to the papacy; and the two rivals suspended for a time their hostility, in order to crush the common enemy, Arnold of Brescia. But, this peril surmounted, the unnatural compact was soon dissolved, and the emperors were left to struggle single-handed against three formidable foes—against feudal anarchy, papal jealousy, and democratic insubordination. There was indeed no innate hatred to the emperors in the republics any more than there was any innate attachment to them. In the days of Gregory the Seventh, the Lombard towns were hot partisans of Henry the Fourth. And, a century and a-half later, swayed solely by their interest or individual antipathies, they constantly changed sides, sometimes calling themselves Ghibelline, sometimes Guelph. Milan, the arch-conspirator against the imperial authority, sided with Otho the Fourth against the pope. By a less just, and a more selfish policy, Frederic Barbarossa might perhaps have played off his temporal against his spiritual foes. But he was not the man to be content with that nominal authority which the republics did not dispute. His stern punishment of Milan for its cruel oppression of Lodi, ending as it did in the Lombard league and the battle of Legnano, struck a mortal blow at imperial power in Italy. Though himself nominally reconciled with Milan, he left a legacy of ill-will to his grandson Frederic II., and the wars which ensued at once broke the power of the House of Suabia, aggrandized its adversaries the popes, and irretrievably widened the breach between Italy and Germany.

Such then was the emperor's situation with regard to his vassals, and the free towns on both sides of the Alps. We may now consider in detail the causes and consequences of the great controversy with the papacy.

Imperialism, sorely harassed though it might be by the republican spirit, found in Italy the focus of a still more bitter animosity. The republics were troublesome subjects; but the popes were dangerous rivals. The animosity

between popes and emperors was made the more implacable by the consciousness of identity, to a great extent, of origin and aim. Both boasted of a high antiquity, the one pluming itself as the heir of the title, the other on its possession of the metropolis of the old Roman Empire. "For peace one must rule. Mankind is most like God when under a monarchy. An universal monarchy is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the world." Such was the language of the imperialist Dante. "Yes," retorted the Guelphs, "and the monarchy most like the monarchy of God is the monarchy of God's vicegerent. As the sun is to the moon, so is the papacy to the empire. The empire is but the sword of the church." Each, in short, with indefinite pretensions, aimed at infinite power, and each in its struggle to scale the summit of universal dominion, recognised the other as the lion lying in its path. To attain the same end they adopted different means. The popes relied chiefly on spiritual, the emperors on temporal weapons. If the one challenged veneration as the successor of St. Peter, the other pointed to a long line of predecessors, to one of whom St. Peter himself by his Master's command had paid the tribute-money. If the one rewarded its adherents with fiefs and titles, the champions of the other were rewarded by the assurance that they were earning for themselves hereafter exemption from the pains of hell. If the one tried to bridle the lawlessness of feudalism, to substitute legal decisions for appeals to the sword, the other appropriated the idea, clothed it with a more imposing name, and proclaimed "The truce of God." If the one subdued the barbarians with the sword of the flesh, the other despatched its missionaries on the same errand girt with the sword of the spirit. Their rivalry in the West was repeated in the East. While the successors of Augustus intrigued for the incorporation of Constantinople with the second Roman Empire, it was the ruling passion with each successive pope that the healing of the schism between Greek and Latin Christianity should be identified with his name. If the emperor's supremacy were anywhere unquestioned, it might have been supposed to be so in a war against his hereditary foes, the infidels. Yet the arm of the church stretched to the Holy City and thwarted him even when he was fighting for the Cross. And if he chafed at a treatment which degraded him to the rank of a mere papal lieutenant, he might find himself, as Frederic the Second did, while the captain of a crusade abroad, the proscribed object of one at home. To the pretensions of the emperors to a supremacy over all earthly kings, the popes replied by the still more arrogant assumption that the crowns of kings and emperors alike were theirs to give and theirs to take away. The emperors might arbitrate at the option of other potentates, but the popes excommunicated at their own option. The terrors of the imperial ban pale by those of the papal interdict. One gleam of hope shone on the imperial cause at the beginning of the twelfth century, but it was soon dispelled. The emperors, hailing the revival of jurisprudence as a counterpoise to sacerdotalism, thought by

means of it to strike their adversary a fatal blow. But the other snatched his shield from the same armoury. The civilian was followed by the monk, Irnerius of Bologna by Gratian of Bologna. The civil law might favour the emperor, but the key-note of the canon law was the autocracy of the pope. And thus at every point the pontiffs met their competitor on his own ground, and there foiled him by a grander audacity or outbid him by a larger munificence. The prize they struggled for was in truth splendid enough to excuse the keenest rivalry. It was nothing less than the reorganization of society with the conqueror enthroned on its summit. Imperialism had had its day. The papacy was to supersede it. But already the progress of the latter was looked upon with suspicion, and when the Suabian emperors came into collision with it, they fought in the van of a line of kings and nobles who were part of the same army, though their forces came later into the field.

In the ninth century, the power of the papacy was wholly spiritual. When an emperor marched on Rome to chastise the pontiff's contumacy, he met with no show of resistance, but with a parade of sacred ceremonies and solemn anthems, until he shrank appalled from the sacrilege he had been about to commit. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, instead of its previously slow and cautious progress, it advanced with alarming strides. From the time of Gregory the Great to the time of Charlemagne, its efforts had been directed to the establishment of its primacy and metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole church. But even after it had obtained high authority as the chief antagonist of Iconoclasm and Islamism, and as the *protégé* of Charlemagne, an authority which was indefinitely increased by the False Decretals, it found this no easy task. The French bishops of Louis le Débonnaire retorted on the pope, who menaced them with his thunders if they persisted in their loyalty, by a counter-threat of excommunication—"Si excommunicatus venerit, excommunicatus abibit." Already had one bold voice, that of Claudius of Turin, broached the heretical doctrine that the apostolical power of St. Peter ceased with St. Peter. Nevertheless the papal pretensions became more and more overweening during the later Carolingians, till they almost anticipated the daring aggressions made on the crown in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During the tenth century, the pontiffs were men of worthless character personally; their power was crippled by the progress of feudalism, and the Hungarian and Saxon invasions; and they found it their interest to take shelter again under the wing of the empire. The Otthos, if they did not pretend to dictate on theological tenets as Charlemagne had done, were, at all events, ecclesiastically as well as civilly supreme at Rome. From the time of Otho the Great, the nomination of the popes and confirmation of their election was the established imperial prerogative, and in the middle of the eleventh century three popes in succession were actually appointed by Henry the Third. Even Hildebrand refused to assume the tiara till Henry the Fourth had ratified the

cardinals' choice. But he soon threw aside the mask of moderation. The reformation of the church was followed by the successful excommunication of the emperor, and the disappearance of the imperial stamp from the Roman coinage, together with the abandonment of imperial interference in the papal election, marked the reversed position of the two parties. Then came the era of the crusades, and along with it the immense aggrandizement of the clergy generally, and the papacy in particular. The violence of Henry the Fifth only injured his own cause. French influence began to preponderate over German influence at Rome. And finally, at the election of Lothaire, it is no longer the imperial sanction which is considered requisite to the election of the pope, but the papal sanction to the election of the emperor.

It does not require a minute analysis of the technical points in dispute between the Church on the one side and the Franconian and Suabian dynasties on the other, in order clearly to understand their general tenour. The Church is by this time clearly taking the offensive. The Crown stands on the defensive. And it is emphatically a struggle between the Church and the Crown, and not between individual popes and emperors. A Ghibelline cardinal is transformed into the most inflexible anti-imperialist, almost ere he is well seated in St. Peter's chair. A Guelph candidate for the throne has scarcely obtained it before he turns on his former patron and ally, the pope. The standing quarrel about investitures, and the disputed minutiae of etiquette, such as the holding of the stirrup and the kiss of peace, are only important as signs of the double policy which led first to the papal success, and subsequently to the papal downfall. As the champions of the independence of the clergy, the popes merited the gratitude of Europe. In an age when physical force was the only familiar deity, when the nobles were mere bandits, and when war was the normal state of society, we can only praise an institution which acted as a counterpoise to such anarchical tendencies, which afforded protection to the oppressed of both sexes, and bound their oppressors in moral chains, which gave a strong stimulus to intellectual progress, and impartially raised men of the humblest origin to the proudest honours which it was able to bestow. The imperial, regal, and republican systems had proved incapable of the same influence. The barons as yet defied the king, the republics preyed upon one another, and in vain did the unfortunate commonalty implore the emperor to crush their hard taskmasters the nobles. The constant exercise of physical force made his moral influence too feeble. But now a new power had risen up. The spiritual supremacy of the papacy was both a wise and beneficent idea. Even as its pretensions became exorbitant, there was a noble element in them which attracted hosts of adherents. To depose kings, if kings were tyrants, to force peace on a country if it were being ruined by civil war, to wring from the superstition of brutal nobles the means for the spread of learning, would have been actions admirable in themselves, if a superhuman purity could have

been guaranteed in the agent. But the overbearing and headstrong conduct of otherwise estimable men like Gregory the Seventh, Innocent the Third, and Gregory the Ninth, proved such indispensable perfection to be merely ideal. Those worldly spirits disdained a merely ethical dominion. Theirs was the dream of Charlemagne over again, only now it was the spiritual power in the ascendant, struggling to absorb the temporal power; whereas with him it was the temporal power trying to absorb the spiritual. In its new rôle, the papacy contracted in an aggravated form the vices which it was its avowed object to suppress. A rapacity worse than feudal, a tyranny and immorality worse than regal, a simony more shameless than the imperial simony, stained its representatives. It would not relinquish its professions of protecting the oppressed, but they excited only derision, as coming from an exorbitant and intolerant despotism. Its first encroachment had been on the hierarchy, and then it had the emperors as its allies. Triumphant over its own class, it turned its united and organized forces against the crown. Again it triumphed, but the very brilliance of its success woke up Europe to its true character. Intoxicated by its past achievements, it little dreamt that after coercing bishops, kings, and emperors, it would be baffled by the lay nobility, and that gradually even the foreign clergy would be alienated from its avaricious and oppressive sway. Even before it reached the acmé of its influence, there were ominous signs of future rebellion. The barons of England and the saintly King of France united in condemnation of Gregory's implacability towards Frederic the Second. Its decay dates from the thirteenth century. The abandonment of the imperial city was followed by sixty years of schism. At the close of the fifteenth century, it had lost the regard of the people and its own self-respect. The disposal of it by councils robbed it of the charm of infallibility. Kings were learning to league with the laity against its delegates. Sedition was rife among its once fanatical champions, the mendicant friars. The gross immorality and cupidity of the friars themselves broke its moral prestige, and excited a universal scorn and detestation which found vent in the sarcasms or invective of a Valla, a Reuchlin, an Erasmus, and a Von Hutten. Lastly, intellectual activity produced a recoil from its superstition, and the final blow was struck at its mental despotism by the Reformation.

With the Reformation also ceases the importance of the Empire. Till then it represented, in common with its rival the Papacy, the ideas of the Past. In some degree they both anticipated the ideas of the Future. In the pursuit of a similar end, they both fell into the same snare. The mistake of Charlemagne was the mistake of Innocent the Third and Gregory the Ninth. All of them discerned one requisite of society—moral unity. Charlemagne, misled by the specious systems of antiquity, thought that this unity could be obtained by vesting temporal and religious supremacy in a single hand. But as the spiritual element was subordinate, the secular predominated in his

scheme, his empire soon came into competition with other forms of government, with a proportionate declension from his ideal. The papal authority, on the contrary, as long as it confined itself within its special limits, was not vulgarized by entering the lists as the rival of any other power of its own type. But as it grasped at temporal dominion, it lost this advantage, and, like the empire, failed in its object. Both tried to fill up a confessed void in society, but each by a cramped and narrow action. They tried to produce a moral effect by mechanical means. The world was to be regulated by the machinery of a despotism. The empire struggled against the anarchical tendencies of feudalism and barbarism, and was gradually replaced by the papacy in the same functions. As society passed into a new phase, both systems became inadequate to its new wants. With the emancipation of the human mind by the Reformation, there came a period of intellectual anarchy, answering to the social anarchy of feudalism. Out of this anarchy rose, and is still rising, the only, it may be, possible form of unity, of which both the papacy and the empire were imperfect foreshadowings, the unity of public opinion.

No greater error can be committed than to regard the Reformation as a purely religious movement. It was the epoch of universal revolution—revolution political, social, and intellectual, no less than religious. It is important as the principal outbreak of a cloud which had long been gathering—as the first shock of that recoil from centuries of stagnation, the full effects of which we ourselves have perhaps not yet witnessed. It is true that its immediate violence was chiefly felt by the papacy, but it was only because the papacy had dethroned the empire, and remained the centre of all those hated associations in antipathy to which the very spirit of the Reformation was evoked. But in striking at the papacy it struck at the empire too. The former staggered beneath the mortal blow, but still possessed strength enough indefinitely to protract its fall. The latter, which was crumbling already in natural decay, was at once annihilated. There had been many heralds of the approaching storm—many signs that the efficacy of that great idea of the centralization of all authority in one person, which had been omnipotent for so many centuries, was at last worn out; and bitterly though the emperors and pontiffs had hated one another, their sagacity always united them in persecution of the common foe. Barbarossa and Adrian forgot their animosity for a while as they gazed on the fires which consumed Arnold of Brescia, at once an innovator in politics and a heretic in religion. Not heresy merely or chiefly, but the unflinching anti-monarchical audacity of John Huss, induced Sigismund to play the traitor to his own honour. Wickliffe and the Commons, Luther and the peasants, were fighting against what appeared to them a beast with two heads. Luther, indeed, turned against the peasants, but his writings were their watchword. "*Il faut convenir*," says a French historian, "*aussi que les écrits de Luther y avaient contribué; car comme ils étaient*

extrêmement injurieux aux évêques et au clergé, et qu'ils s'opposaient à la réformation, ils enflammaient la haine des peuples contre leurs souverains, ecclésiastiques et séculiers." The fortunes of the two powers were as inseparable during the last two centuries before the Reformation as previously they had been irreconcilably hostile. "One cannot be attacked without attacking the other," said Zwingle, the Swiss reformer. The language of Nicholas von Kus, an opponent of the papacy on different grounds, is very similar. It was impossible to improve the Church, he said, without reforming the Empire, since it was impossible to sever them even in thought. Æneas Silvius sagaciously discerned the signs of the times. "The emperor stood in need of the pope, and the pope of the emperor. The chiefs must ally against the multitude." That last sentence is most suggestive. We see no more two lordly antagonists brushing away disdainfully all minor questions in order to contend for the empire of the world. Pope and Pagan had already well nigh sunk into the imbecility of the cave by the highway. A feeble but desperate effort was made by them in common in 1466 to work once more on a threadbare sentiment. They proclaimed an universal tax for a new crusade and a public peace. The attempt betrays at once the secret of their weakness and the secret of their fellow-feeling. Individual popes might still quarrel with individual emperors, but the last emperor excommunicated was Louis of Bavaria, in 1320; and the ludicrous vehemence of the anathema displays the weakness of him who launched it. The paramount characteristic of the two succeeding centuries is the league of the two decrepit systems forced by common fears to unite in staying off a common doom. This instructive consciousness of mutual interests was the chief incentive to union, but there was still enough of the semblance of power resident in the emperors to make their alliance valuable. It is important to discriminate between the fortuitous weakness in which the empire was involved at the death of Frederic the Second, and the final extinction of the spirit which was its life in the age of Charles the Fifth. The fate of imperialism was not bound up with the fate of any single dynasty. The truth is that it was already in decay during Frederic's life; and though its pomp was never greater than at the Diet of Mayence, the canker was already gnawing at its heart, and ten years later it received a warning of its coming fate at the Council of Lyons. But that decay was greatly precipitated by what may be fairly called an accident—the premature death, first of Frederic and then of his son Conrad. Thus much we may be sure of from the importance of the emperors even subsequent to those twenty disastrous years. Any able emperor, strong in those vague pretensions on which his ancestors had always relied, could still make himself respected even by the proudest sovereigns of England and France. When Sigismund came to England in 1416, it was thought necessary to demand a disclaimer of all superiority over as powerful a king as Henry the Fifth, before he was permitted to land. And, strange though it may appear to us, it

passed for flattery with the haughty Henry the Eighth to be assured that he was an independent king and not an imperial vassal. When the kings of France were crowned at Rheims they still swore obedience to the Roman Empire; and on the accession of Frederic the Third, the King of Poland wrote to congratulate him on "receiving the diadem of the monarchy of the world." Even so late as the year 1599, the University of Saragossa could gravely debate whether the emperor was or was not the sovereign of the whole world. When such language as the Ghibellines used in the time of Frederic the Second could be used without exciting derision, it proved that the sentiment in favour of imperialism was still too strong in Europe to be easily or utterly forgotten; and showed, moreover, how that sentiment had lain at the base of imperial power. "God Almighty," they said, "seeing by Adam's fall that mankind would abuse free will, and would become involved in the midst of contentions, set up the Holy Roman Empire, that its Lord, like a God upon earth, might rule kings and nations, and maintain peace and justice," &c. Other signs that the spell which Rome had cast over the world was yet unbroken, were numerous. While Dante consigns popes and kings to an impartial doom, he seems to be overawed by the mysterious and immemorial majesty of the imperial name, so that once only, and then in a single line, does he venture to condemn an emperor by name as sharing a similar fate. Henry of Luxembourg, Louis of Bavaria, Charles the Fourth, Sigismund, and Frederic the Third, were all the true descendants of the old Cæsars, as far as they could be made so by the splendid pageantry of a Roman coronation. For one brief moment, one of them, Sigismund, seemed to stand forth at the Council of Constance as the avenger of his Hohenstaufen predecessors. The position of the papacy and the empire was once again reversed, the pope being the object of contempt and ignominy, the emperor appearing as the champion of the faith, and, amid the rivalry of France and England, once more "the greatest monarch in Christendom." Such was the deference still shown to the empire in Europe. In the empire itself the emperor was long regarded as a kind of living guarantee for the rights of property. What a title is to us when we purchase a house, that was each successive emperor's confirmation of their duties to the German nobles. They could not divest themselves of the idea graven upon their minds by custom that the imperial authority was the one saving link which prevented all society from falling into dissolution. "Take away from us the rights of the emperors," says a law-book of the second half of the fifteenth century, "and who can say, this house is mine, this village is mine?"

But though the emperors still possessed the shadow of their past magnificence, there is no mistaking the altered character of their power after the death of Frederic the Second. That sudden alteration we may indeed consider to have been fortuitous, for had Frederic lived he might have crushed the second anti-Cæsar as he had crushed the first, and Italy might not

have been invaded by Charles of Anjou. In that case the fall of the empire might have been for some time protracted. But as a fact, its immediate and precipitate decline is undeniable. Italy and Germany were practically severed asunder after the battle of Benevento; and the disputed succession and the interregnum in the empire weakened it, just as the residence at Avignon and the Great Schism weakened the papacy. Henceforth if the emperor became the ally of England, it was, practically, as an equal ally, even though the English king might from policy submit to be called the Imperial Vicar. If he dominated over France or the papacy, it was by taking advantage of internal dissensions or by a long course of intrigue. France and England were united, each under a single sovereign. Germany, on the contrary, was governed by two hundred independent princes. The Golden Bull of Charles the Fourth marks the final triumph of the aristocracy over the crown. That crown was no longer permitted to be handed down from father to son. It became the temporary prize of rival houses, each of which was in turn played off against the other by the all-powerful electors. Gradually almost the entire executive authority passed from the sovereign's hands, so that the latter did not think it worth while even to reside within the empire's limits. This was literally the case with Albert the Second and Frederic the Third; and one of the emperors, Wenceslas, was long a prisoner in Bohemia, without it being even known in Germany. It was no longer the emperor who drove back the barbarians eastwards, or led the empire's army. In Sigismund's reign the war against the Hussites and Bohemians was conducted, not by the emperor, but by the electors. The Teutonic order was left alone and unaided to struggle against and be despoiled by the king of Poland. Belgrade was relieved by Hunniades. Vienna might have surrendered to the Turks for all the help that Charles the Fifth vouchsafed it. Dynastic selfishness had uprooted from the emperors' hearts all sense of the imperial duties. The House of Burgundy encroached on the western frontier till the empire extended, not to the Scheldt as of old, but only to the right bank of the Rhine. On the south, Switzerland slowly and reluctantly seceded. Maximilian was compelled to call the Swiss "kinsmen" instead of subjects of the empire, and to pay their contingent as a mercenary force. The free towns, conscious that they were without a master, vied with the nobles in bold assertion of their independence. Even before the close of the thirteenth century they had been admitted as constituent members of the Diet. And thus, as the two representatives of centralized authority, the pope and the emperor, joined their forces, all around them was anarchy or liberty predominant. Imperialism under different forms had been on its trial for fifteen centuries, when, at the Reformation, it was found hopelessly to have broken down. The universal sentiment found a mouthpiece in a single monk, and at once, as by an enchanter's wand, the worn but still stately fabric crumbled away.

Religious despotism was still to maintain a doubtful conflict with the new doctrine, but its pretensions were henceforth only religious pretensions, and its weapons only religious weapons. If it still meddled in international politics it was as a spiritual power making the superstition of its devotees an engine against heresy. It is true, that during the rest of the fifteenth century the papacy showed some of its pristine vigour. But the institution of the Jesuits, to which it owed its renewed vitality, is in reality the clearest index of its effete condition. In condescending to argue, even through the mouth of Bellarmine, it confessed its abandonment of that haughty spirit in which it had claimed an irresponsible, infallible, indefeasible authority. If in a moment of passion or despair it had recourse to its old weapons, excommunication and deposition, it was only to find, as in the case of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, how blunted they were become. In so far as it was imperial, the papacy was utterly destroyed. The lofty eminence, whether papal or imperial, whence, as in a serener air, arbitration had been dispensed with theoretical impartiality among inferior princes, became the mere rallying point of a faction. The feudal ties were dissolved, and religious ties took their place, at once overriding all other bonds, whether national or geographical. The old religion remained dominant in France. The new was established in England. But Germany was divided against itself, each creed being supported by numerous partisans. Nor was it only one of the antagonists of the empire which was involved in its ruin. Political power was no longer evenly parcelled out in Germany among four or five duchies. If imperialism had perished, its ancient foe the feudal oligarchy had perished with it. That feudal oligarchy was now supplanted by a numerous hereditary aristocracy. The old houses were losing their territories, which were either broken up into infinite subdivisions, or reunited under some hitherto insignificant family. It is not therefore a merely fanciful date which we have assigned to the close of the imperial system. Its rise had been contemporaneous with the rise of feudalism, and now they both perished together. The Church had rivalled it and headed it in the race, and now the Church too had fallen from its high estate. Torn by religious dissensions, by the feuds of a hundred petty dynasties, by the open insubordination of its towns, the empire was no more. In an old book, published in the seventeenth century, entitled "A Discourse of the Empire and of the Election of a King of the Romans the greatest Business now in Agitation," its author, Howell, thus writes:—"But indeed it may wondrously shold be any ambition at all of aspiring to the Roman German Empire, *in statu quo nunc*, it being but an ayrie bare shadowy title or a skeleton of the old Roman Monarchy. Therefore a late German author confesseth, 'Quod nobis est magnum politicum momentum, externis est magnum deridiculum.'" Truly the sceptre had departed from Germany.

At the Reformation, the emperors had long lost their actual authority. Even the old cere-

monies had passed into desuetude. The last emperor crowned at Rome was Frederic the Third. Maximilian's policy might seem imperial, but it was really only devotion to his house. "If I were Duke of Austria," he said, "I should be thought something of; as emperor, I am nothing." We may look on Charles the Fifth in a double light, either as the last of the old or the first of the modern emperors. The latter seems the truest estimate, though, in one sense, he was not a German emperor at all. His ambition, if vast enough to be called imperial, was wholly personal. He was not born on German soil. He could not speak the German tongue. The German empire was but a unit in another empire—that empire of many crowns, concentrated by his fortune or wisdom in himself. The traditional imperialism of the past had died out, only to be rekindled in the breasts of men of one idea, like Joseph the Second. It would be a mere perversity to insist on the existence of an institution merely because it lingered on in Germany. In pointing out how long its nominal supremacy survived its real power in Europe, we purposely adduced proofs almost solely from foreign countries. German pretensions would be of little importance. The material point is, to decide how long such pretensions were recognized through Europe. It was naturally hard for Germans to forget the past, while the House of Austria, in its ambition and well nigh in its power, remained to keep alive among them their old memories. Among them, at least, the fiction of imperial unity retained credit to the last. In the war between France and Austria, in 1794, we find the King of Prussia threatening to withdraw his contingent from the German army, with the exception of the force which he contributed as a Prince of the Empire. And even after the empire's formal abolition, in accordance with Napoleon's wish, the now unmeaning name of Elector had still such fascination for the Prince of Hesse that he could obstinately refuse to exchange it for the more sounding title of Grand Duke.

But, in Europe generally, as the *de facto* power of the empire ceased with Frederic the Second, so its *de jure* power ceased with the Reformation. Down to that time, the most inveterate, the most universal of political ideas had been the supremacy of a single power. The sentiment no less indelibly ingrained on the minds of modern politicians, the very antipodes of the other, is the balance of power, which sprang up in the sixteenth century. An interesting comparison might be drawn between these two ideas, which may almost be said to have formed the mainspring of politics for two thousand years. However we may regard the reign of Charles the Fifth, after his reign, at all events, the Holy Roman Empire is truly described in the sarcasm of Voltaire. It was an enormous lie, containing nothing Holy, nothing Roman, nothing Imperial. The old dream of the world being united politically and morally under one headship was again dissipated. It had lost its popularity, that old tradition of one faith, one realm, one emperor. Some faint

relics of old fellow-feeling might still from time to time appear, to remind men of the past unity of Western Europe; but the great features of the next age are rival kingdoms and rival religions. Individual kings might still strive to erect an universal monarchy, but the ambitious bigot, or the selfish conqueror, met with no other approval, as he consulted no other interest than his own. In vain had Dante, in words of gloomy fire, adjured the emperors to assume their birthright. In vain had Petrarch tuned his song to the same strain. In vain had the Othos conquered the popes, in vain had the popes conquered the Hohenstaufen, in vain had pope and emperor at last united; the dream of Charlemagne, of the Othos, of the Frederics, of Hildebrand, of Innocent, of Gregory the Ninth, of Henry of Luxembourg, and of the great Italian poets, was for ever past realization. The old order of things was changed, and no genius, practical or intellectual, could avert the dawning of the new day. A new empire, with no traditions, was to lord it for a time in Spain. Then came the French empire, and with it the humiliation of Germany before the Grand Monarque. Finally, in the latest phase of empire, the popular empire of Napoleon, the world witnessed unmoved the abolition of what had long been an idle name.

In thus expressing some of our own views on a most interesting subject, we perhaps owe an apology to our readers for not introducing them to more of Mr. Bryce's treatment of it. It would have been impossible, however, without occupying the whole of our space, to have entered minutely into questions on which we might have dissented from his views, and we have preferred to take a bird's-eye glance at the whole subject; or, perhaps, we should say, the whole of half of the subject, for of the Eastern empire we have been compelled to omit all mention. Mr. Bryce, too, has devoted to it but scant limits. Yet it played an important part in the history of modern civilization, and is most intimately connected with the Western empire, as well by ties of destiny as of descent. M. Amédée Thierry has some suggestive remarks on this point.

"Quand les Huns," he says, "eurent balayé vers l'ouest et le midi, la partie la plus intelligente des nations teutoniques, le nord-est de l'Europe ne fut plus qu'une annexe de l'Asie, le domaine incontesté d'une barbarie qui repoussait la civilisation, et que celle-ci repoussait à son tour. Constantinople eut à combattre successivement sur le Danube trois dominations asiatiques redoutables, même après celles des Huns: les Avars, les Hongrois, et les Mongols; tandis que le fanatisme Mahométan déchaînait sur les provinces grecques d'Asie, l'Arabie, la Perse et les tribus du Turkestan. Le christianisme, attaqué en Asie par l'islamisme, en Europe par le chamanisme, s'identifia de plus en plus avec la civilisation et prolongea autour de la Rome de Constantin la durée de l'unité romaine. La part de l'empire byzantin dans ces nobles et saintes luttes fut la plus héroïque peut-être; et lorsque enfin au bout de neuf siècles de combats, il acheva de périr sous les coups d'un peuple dont les ancêtres figuraient dans les bandes d'Attila, il remit aux nations latines, dégagées alors des entraves du moyen âge, le dépôt des lettres et des sci-

ences religieusement préservé; son dernier souffle fut comme une nouvelle âme qui vint vivifier l'Occident."

In our remarks we may have possibly incurred the stigma affixed by Mr. Bryce on those who presume to "analyse" a system like the papacy, "to enumerate and measure the forces that moved it, and give in conclusion a sort of tabular view of its results for good and for evil." We confess that we think this an unfortunate sentence. Anyone who should refrain from analysing such a system, and trying to measure the forces that moved it, who should refrain from comparing and weighing in his mind its results for good or evil, should refrain also from turning over another page of history. Mr. Bryce, we imagine, felt a little overwhelmed by his subject when he propounded this maxim, and when he proceeded to pass a verdict on his own essay, which, we are sure, it by no means deserves. "So, too," he says, "is the empire above all description or explanation. Something, yet still how little, we should know of it if we knew what were the thoughts of Julius Cæsar when he laid the foundations on which Augustus built; of Charles when he reared the stately pile; of Barbarossa and his grandson when they strove to avert the surely coming ruin." Surely this is just a little extravagant, a trifle peroratory, as we may call it. We yield to none in admiration of Julius Cæsar's extraordinary genius, but his intentions with regard to the empire were not mysteries. Nay, as is well shown by the author we have quoted before, in the fifth chapter of his "Tableau de l'Empire Romain," his views were to a great extent the views also of his contemporaries. We cannot conceive how the knowledge of Cæsar's thoughts would throw any light upon, or add to our knowledge of the idea of the Holy Roman Empire. Hero-worship becomes excessive when it exalts prescience of the future in any individual however great, at the expense of the judgment pronounced by history upon the past. That Cæsar would have materially altered the nature of the empire from what it actually was, had he lived longer, we think highly improbable. That he in whom the idea of the new government was just dawning (a government not created by him, but created by a long series of events) should have been able to comprehend its scope and character, better than we who have witnessed its fully developed career, we think impossible. There is nothing concealed in the assumption that we can judge better of work completed than the person who presided over its commencement, because in asserting our superior experience we do not in the least depreciate his superior genius. Any ordinary engineer may, we suppose, be said to know now more of the properties of steam than James Watt did. Standing on the shoulders of past ages we see how far Cæsar's schemes were realized, and we see also why and how far they fell short of perfection. Facts that are so patent, he who runs may read. If he can write about them so as to inform others, so much the better; and in proportion as he is careful to use "neat phrases," the more likely is what he writes to be worth reading. If we thought it

true that the Empire "was above all description or explanation," we should be at a loss to imagine the use or purpose of Mr. Bryce's Essay. But as this is not our notion, we heartily recommend its perusal to persons who are not curious about the lost thoughts of Cæsar, but are fond of copious information combined with clear analysis and logical deduction.

ART. VI.—THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONALITIES AND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

1. *Denmark and Germany. Correspondence presented to both Houses of Parliament.* 1863-4.
2. *Protocols of Conferences held in London relative to the Affairs of Denmark. Presented to both Houses of Parliament.* 1864.
3. *Die Nationalitäten-Frage.* Von JOSEPH EÖRVÖS. Uebersetzt von Dr. Max. Falk. Pest. 1865.
4. *Denmark and Germany since 1815.* By C. A. GOSCH. 1862.

It is remarkable that, with the single exception of the Belgian question, not one of the many questions which have agitated Europe during the past half-century has yet received a definite solution. The Schleswig-Holstein question, the Italian question, the Hungarian question, are still the questions of the day; and although the Eastern and Polish questions have for the moment been set aside, their solution seems to be as distant and as difficult as ever. We think that our modern diplomacy, miserably inefficient as it has often shown itself, is not entirely to blame for this fruitless result of its labours. In the good old days of legitimacy and frequent wars, when populations were transferred from one state to another like cattle, and objected as little to the process, and when a war was the certain result of an unsuccessful negotiation, the diplomatists had comparatively an easy task. But war has now ceased to be the *ultima ratio* in a diplomatic controversy; nations are beginning to find that the disorganization of their commerce and the raising of their taxes are sacrifices which it is not worth making for the mere purpose of supporting their view of a political question against an obstinate adversary, and accordingly it has become quite as often the task of the diplomatist of the present day to back out of a quarrel as to adjust it. This, however, is but a minor difficulty compared with that endless source of confusion and mistakes, the doctrine of nationalities, which has now come to be the recognised panacea for all political complications. In Italy, in Poland, in Schleswig-Holstein, the right of a nationality to choose its own mode of government—the *selbstbestimmungsrecht* of the Germans—has been more or less universally admitted; and unquestionably this is the principle which should be adopted in the settlement of all matters where the fate of a nationality is involved. But here arises the question, What is a nationality? Is

it an aggregation of people of the same race, as in Alsace; or speaking the same language, as in Italy; or possessing a common history, as in Poland; or having marked geographical boundaries, as in Schleswig-Holstein—the sea-embowered? Or is it merely a province, like Savoy, where universal suffrage, tempered by French bayonets, elicits the wish of the people for annexation to a powerful neighbour to which they are neither attached by ties of race, language, history, or geographical affinity? Russia denies the right of Poland to be called a nationality, and claims it for Ruthenia; Austria makes herself the champion of the principle of nationality in Schleswig-Holstein, and remains its bitterest foe in Venetia; Prussia makes war on Denmark because it refuses to give the Duchies a separate administration, and forces German institutions and the German language on the inhabitants of Posen. This principle of nationalities has broken treaties, dissolved alliances, and acquired so great an influence on the destinies of Europe, that a clear idea of its real meaning has become indispensable to the correct appreciation of any continental difficulty.

The well-known Hungarian Liberal leader, M. Eötvös, in his able and interesting essay "on the question of nationalities," defines the idea of nationality as "a consciousness of community, produced in a large number of persons by the same recollections of the past, the same geographical position, and the community of interests and feelings arising from it. Everything that binds society into a whole, and awakes the feeling of community, constitutes a source from which the idea of nationality springs. . . . The feeling of nationality in a people is the same as that of individuality in a man; every political organism, therefore, which feels itself to be a separate whole, is entitled to call itself a nationality." This definition seems to us in the main accurate; but it is put in somewhat too metaphysical a way to have much practical value in its present shape. We should rather define a nationality to be a body of people with strong distinctive national characteristics and an evident tendency to independent political action. Identity of race, language, or religion, does not constitute a nationality: it is only one of the causes which produce the conditions above stated. We should not call the Scotch, nor the people of the Southern States of America, a nationality; for the first do not fulfil the latter of these conditions, and the second do not fulfil the former. In our own country, although the distinctions of race, religion, and character are strongly marked, there is much less difference, as regards general characteristics, between a Scotchman and a Welshman than there is between either of these types and a member of one of the Continental nations; and there can be no question at all as to the political cohesion between Scotland, England, and Wales, or their unwillingness to be attached to any other nation. The same conditions exist in France, in Italy, in Poland, in Hungary, and in Spain, in all of which countries the feeling of nationality is strong and unmistakable. It is obvious that with this feeling identity of race has had very little to do. In England and France half-a-do-

zen different races hold so firmly together that it would be mere folly to think of separating them into different "nationalities;" in Poland, the Ruthenians, the Lithuanians, and the Poles proper only the other day fought for political re-union after a century of partition; and even in Italy and Spain it would be very difficult to assign a common race to the populations which in each of those countries combine to form one harmonious and independent political organization. In these days, when even despotic powers seek the approval of public opinion for their acts, the confusion which exists in many people's minds in regard to the words "race" and "nationality" has been cleverly taken advantage of to give a liberal and righteous colour to more than one political crime. Austria has set up Croatia against Magyar in Hungary, and the Ruthenians against the so-called Poles (who, however, are by race Ruthenians too,) in Galicia; Russia has pursued a similar policy with terrible effect in Podolia and Volhynia during the late insurrection; and France, ingeniously inverting the process, has forced on the Mexican nationality a rule it detests in pursuance of the principle of the "solidarity" of the Latin races. Such are the political crimes which have been committed in the name of nationality, and they would certainly not have been regarded with such comparative indifference by the liberal opinion of Europe had clearer ideas prevailed on the subject. It is entirely to this confusion of thought in regard to the real meaning of the word that are to be attributed the wide differences of opinion which have been generated among Liberals by the Schleswig-Holstein question. It is known that even our ministers were anything but unanimous in this matter, and some of them did not hesitate to state in Parliament that the question was so complicated that it was impossible to understand it. We shall endeavour, by a careful and impartial review of the leading facts of the case, to enable our readers to arrive at a more satisfactory conclusion.

The Schleswig-Holstein question was, as is known, originally a question of nationality. Germany—a heterogeneous collection of States differing from each other almost as much in political organization as in size and population, but a powerful and most important nationality nevertheless—first opened this question by claiming the Duchies as a nationality akin to her own, and therefore having a right to be embodied with herself. The development which the feeling of nationality has acquired in the last half century is curiously illustrated by the reluctance which the German Governments at first showed to interfere in the affairs of the Duchies. At the time when Dahlmann, the father of Schleswig-Holsteinism, as he has been called, drew up his famous memoir of the 8th October, 1816, advocating the restoration to the nobles of both Schleswig and Holstein of their class privileges, the idea of nationality was still in its infancy, and there was as yet no thought either in the Duchies or in Germany of separating the former from Denmark on the ground that they constituted a German State. So much was this the case, that when, seven

years afterwards, the Holstein nobles claimed from the Diet a constitution in common with that of Schleswig, it rejected the claim, and the Prussian Plenipotentiary made the following important declaration on the occasion:—

"The petitioners wish for the maintenance of a union between the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig by one and the same constitution—a union alleged to have been confirmed in 1816 as an essential portion of the rights enjoyed by the estates of Holstein. But upon the maintenance of this union—apart from all other scruples that might suggest themselves against it—the Federal Diet cannot exercise any *imaginable influence, for this reason*, that the Duchy of Schleswig does not belong to the German federal territories, and, consequently, lies altogether beyond the limits of the influence of the Confederation."

How both Prussia and the Confederation have changed their opinion on this point we all know. The date of this change may be fixed (at least as regards Germany) at about the time when the national-unity movement began in that country. And it cannot but be confessed that, looking at the question only from the point of view of the nationality doctrine, the Germans had some ground for claiming that Schleswig as well as Holstein should be admitted into the Confederation. Putting out of the question all the puerile discussion about agnates and cognates, which has added so much unnecessary complication to the matter, it is clear that in 1830, whatever may have been the case in past ages, there was a certain administrative connexion * between Schleswig and Holstein, that the laws and customs of Schleswig were very much more German than Danish, and that the majority of its inhabitants who had any will at all in political matters were for a union with Germany. That the latter result was in a great measure produced by a literary propaganda, pursued by the professors of the German universities with extraordinary energy and persistence, and even sometimes with not too strict a regard for honesty and fairness, is quite true; but the result was there, and it was hardly to be expected that the German nation should ignore it. A circumstance which considerably facilitated the "Germanization," as it has been called, of Schleswig was the close proximity to its frontier of the University of Kiel, which was at that time the head-quarters of the Liberals of Germany, being the only German university where they could express their opinions with freedom. To this university the upper classes in Schleswig, most of whom are of German origin, sent their sons, who returned to their homes full of enthusiasm for the cause of German unity, and naturally did their best to spread their opinions over the whole Duchy. Still more dangerous to the Danish cause in Schleswig were the officials, who, by the law called *biennium universitatis*,

were only eligible for their appointments after having resided two years in the University of Kiel, and showed such zeal in carrying out in practice the principles they had imbibed there, that they habitually neglected to fulfil any orders they received from Copenhagen, the tendency of which was to stay the progress of Germanism in Schleswig. A Danish agitation was attempted in the northern part of the Duchy, but its effect was only partial, and it only stimulated the German party to increased efforts.

A very important event in the history of the question was the appearance of the Duke of Augustenburg as a candidate for the sovereignty of the Duchies (1837). In him the German party found an able and unscrupulous leader, eminently qualified by his position and talents to give them the organization and unity of action they wanted. He laboured assiduously to increase the influence and popularity of his party, and the Schleswig Diets at length became so penetrated with Germanism that in 1842 the president forbade a deputy to speak Danish in the assembly, and in 1846 the king was petitioned "to make the administration of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in its totality separate from that of the kingdom, especially with regard to the finances and the War Department, and to arrange for the Duchies a common administration for these affairs." This petition was refused, and was followed by the letters patent of July 8, 1846, in which the king protested against both the Augustenburg pretensions and the doctrine of the union of Schleswig and Holstein. The Danish Government being now thoroughly alarmed, began a very mild opposition against the German agitation, which culminated in the decree of the 28th January, 1848. By this decree the new king (Frederick VII.) established a common representation for the whole of Denmark, including both Schleswig and Holstein, but at the same time maintained the provincial diets which the Duchies enjoyed in common with other parts of the monarchy. The arrangement thus effected was somewhat similar to that afterwards introduced by Herr von Schmerling's centralization ministry in Austria, and was as little liked in the Duchies as the *Reichsrath* was in Hungary and Galicia. It came at a time, too, when revolution was in the air; and the insurrections of February in Paris and Germany were followed by one in the Duchies in March. On the 24th of March the king announced his intention to make Holstein an independent federal state with an independent constitution, but adhered to his previous decision as regards Schleswig. It was too late, however, to make half-concessions, for the insurrection had already begun. The Danish troops then entered Schleswig, and the insurrectionary government appealed to Germany for assistance. At that time the ruling power in Germany was the revolutionary *Vorparlament*, which at once proclaimed both the Duchies to be German territory. More substantial was the assistance given by Prussia, which, as the "mediating" power, sent 13,000 men into the Duchies, with the avowed object

* This connexion is thus defined in the declaration made by the King of Denmark on the 7th September, 1846:—"Both Duchies have a common public law and common public institutions, a common or similar administration and legislation, and the common *nexus socialis* of the Schleswig-Holstein equestrian corporation."

of annexing Schleswig to the Confederation. A desultory contest ensued, which lasted three years, and was finally closed by the intervention of the Great Powers of Europe.

Of all the popular insurrections that the world has yet seen, there has not been one where the leaders on the national side acted with such utter baseness and duplicity, or where the Government attacked had given so little cause for the extreme animosity of its opponents, as the Schleswig-Holstein insurrection of 1848. It is, indeed, impossible to go through the history of the German agitation in the Duchies without feeling a strong sympathy for Denmark, although, if we hold to the doctrine of nationality, we cannot acknowledge that she was justified in opposing the strongly-expressed wishes of the people of Schleswig and Holstein, whose national characteristics differed from her own in so many important points, for a distinct autonomy and administrative union among themselves. Never before was a Government so innocently unfortunate, or a struggling nationality so little oppressed. The extraordinary partiality of the Danish monarchs for that race of German professors which was afterwards to be the chief cause of the dismemberment of their kingdom; the accession of King Frederick VI. to the German Confederation as Duke of Holstein, giving the Confederation the right of interfering in the affairs of the Duchy; the continual alterations in the constitution, constantly keeping before the minds of the population of the Duchies their distinct institutions; the law of the *biennium universitatis*, in consequence of which all the officials in the Duchies came from the University of Kiel, the hot-bed of the German agitation; and, finally, the almost incredible blindness of King Christian VIII. to the intrigues of the Duke of Augustenburg, formed a succession of mistakes and misfortunes to which the history of no other country can furnish a parallel. There can be no doubt, too, that the extraordinary mildness and tolerance of the Danish Government considerably facilitated the task of the German agitators; so that Denmark may be said to have suffered through her very virtues. In regard to the popular party in the Duchies, on the other hand, little can be said, except that they gave evidence of a great deal of that attachment to the "Fatherland" which in Germany takes the place of patriotism, and that their agitation among the people was perfectly fair in itself, although the means by which it was conducted were not always unobjectionable. But their cause was stained with indelible disgrace by the miserable intriguing and treachery of the leaders into whose hands they fell. Of these, the ablest and most unscrupulous was the Duke Christian of Augustenburg, brother-in-law of King Frederick VI. The pretensions of this prince to the sovereignty in the Duchies were first given to the world in an anonymous pamphlet published at Halle, in 1837, and written by the duke himself. The question of nationality in the Duchies was thus complicated with a question of succession, and the duke cleverly made use of the popular party as a tool

for carrying out his personal views.* Nor was this all: while keeping up a secret correspondence with the German party in the Duchies, and doing their utmost to foment the anti-Danish agitation, the duke and his brother, Prince Frederick of Noër, took advantage of the high position they held at court and the confidence with which they inspired the king, to blind him to what was actually passing in Schleswig and Holstein, and persuade him of the loyalty of their inhabitants to the Danish throne. The Prince of Noër, who was so much trusted by the king that he obtained from him the important appointment of Commander-in-Chief of the forces in the Duchies, officially reported to his sovereign that the officials and the populations in Schleswig and Holstein were more loyal than in Denmark Proper, recommended for advancement the most active promoters of the German agitation, and represented the violent articles in the local press, in favour of a union of the Duchies, as having no real significance; while the Duke of Augustenburg even went so far as to cause a passage in the official speech of the Royal Commissioner to the Schleswig Diet, declaring that Schleswig was under the Danish crown, and which was inserted by the king's special desire, to be omitted when the speech was delivered. It is impossible to explain these facts, all of which appear in official documents, in any other way than that the duke and his brother secured the extraordinary confidence which the king placed in them by the exercise of the basest duplicity and hypocrisy. When the insurrection broke out, the Prince of Noër became a member of the revolutionary government, and his brother practically assumed the direction of the movement. The very first step taken by the agitators was an unworthy manoeuvre to give a colour in the eyes of Europe to the insurrection. They sent a deputation, with demands which they knew would not be granted, to the king; but the members of the deputation were delayed at Copenhagen longer than was anticipated, so that the insurrection, which had been some time preparing, broke out before they returned. The Duke of Augustenburg next published the following proclamation, which was purposely so worded as to chime in with the feeling which prevailed among the people of the Duchies at that time, and is therefore a valuable indication of the real sentiments of the population on the question:—

"To the people of Schleswig-Holstein.—The present serious circumstances impose upon me the duty of explaining simply and plainly, before every one of our people, my position with regard to our holy cause. The inimical measures by which the rights of our Duchies have been destroyed, have been forced upon our King-Duke by the Danish people. *The King is in the power of the wildly-excited Danes who surround him; his resolutions are not free;*

* See the collection of extracts from letters seized in 1848 in the Castle of Augustenburg, published in Wezener's work: *Ueber das Verhältniss der Herzoge von Augustenburg zum Holsteinischen Aufreure*. Copenhagen, 1849.

others make use of his authority in order to impose upon us unjust laws. These are not phrases made to save appearances; it is a notorious fact. In this state of things the Provisional Government has formed itself in order to protect our well-founded rights, and has in its proclamation expressed the sense and the resolve of our people. I subscribe unconditionally and without reserve, to this declaration. What we wish completely, and in honest truth, is the following:—Maintenance of the rights of our country and our people, as well as those of our hereditary sovereign, which are conditioned by the former; we intend also intimately and honestly to join the exertions now made for the unity and freedom of Germany, whose history and fate our Duchies will and must share. For this aim I, and all of us, are ready to stake all in our power, to sacrifice goods and blood, and to give up all that man holds most dear. If, however, our sovereign should again be free, and acknowledge the rights and the nationality of the Duchies in the sense indicated, and also offer guarantees, then I and all of us would be ready joyfully to support him in the exercise of his sovereign rights.—Rendsburg, March 31, 1848. CHRISTIAN AUGUSTUS, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein."

It is evident that in the above document the duke sought above all to make his cause a popular one, by identifying it with the wishes of the people. He carefully avoids all reference to his personal pretensions; he calls upon the Schleswig-Holsteiners to protect their rights and their nationality, and by an ingenious juggle identifies those rights with the independence of the King of Denmark. This singular piece of political conjuring is, we believe, without a precedent in history. It has been by no means unusual for insurgents, at the commencement of a rebellion, to represent themselves as fighting for a redress of grievances, and not against their sovereign; but the Duke of Augustenburg pushed this sham loyalty so far as to declare that "the king can do no wrong," and that he has been misled by his advisers. The falsehood of this assertion is so transparent that one cannot but wonder at the eagerness with which it was accepted both by the people of the Duchies and the Liberals of Germany. Even if we could suppose the king to have been so totally blind to his own interests as to desire the union of the two Duchies, and their consequent separation from his kingdom, it is clear from his acts, both before and after the insurrection, that he had never had any such desire. It is true that, when the insurrection began, the cabinet at Copenhagen belonged to the Eider party, whose object was to place the boundary of Denmark at the Eider, and thus effectually to shut out the German agitation; but the decree of January, which was alleged as the ground for the insurrection, was signed two months before that party came into power, and during the whole of the rest of the king's reign all his acts showed a firm determination to resist the union of the Duchies. It is, of course, possible to explain the king's conduct by his fear of his Danish subjects, who felt very strongly on the subject of the German agitation; but this explanation would be only admissible on the supposition that he was a most skilful hypocrite, which is

very inconsistent with what is known of his character.

Besides the conduct of the Duke of Augustenburg and his brother, the intervention of Prussia in the Duchies was an incident which powerfully contributed to alienate the generous minds of Europe from the Schleswig-Holstein cause. It is natural to take the side of the weaker party in a struggle of which the merits appear doubtful, and in this case Prussia, who, as we have already seen (p. 202), had on a previous occasion strongly denied the right of the Confederation to interfere in the question of the maintenance of the union of the Duchies, was now acting in direct opposition to the principle it then professed. We certainly have no wish to defend the conduct of Prussia, and in strict law perhaps she was not justified in her interference; but we should be sorry to condemn the assistance given to the insurgents in Schleswig-Holstein by their countrymen, so long as there is a Venetia or a Poland to deliver from foreign rule. We will only here observe to what miserable shifts that effete and cumbrous body, the German Confederation, was obliged to have recourse in order to render its new policy compatible with its organization. On the 4th of April it requested Prussia to continue the struggle against Denmark; but being unable by its constitution lawfully to interfere in the affairs of a non-federal state, it made the notable discovery that "there was danger of an attack on the German federal territory of Holstein," and, therefore, called upon Prussia to avert that danger. It went a step further, however, on the 8th. It was now no longer the territory, but the rights, of a German federal territory that were in danger; the right, namely, of Holstein to be united to Schleswig. In order to secure this right, Prussia was requested to force Denmark to evacuate the Duchies, and to exert herself, as much as possible, in obtaining the accession of Schleswig to the Confederation. At the same time the Diet acknowledged the Provisional Government as acting for the King of Denmark, who was still supposed to be morally tied hand and foot by the Eider party. This pleasant fiction was afterwards abandoned by the Diet, but Prussia has continued it in a new shape adapted to the change of circumstances—refusing to acknowledge the right of the Duchies to independence on the ground that they are the property of the King of Denmark, and afterwards depriving him of them for her own benefit.

It is impossible not to feel intense disgust at the chicanery and intrigue which characterized the conduct of Germany at this period. At the same time we should not forget that it was not the German people who were the actors in the drama, but Prussia and the petty princes of the Confederation. The cause was, no doubt, that of the German people; but it was taken out of their hands by their reactionary sovereigns, who were really quite indifferent as to what became of Schleswig-Holstein, and only took up the matter to cheat their subjects out of their liberties by helping them to run after the shadow of an extension of German terri-

tory. It is in this that lies the true explanation of the baseness and deceit which were displayed on the German side, and we need not be surprised to find that the means were as unworthy as the end. To the remonstrances of England and Russia against the occupation of Schleswig by the Prussian troops, the cabinet of Berlin replied, as it did last year, that it was not its intention to deprive the King of Denmark of the Duchy, although a better proof of such intention could scarcely have been given than by invading it. The same "splitting of words," as Lord Palmerston called it, occurred a few months after, when the Prussian General Wrangel refused to sign an armistice concluded by his government, ostensibly on the ground that he was the soldier of the Confederation, who had not concurred in it, and not of Prussia, but really because the Berlin cabinet thought that by temporizing it might obtain better terms. During the armistice, which was another piece of ill-luck for Denmark, as it gave the revolutionary party in the Duchies an opportunity of strengthening its position and gaining a large number of partisans, Prussia continued her perfidious policy, purposely delaying the formation of the board of administration which was provisionally to govern the Duchies, and taking a prominent part in the organization of the Schleswig-Holstein army. A few short months, however, in the course of which the revolutionary fever of 1848 had subsided, soon changed the attitude of Prussia. In the "preliminaries of peace," which accompanied the second armistice of July 10, 1849, she already consented to the separation of the Duchies, as provided by the first article:—

"The Duchy of Schleswig is to have a *separate constitution*, in so far as legislation and internal administration are concerned, *without being connected with the Duchy of Holstein*, and so that the political union which connects the Duchy of Schleswig with the Danish crown be left untouched."

This article was afterwards agreed to by the princes of the Diet, and Prussia not only withdrew from the Duchies, declaring by the mouth of her Minister, Baron Schleinitz, that "Germany had no right to claim the incorporation of Schleswig into the Confederation," but suppressed the insurrection she had mainly helped to maintain. And this was the power which barely a twelvemonth before had entered the Duchies for the avowed purpose of uniting Schleswig to Holstein, and thus bringing both into the Confederation! Recent events have taught us, however, that there is a consistency even in her inconsistency. Within the last two years we have again seen Prussia fighting ostensibly for the union of the Duchies, and now she has not only cheerfully consented to, but actually proposed, their separation. It must be confessed that the German people are peculiarly unfortunate in their champion, for he not only appropriates to himself the prize which he professes to seek in their behalf, but covers them with disgrace by associating their cause with his own dark designs.

In the diplomatic contest which followed the suppression of the insurrection, the German

powers took an entirely fresh ground. The catastrophe of Olmütz having for a time made Prussia descend into the second rank in the Confederation, Austria now took the lead in the negotiations, at a period when the national movement had been completely put down, and a strong reaction against Liberalism had set in all over Germany. The Confederation now no longer looked upon the Duchies as parts of the great German nation, to be recovered for the Fatherland, but as centres of revolution to be drilled into order according to the principles of the Manteuffels and the Schwarzenbergs. When the King of Denmark made the proposal in March, 1850, of giving a separate Liberal constitution to Denmark and Schleswig, and maintaining the old constitution of Holstein, Austria protested on the ground that such an arrangement would not agree "*with the Conservative interests of Europe and Denmark*, with the intentions of the subscribers to the London protocol, and the obligations flowing from the position of the imperial courts." So violent, indeed, was the reaction in even the most Liberal States of Germany, that Herr von der Pfordten, the Bavarian Minister, who has since been so zealous in his advocacy of Schleswig-Holsteinism, declared to a deputation of Holsteiners who came to him with complaints against the Danes, that the German Governments had made a great mistake in espousing the cause of the Duchies, and that if he were Minister for Holstein he would make the country Danish, even at the price of a forced emigration of its inhabitants. And again, in the Prussian despatch accepting the final arrangement proposed by Denmark for the re-organization of the monarchy, it was expressly stipulated that "the Royal Danish Government shall not introduce into the German federal Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, or the Duchy of Schleswig, the constitution or the electoral law now obtaining in the Kingdom of Denmark, but rather, in establishing a common constitution for the monarchy, have regard to the institution of estates in the German Duchies, and the special relations of the Duchy of Schleswig. *Particularly* the electoral law obtaining in Denmark—*i. e.*, universal suffrage—"will not be introduced either into Schleswig or into the German Duchies." Thus, in 1851, as in 1864, the principal object of Prussian intervention in the Duchies was, not to secure their autonomy, but to prevent the introduction of Liberal institutions in a German state. The memorable words of Herr von Bismarck, "that Germany would never be on good terms with Denmark so long as the democratic institutions of the latter country are maintained," are indeed the key to the policy of Prussia in this question, which had never really aimed at making the Duchies part of Germany. As for Herr von Bismarck, the "liberator" of Schleswig-Holstein—the man without whom the Duchies would in all probability never have been separated from Denmark—he has always been known as a violent opponent of Schleswig-Holsteinism. While still a deputy for the Marches of Brandenburg he openly deplored in the Berlin Chamber that the Prussian troops

should have been sent "to defend the revolution in Schleswig against the legitimate sovereign of that country, the King of Denmark," and qualified the enterprise as "eminently iniquitous, frivolous, disastrous, and revolutionary." Since then, although his position as minister has prevented him from using such plain language, he has always shown in his diplomatic communications with foreign courts a great contempt for the Schleswig-Holstein pretensions, and a desire to counteract the designs of his countrymen against Denmark.

It can scarcely be doubted that a much more satisfactory settlement would have been arrived at than that effected by the treaty of London if this tendency of the German Powers to reactionary principles had not in some degree also spread among the other Powers of Europe. The situation was then certainly very much more favourable for an equitable arrangement than in 1863-4. Prussia had not yet succeeded in making Austria her accomplice in her designs on the Duchies; there were Swedish troops in Denmark ready to act as auxiliaries to the Danes; Russia, led by that most legitimist of despots, the Emperor Nicholas, protested energetically against the policy of Germany, threatening war if any attempt were made to aggrandize the federal territory; and England and France had then not been estranged by a diplomatic failure in the Polish question and the uncourteous rejection of the proposal of a visionary congress. Had the European Powers really cared anything about the fate of the people of the Duchies, they were more than strong enough to enforce a definitive settlement of the question, such, for instance, as the union of Schleswig and Holstein into a federal state having a personal connexion only with the crown of Denmark. But the will of the people of the Duchies was just the thing which the Powers banished entirely from their consideration. The integrity of the Danish monarchy—the succession to the Danish crown—these were the only points they thought deserving of notice, as if both did not depend on the contentedness of the populations under Danish rule, and as if either was really of equal importance to the securing of the latter result. It is true that Lord Palmerston made certain proposals in 1848 with regard to the government of the Duchies; but these were mere suggestions, and were never made a matter of European arrangement. The treaty of London merely acknowledged the integrity of the Danish monarchy as a principle in the political organization of Europe, and bound the signatories to recognise the succession of Prince Christian to the territories under Frederick VII. in the case of the male line of the royal family of Denmark becoming extinct, and even this last provision, which settled who was to be the future sovereign of the Duchies, was not submitted to their estates.

If the Northern and Western Powers showed utter indifference to the mode of government which was to be introduced in the Duchies, this cannot be said of Austria and Prussia, who, during the interval between the London protocol (July 4, 1850) and the London treaty (May 8,

1852), obtained important explanations from Denmark of its views in this respect. We have already seen that the strong interest which the great German Powers showed in this matter was mainly due to their anxiety lest democratic institutions in Denmark should revive the liberal agitation in Germany. Accordingly they did all in their power to prevent the isolation of Holstein, so as to keep up through that Duchy the connexion with Denmark, and expose her to the influence of their reactionary policy. In the "explanations" above referred to, Denmark engaged to give a common constitution to all territories under her rule, and a separate representation to each of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, adding, however, that she would entirely dissolve the political connexion which had formerly subsisted between them. On the other hand, Schleswig was not to be incorporated with the kingdom, but the latter was to enjoy the representative institutions granted by the charter of 1849. These engagements were embodied in the royal proclamation of January 28, 1852, a copy of which was communicated to the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna, and afterwards by them to the German Diet, which expressed its approval of the arrangements respecting the Duchies contained in it. Shortly after the proclamation, the re-organization of the Danish monarchy commenced. A common parliament (*Rigsraad*) was established for the purpose of deliberating on the general affairs of the monarchy, and the powers of the estates of the Duchies were extended. The subjects debated in the *Rigsraad* were to be foreign affairs, the army, the navy, the court, the public debt, customs, the post, and the coinage; the consideration of other public matters was left to the special parliaments. The *Rigsraad* was to consist of eighty members, twenty to be named by the king, thirty elected by the special parliaments of Denmark Proper (*Rigsdag*) and those of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, and the remaining thirty by voters with an income of £150, or paying £25 in direct taxes. In the *Rigsraad* the kingdom had forty-seven votes, and the Duchies thirty-three. The powers of this assembly were very limited: it had but a nominal control over the budget, and was not allowed to initiate a bill, or even to introduce an amendment in those laid before it by the Government. Such was the arrangement completed in October, 1855. It bore distinct traces of the reactionary influence of Austria and Prussia, while at the same time it showed a disposition on the part of Denmark to be as liberal as she dared. It was, in fact, an attempt to please all parties; and, like most such attempts, it worked ill, and only courted the evils it was intended to avert.

The ground of dispute between Denmark and Germany was now cleared from most of the archaeological subtleties with which the pedantry of the German professors had obscured it. The evidence, derived from obsolete documents and doubtful traditions, on which the alleged legal right of Schleswig and Holstein to be united was based, ceased to be an element in the question since the arrangement effected

between Denmark and the Confederation in 1852, and the dispute about the succession was laid at rest, at least for a time, by the renunciation on the part of the Duke of Augustenburg of his pretensions to the sovereignty in the Duchies. Unfortunately, the terms of the arrangement of 1852 were so vague that they opened a very wide field for interpretation according to the interests of each of the parties concerned, and all of them were too eager in the dispute not to take the fullest advantage of any expression which was liable to such interpretation. Denmark naturally strove to make the connexion between herself and the Duchies as close as possible; Austria and Prussia desired her to return to the almost absolute régime of 1848; while the German people would be satisfied with nothing less than a totally independent constitution for the Duchies. It was to be expected, therefore, that unless Denmark held to the strict letter of the arrangement, Austria and Prussia should endeavour to overthrow her liberal constitution by objecting that it did not give to the Duchies the degree of autonomy which had been agreed upon. The attack was begun by the Holstein estates, who claimed, through their representatives in the *Rigeraad*, to be allowed to be heard with regard to the new constitution, and to submit the draft of an amended one which would be more in accordance with their wishes. The claim was rejected, but was supported by Austria and Prussia. The grounds alleged by these Powers for their opposition to the new charter show a curious combination of the reactionist tendencies of the German governments with the national aspirations of the German people. One of the objections to the charter was, that by Art. 5 every new Danish sovereign was bound to swear to preserve the constitution before his accession, whereas, according to the principle adopted by the Confederation, the right of sovereignty depends only on the laws of succession. This objection could only have been made in the interests of despotism, as there is no law in the Confederation against the oath in question, and the same or similar enactments are contained in the constitutions of other German states. A far more important objection was the allegation that the new charter had not given to Holstein the "autonomy and equality of rights" which had been stipulated in the Austrian despatch of the 26th December, 1852, and agreed to by Denmark. It was argued, that as in the Privy Council there were three special ministers for Denmark Proper, whereas there was but one for Schleswig and one for Holstein and Lauenburg, and the number of deputies for the Duchies in the *Rigeraad* was fixed according to their population, and was therefore less than that for Denmark Proper, there was no "equality of rights" between the two parts of the State, and that the estates of the Duchies, having no control over the budget, the general taxes, or the recruiting among their population, could not be said to have an "autonomy." Another objection was, that the new charter had not been submitted to the Holstein estates, and was therefore not valid, as having been introduced

without their consent. The German Diet, on its part, also complained that the mobilization of the Holstein and Lauenburg forces had been made dependent on the *Rigeraad*, and thus impeded the liberty of action of the king in furnishing his contingent as a German duke to the Confederation. On the whole, although many of the objections of Germany to the charter were conceived in a spirit of mere cavilling, it is impossible to deny that Denmark did not, in framing her new constitution, fully act in the spirit of the arrangements of 1852.

The representations of the German Powers with respect to the charter met with an obstinate resistance on the part of the cabinet of Copenhagen, and it was not until the German Diet threatened "execution" (Nov. 11, 1858) that the new constitution, so far as it related to Holstein and Lauenburg, was abolished. This, however, created a new difficulty. Before the insurrection of 1848 the general affairs of the whole of the Danish State were conducted by the king and his ministers, without the intervention of the provincial assemblies. This state of things was now revived for Holstein and Lauenburg, but not for the rest of the monarchy, which by the new constitution directed the general policy of the State in the *Rigeraad*; so that practically Holstein, which was formerly under the rule of the king, was now under that of Denmark Proper and Schleswig as well. It was in the case of the budget that the inconvenience of this arrangement was most felt. That Holstein should be taxed by Denmark was obviously very objectionable, and Denmark was so sensible to the evil that she was the first to propose a remedy. On the 3rd of January, 1859, the Holstein estates were convoked, and a modified general charter for the monarchy, together with a new special charter for Holstein, were submitted for their consideration. Unfortunately, although these charters were even more liberal in their provisions than those they were intended to replace, they were open to the same objections as the latter on the score of not treating Holstein as a separate nationality, with a distinct autonomy. As might have been expected, the estates rejected the proposals of the Government; and they offered some counter-proposals, which, though doubtless absurdly exacting on some points, were on the whole not unreasonable, and at least offered a basis for an arrangement in which concessions could be made by both parties. They proposed, among other things, that in the privy council Denmark Proper, Schleswig, and Holstein should have each one representative only; that a general administrative council for the whole monarchy, and a separate legislative assembly in each of the four parts of the State should be established; and that no bills relating to the whole country should become law until passed by each of the four legislatures. The plan was no doubt a clumsy one, but, as was sensibly remarked by the Holstein assembly, no plan for the re-organization of the monarchy could be good so long as the Government persisted in ignoring the special position of Schleswig and Holstein.

The monarchy consisted of a Danish part, and a part where the political life of the people was unquestionably German; and it was mere folly to attempt to treat the two parts precisely alike, and to give them a representation in the State Diet based on population only, as if they were mere departments, with boundaries arbitrarily marked out for the sake of official convenience. The Government, however, was obstinate, and summarily rejected the proposals of the estates. At the same time, in order to prevent the interference of the *Rigsraad* in the financial affairs of the Duchy, a decree was issued (Sept. 23, 1859) by which the contribution of Holstein to the revenues of the State was to be fixed by the king before the budget was brought under the consideration of the representatives of the other parts of the monarchy. This decree was communicated by Denmark to the Confederation in November, 1859, and on the 8th of March of the following year a Federal resolution was passed, urging the speedy grant of an autonomy to Holstein, and demanding that, "in order to secure the equal rights of the German federal lands in their relation to the other parts of the monarchy during the time a provisional state of things might last, all laws which were to be submitted to the Council General should also be submitted to the estates of Holstein and Lauenburg, and no law concerning common affairs, especially no financial laws, should be enacted for these Duchies, except with the previous consent of their representative assemblies, the Diet declaring that it would not consider as lawfully binding upon the German Duchies any enactments which did not conform with this resolution." This demand on the part of the Confederation was at least as unjust and oppressive as the absolute rejection by Denmark of the proposals of the Holstein estates was ill-considered. No independent State could consent to have the whole of its internal policy placed at the mercy of the deputies of a single province, and this was still less to be expected from Denmark, who had already suffered so much from German dictation. The demands of the Confederation were refused; and in February, 1861, "execution" was again threatened if within six weeks Denmark did not give a formal promise to comply with those demands. A second attempt was now made to obtain the consent of the Holstein estates to a modified charter: but as the principal modification was merely the addition of an upper chamber to the *Rigsraad*, this charter was rejected by the estates like its predecessor. War now being imminent, the Great Powers interfered, and persuaded Denmark to agree to the Prussian proposal that she should provisionally renounce the payment of any further contribution by Holstein to the state treasury than that of previous years, and that no general laws affecting Holstein should for the present be issued. Upon this the Diet determined that the intended "execution" should not take place, and Europe was again saved from the danger of a general war.

While the deputies of Holstein thus steadfastly refused to agree to the constitution of

1855, those of Schleswig were not idle. In 1860 they passed an address to the king, repeating the objections of the Holstein estates to the constitution, protesting against any severance of the bonds by which Schleswig and Holstein are connected, and complaining of oppression of the German nationality. The chief ground alleged for this complaint was the introduction, by the "language-regulations" of 1851-2, of a division of Schleswig into the "officially Danish districts," the "officially mixed districts," and the "officially German districts," and the predominance of the Danish language which was then established in the first two of these divisions, the predominant language in those divisions having before 1851 been the German. The regulations in question were formed by the Danish Government for the avowed purpose of checking the spread of Germanism in Schleswig; and, so far as the actual distribution of the Schleswigers that speak Danish and those that speak German is concerned, the arrangement appears to have been a fair one. But it may well be doubted whether the object of this arrangement was either just or politic. We have already seen that in its political conduct Schleswig was uniformly German, not Danish; its historical and literary sympathies are German; and it has a German educated class. In determining the nationality of a people the language test is of all tests the most fallacious. There is scarcely a country in Europe where a great number of the ignorant classes do not speak a different language from that of the educated classes, who are of course in the minority. The language test applied to that most vigorous of nationalities, Switzerland, would give large districts inhabited by Swiss to France, Italy, and Germany. In Poland, where the feeling of nationality is equally vigorous, the great majority of the people in the largest and wealthiest provinces, such as Lithuania and Volhynia, do not speak Polish. Yet who would call a citizen of the canton of Berne a Frenchman, or an inhabitant of Volhynia (unless, indeed, it be a partisan of the Russian Government) a Ruthenian? The truth is, that in the northern countries of Europe the peasant has as yet very indistinct political notions. Travellers in Galicia, where Austria has long been striving to foment a struggle of nationalities, have often remarked that if a Galician peasant is asked whether he is a Pole or a Ruthenian, he invariably answers that he is an "imperialist," i.e., a partisan of the powers that be. We suspect that a similar answer would be given by the peasant of Schleswig to the question whether he is a Dane or a German. Certainly, judging by his conduct during the struggle between the two nationalities, he has not shown any decided partiality for either. It has been said by an able advocate of the Danish Government that Denmark was at least as much justified in "protecting the Danish nationality" in Schleswig as Prussia in forcing the German language and German institutions on Posen. But the cases are not parallel. Posen has always shown itself thoroughly Polish, both by its political conduct and its national sympathies. The deputies from

Posen in the Prussian Parliament are not only almost all of them Poles, but they form a party among themselves, whose political and national instincts are totally opposed to those of their German colleagues in the Chamber; and the conduct of the Poseners during the late Polish insurrection amply proves the strength of their sympathies for their fellow-countrymen in Russian Poland. In Schleswig, though there have been no such strong evidences of nationality, it is indisputable that such national tendencies as have manifested themselves have been all German. The parallel between Posen and Schleswig is only in so far correct that in both countries there has been a struggle of nationalities. In the former the Poles have conquered, in the latter the Germans; and the case of Posen only proves that it is not by government interference such as that of Denmark in Schleswig, even if carried to a most violent extent, that the feeling of nationality in a people is to be extinguished.

The complaints of the Schleswigers did not pass unnoticed in Germany. The liberal ministry of Baron Schleinitz in Prussia warmly took up the case, and put forward a claim, which looks very like a legal quibble, on behalf of the Confederation, to interfere in the affairs of Schleswig on the ground of the promises made by Denmark with reference to that Duchy in 1861. These promises were simply contained in a despatch addressed to the German Governments, in which Denmark informed them of the arrangements it contemplated making with regard to the new Danish constitution, and they certainly did not possess the character which Baron Schleinitz ascribed to them, of "international obligations towards the Germanic Confederation with regard to Schleswig contracted by the King of Denmark, as Duke of Schleswig, for the sake of the settlement of the debated claims of Holstein." On the other hand, one of these promises, that of an "autonomy" to Schleswig, can hardly be said to have been fulfilled, for that Duchy was given no special institutions which were not possessed by the other parts of the monarchy, and it had to send its deputies to the *Rigsraad* in the same way as Denmark Proper. The Danish Government, however, refused to listen to any representations in regard to Schleswig. In October, 1861, it offered to compromise the Holstein difficulty by making all laws which were not agreed to, both by the Holstein estates and the *Rigsraad*, only valid in that part of the monarchy where they were passed; but the German governments, adhering to their new policy, rejected the proposal, chiefly on the ground that it did not refer to Schleswig as well as Holstein. The negotiations thus dragged on a few months longer, when matters again came to a crisis by the Confederation protesting (Feb. 14, 1862) against the continued existence for Schleswig of the *Rigsraad*, whose powers the Danish Government had since attempted to increase. Then came Lord Russell's famous Gotha despatch of the 24th September, 1862, in which our foreign minister showed himself more German than the Germans themselves, by making the extraordinary proposal to divide Denmark

into four parts, each with a distinct autonomy and an independent parliament, thus still further endangering the unity of the Danish State, already shaken by the discontent in Schleswig and Holstein. This plan was of course hailed with joy by the German Governments, but it did not find favour in England, and was soon abandoned by our cabinet.

While these negotiations were going on, an important event occurred in Prussia. The liberal Prince Regent, on ascending the throne at Berlin, suddenly changed his principles, turned on his old adherents, and, after a brief parliamentary struggle, appointed Herr von Bismarck the head of his cabinet. The new Minister-President was known as a violent adversary of Schleswig-Holsteinism, and one of the most bigoted members of the feudal or reactionist party in Prussia. His advent to power, therefore, was regarded as a severe blow to the Schleswig-Holstein agitation, which, it was thought, would now lose its chief support in the abandonment by Prussia of the cause of the Duchies. The Danish Government began to breathe more freely; and when, in February, 1863, the famous convention with Russia regarding the Polish insurgents raised a unanimous outcry of indignation against Prussia from all the civilized nations of Europe, Denmark thought herself so safe against Prussian intervention that she took the opportunity of further strengthening her hold on Schleswig. In March, 1863, a proclamation was issued, establishing an administrative separation between Holstein and the rest of the monarchy. The laws of Holstein, the budget of Holstein, even the army of Holstein, were to be under the control of the Holstein Estates, and made entirely independent of the *Rigsraad*, which was only allowed to deliberate on those subjects so far as they regarded Denmark Proper and Schleswig. The object of this arrangement was evidently to cut off Schleswig from the German influence of Holstein by separating the latter as much as possible from the rest of the state, and thus leaving the Danes unimpeded in their attempts to make Schleswig Danish. On the 14th of July, the Federal Diet protested against the proclamation, and threatened execution unless it was withdrawn. The Danish Government, however, disregarded the protest and the threat. The new arrangements, so far as they related to Schleswig and Denmark Proper, were submitted to the *Rigsraad*, adopted, and embodied in a charter on the 14th November, 1863. War now again impended over the Duchies; and this time the force of events and the cunning of an unprincipled and ambitious statesman were too much for the peacemakers of Europe.

In the diplomatic campaign which preceded and accompanied the military one, the palm for political insight and strategic skill belongs beyond all question to Herr von Bismarck. It is true that his cynical contempt for political morality, and the utter unscrupulousness with which he shifted his policy as it suited his ends, gave him a great advantage over some of his antagonists; but his triumph would certainly not have been so great, had he not been far superior to them in adroitness and sagacity.

His first step, on coming to power, was to secure the firm support of Russia by assisting her in a policy which was condemned by the united voice of Europe. The February convention, no doubt, brought a great deal of obloquy on its author; but he knew well what the alliance of Russia was worth, and the result proved that he had no cause to fear the hostility of France or England. In the Danish question, his predecessors left him the opportunity of attacking a weak power; and he was not the man to throw away such an opportunity. He began by cautiously feeling his way with some modest expressions of opinion, such as that Denmark was bound in honour to fulfil her engagements towards Germany, and that she was blameable for having resisted the mediation of a friendly and impartial nation (*i. e.*, England in the Gotha despatch). After the proclamation of the 30th March, he joined in the protest of Austria against the new Danish projects, but his peculiar genius for political mystification did not show itself until execution was threatened by the Federal Diet, and Lord Russell, in alarm, mildly suggested to that body, that it would be "desirable that nothing should occur to augment the already existing dangers and complications of Europe." When all the German Governments hastened to calm the fears of his lordship by the allegation that an execution did not mean a war, Herr von Bismarck had the assurance to declare that "if a war did take place, it would be an offensive war on the part of Denmark against the Germanic Confederation."* The situation was, indeed, at that time sufficiently perilous for Prussia to necessitate the greatest caution on the part of her minister. England, France, and Austria were united on the Polish question, and it almost seemed as if a general crusade was preparing against Russia and her audacious ally. There is now no doubt that the unfortunate declarations made by Lords Russell and Palmerston in July, 1863, which were afterwards appealed to as giving Denmark a claim to the armed assistance of England, were the fruit of the general feeling that, in any European difficulty, the policy of France and England would be identical; and if Prussia had taken any precipitate step in the Danish affair, it is pretty certain she would at once have received a humiliating check. But Herr von Bismarck was far too wary to expose himself to such a danger. He quietly abided his time, expressing himself to foreign powers in ambiguous terms about the Duchies, firmly adhering to the Russian alliance, and rivalizing with Austria for influence in Germany. He had not to wait long. The failure of the Polish negotiations produced a coolness between France and England, and when Lord Russell proposed to the French Government, on the 16th of September, a common intervention in favour of Denmark, he was answered with a refusal. Herr von Bismarck now began to assume a more decisive attitude, and proposed to the Diet that Prussian troops only should be em-

ployed in the "execution" which was now imminent. But towards the end of September, the famous speech of Lord Russell at Blairgowrie seemed to offer a chance of reviving the Anglo-French alliance. The despatch declaring that the Czar had forfeited his rights to Poland was fully agreed to by France, and Herr von Bismarck, with that ready adaptation to circumstances which is so characteristic of him, immediately proposed, much to the disappointment of Germany, a compromise with Denmark. The terms of this compromise, namely, that Denmark should declare herself ready to give satisfaction to the Diet in regard to the claim of Holstein and Lauenburg to control their own legislation and expenditure of all moneys raised in the Duchies, and to accept the mediation of Great Britain for the arrangement of the international question (*i. e.*, Schleswig), were agreed to by Denmark; and all seemed to be going well, when suddenly Herr von Bismarck dropped his plan, and prepared to carry out the "execution. This apparently unaccountable conduct was easily explained by those who were behind the scenes. The "forfeiture" despatch, which was to have consolidated the Anglo-French alliance, never reached its destination, but, at the earnest representation of Herr von Bismarck, who expressed his conviction that Russia would regard it as a *casus belli*, was stopped on its way to St. Petersburg, and a meaningless document, without object or conclusion, was sent in its place. The situation was now completely changed: France and England were isolated, Prussia had the support of Russia and the Confederation, and Austria, though unwillingly, was forced by the break-up of the western alliance to join Russia. Herr von Bismarck triumphed on every side, and could now give full scope to that audacious policy which is most in accordance with his character and abilities.

The proposal of the Congress, which followed close upon the affair of the "forfeiture" despatch, strikingly displayed the changes which the last few months had brought about in the relative positions of the European Powers. England refused, in a dictatorial and somewhat snappish tone, the proposal of France, and these two powers, which in the summer of that very year had haughtily rebuked Russia and Prussia for their conduct towards Poland and Denmark, now eagerly sought the aid of the cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburg for carrying out their respective views. After a long negotiation, Russia adopted the English view, and talked of the "perfect harmony" with which "the four governments" (*i. e.* Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England) thought and acted in "a question of much greater importance than the Schleswig-Holstein question."* Herr von Bismarck, however, was more difficult to manage. He had his policy to carry out on the Eider, and was in no hurry to put an end to a situation where France and England both strove for his favour; he therefore coquetted with them both, and satisfied neither, until the matter

* Despatch from Herr von Bismarck to Herr von Kate, *chargé d'affaires* in London, 11th September, 1863.

* Despatch from Lord Napier, of 6th January, 1864.

dropped of itself. Meanwhile he took the greatest pains to convince Denmark and her friends that in the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel he was on the Danish side. On the 21st of October, he assured M. Quaade, the Danish ambassador at Berlin, that he was "in favour of an arrangement;" on the 23rd, that he was "sincere in his efforts to discover a pacific solution," and that "surely no one would go to war about Schleswig;" and M. Quaade was so convinced of the sincerity of these declarations that he informed his government that even in London their cause was not so warmly taken up as in Berlin.* In his conversations with Sir Andrew Buchanan, then our ambassador at the Prussian Court, he expressed himself in a similar sense, and repeatedly declared that the proper solution of the Schleswig-Holstein question would be to make an independent Denmark on one side of the Eider, and an independent Holstein on the other side.

These "moderate views," as they were called by Prince Gortschakoff, of Herr von Bismarck were soon changed when the publication of the November charter and the death of King Frederick VII. made it necessary for him to assume a more active attitude. The right of succession established by the Treaty of London now came into force, and under the treaty Christian IX. became the new King of Denmark and the Duchies; but the Confederation refused to be bound by the treaty, which it had not signed, and appointed a committee to inquire into the pretensions of the young Duke of Augustenburg, who now claimed the sovereignty in Schleswig and Holstein. We do not think that any blame is to be attached in this case either to the Confederation—for that body was clearly not bound by a treaty to which it had not adhered, and which was in direct opposition to the wishes of the German nation—or to Prince Frederick, who had in no way participated in the act of renunciation which his father had been compelled to sign, under a threat of losing his estates. The fault really lay with Austria and Prussia, who ought not to have signed the Treaty of London—a treaty regulating the succession in a German Federal State—except as representatives of the Confederation, and with the mediating powers, who did not negotiate in this question with the Confederation, but with Austria and Prussia. These two powers had now determined not to let the matter out of their hands. Count Rechberg, before whom Herr von Bismarck incessantly dangled the bait of "a moral victory" in Germany, and an alliance with a strong power capable of assisting Austria in the defence of her Italian possessions, at length fell into the snare, and sold himself body and soul to the scheming Minister-President. The two accomplices held firmly to the Treaty of London; they rejected the pretensions of Prince Frederick; but they felt themselves, they said, unable to stem the current of democracy in Germany. They represented a German attack on Denmark as imminent, and declared themselves ready to

come forward as the champions of peace and order by effecting the threatened execution in Holstein with their own troops in the name of the Confederation. Strange to say, this language (which was of course echoed by Russia, who owed a heavy debt of gratitude to Herr von Bismarck) imposed on our credulous foreign minister to such a degree that, after inducing the government at Copenhagen to revoke the proclamation of the 30th of March, he further advised it to evacuate Holstein, and make way for the Austrian and Prussian troops, the "protectors" of Denmark and the peace of Europe. The occupation of Holstein took place on the 21st of December; but, instead of appeasing the clamorous demands of the national party in Germany, it only increased them, and Herr von Bismarck, who before the occupation had appeared as a universal peacemaker and the firm friend of Denmark and supporter of the London treaty, now roundly declared that, unless the constitution of November was abolished by the first of January, 1864, the German powers would consider themselves freed from all their engagements toward the Copenhagen Government, the London treaty included. Then came the famous hint, so characteristic of the man, that a *coup-d'état* would be the best way of settling the difficulty, and the declaration that Prussia could not bind herself to any particular line of policy in a question the aspect of which was constantly changing. It would seem after this that there could be no further doubt as to the intentions of Herr von Bismarck. But Lord Russell's stock of hope was inexhaustible. Finding Prussia intractable, he turned to Denmark with the advice that she should give up the November constitution, and thus deprive Herr von Bismarck of the ground on which he proposed to continue his interference with her affairs. As if the astute Minister-President could not, if he were so minded, have produced a dozen other pretexts for his interference! The constitution was not given up, and on the 28th December Herr von Bismarck proposed to the Diet that the Austrian and Prussian troops should occupy Schleswig as a guarantee for the performance by Denmark of her engagements of 1851-2. Count Rechberg now became alarmed at the audacity of his ally, and joined Lord Russell, who was just beginning to perceive that Europe was in danger of a war, in the attempt to bring about a conference. The attempt failed, mainly in consequence of the opposition of France, who was still sore about the Congress. Meanwhile, the smaller German States organized a strong opposition against Prussia. Their plan was to install Prince Frederick as the Duke of Holstein, and then send him volunteers from all parts of Germany to assist him in seizing Schleswig from Denmark by a war. Already everything was prepared for the realization of this project; the Prince had taken up his residence at Kiel, and demonstrations in his favour were openly encouraged by the Saxon and other Federal troops in Holstein. But an exclusive occupation of Schleswig by Austria and Prussia in the name of the King of Denmark would obviously be fatal to the designs of the Middle

* Correspondence presented to the *Rigeraad* in August, 1864.

States; and accordingly the Diet opposed the proposed occupation (14th January) by a majority of 11 to 5. Herr von Bismarck, however, was not to be daunted by the votes of the Middle States. He simply declared that he found it necessary "to defend the rights of the Confederation in Schleswig," and marched his troops on Holstein, followed obediently by his Austrian allies. The Diet was obliged to yield, and on the 20th January General Hake, the Saxon commander-in-chief, evacuated Kiel.

Herr von Bismarck was now master of the situation. He was sure of the support of Russia;* he had triumphed over the Middle States; and he had nothing to fear from England, France having sided with the national party in Germany, and Lord Russell's isolated representations in favour of Denmark producing no more effect at Paris or St. Petersburg than at Berlin. On the 16th of January he summoned King Christian to abolish the November constitution within the space of two days. The Danish Government asked for six weeks; but Herr von Bismarck had resolved on a war, and sent the Prussian troops into Schleswig on the 1st of February, the day after he made his famous statement in answer to Lord Russell, that "the case might arise when the Treaty of London would not offer a result proportionate to the sacrifices which events had imposed on the German Powers." Austria, still fearing for the safety of her Italian possessions, which she thought were again placed in peril by the French proposal of a Congress, followed unwillingly in the wake of her enterprising ally; and Denmark had to fight alone against her invaders, in spite of Lord Palmerston's prophecy, even Sweden being restrained from assisting her by the fear of Russia. Meanwhile the Middle States again prepared a demonstration against Herr von Bismarck. On the 19th of February their ministers assembled in conference at Würzburg, and unanimously decided to press the Diet for a speedy and decisive vote on the question of the succession, the convocation of the Estates of Holstein, and a considerable augmentation of the Federal army in that Duchy. Herr von Bismarck, on his side, was not idle. He arranged with Russia to play off another candidate—the Duke of Oldenburg—against Prince Frederick; and, at the same time, he sent General Manteuffel on an extraordinary mission to the courts of Germany in order to intimidate the Middle States into a compliance with his views. The effect of this mission was almost magical. On the 25th of February Austria and Prussia declared to the Diet that they were about to assume the military and civil command in the Duchies, which had hitherto been under the authority of the Confederation; and to this astounding declaration one or two small States only dared to object. So deep, indeed, was the humiliation of the smaller German

sovereigns, that the death of the King of Bavaria, which occurred a few days afterwards, is generally believed to have been caused by his disappointment at the failure of his cherished designs. Having thus routed the Middle States, Herr von Bismarck still further strengthened his position by concluding a convention with Austria, binding his government to give her material assistance in case her possessions in Italy should be attacked, and, at the same time, consolidated the alliance between the three Northern Courts by persuading Count Rechberg to proclaim a state of siege in Galicia, and thus give the final blow to the Polish insurrection. Seven days afterwards the troops of Austria and Prussia entered Jutland.

The proposal of a conference for the settlement of the Danish question was now renewed, and found more favour than on the previous occasion. France was growing alarmed at the indications of a revival of the Holy Alliance, and again sought the friendship of England; Austria and Prussia, being in possession of the Duchies, had no objection to a little diplomatic acting, which they knew would have no serious result; and the Confederation hoped to gain some advantage at the expense of Austria and Prussia. The conference met on the 26th of April; but the real question at issue was not discussed until the 12th of May. During the interval the idea of an annexation of the Duchies to Prussia was first started and vigorously supported at Berlin; and the Prussian plenipotentiary at the conference began the discussion by laying down the principle that Austria and Prussia considered themselves freed from any engagement with regard to the Duchies which they may have contracted towards Denmark before the war. The various proposals for the settlement of the question which followed were all rejected one after the other, for the simple reason that the German Powers were not sincere in their professed desire for an arrangement. The most important of these proposals was that of the 28th May, when Austria and Prussia asked for the complete separation of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from the kingdom, and their reunion in a single State under the sovereignty of the Duke of Augustenburg. This proposition filled all Germany with joy, and the Duke immediately proceeded to Berlin on a visit to Herr von Bismarck; but the results of his conference with the Minister were not satisfactory. It appeared that Herr von Bismarck was not going to give up the Duchies without conditions; he wanted Prussia to occupy Kiel, to have the use of the military and naval resources of the Duchies, and to be allowed the right of navigation over the projected Schleswig-Holstein canal. To these conditions the Duke refused to accede, and his supporters resumed their old hostility to the Minister-President. The next scene in this diplomatic farce was very curious. The very day after the interview between Herr von Bismarck and the Duke, the Russian plenipotentiary announced to the conference the cession by the Czar of his rights in the Duchies to the Duke of Oldenburg. This, it will be observed, was a repetition of the manœuvre which Herr von Bismarck had al-

* Despatches from Lord Napier, 10th and 11th January, 1864. See also the very curious documents published in the *Morning Post* of the 4th and 5th July, 1864. The authenticity of these documents is now generally recognised, notwithstanding the official contradictions which appeared at the time.

ready executed with effect against the Middle States, and the instrumentality by which it was performed in the present case was especially significant, as a proof of the complete understanding which had been arrived at between Prussia and Russia. After six weeks' useless parleying, the Conference closed; the war was renewed, and on the 27th of July Denmark signed the Treaty of Vienna, by which she ceded to Austria and Prussia the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg.

The period of "co-possession," which has lasted just a twelvemonth, now commenced, and soon disturbed the harmony which had existed between the two great German powers. The double government under an Austrian and a Prussian commissioner offered endless opportunities for the old rivalry between the two countries to break out, and the known desire of Prussia to annex the Duchies was alone sufficient to excite a natural jealousy in her ally, which manifested itself by a secret but efficacious support to the party of the Duke of Augustenburg. The estrangement between the two powers grew still greater when, on the announcement of the September Convention concluded between Italy and France, Herr von Bismarck refused to acknowledge the claim of Austria to a fulfilment of the engagement he had contracted towards her during the Danish war (p. 455). The Prussian minister based his refusal on the allegation that he had only promised to assist Austria in case her Italian possessions were attacked in consequence of her participation in the Danish war, and that this promise could therefore in no way apply to the September Convention. The indignation felt at Vienna towards Count Rechberg for having thus allowed himself to be duped was so great that shortly afterwards he was forced to resign; and from that time it became evident that Austria only sought a pretext to rid herself of the alliance of her now thoroughly detested neighbour. The remainder of the history of the "co-possession" period is merely a tedious record of incessant disputes between the two powers, who were constantly on the eve of a rupture without actually resorting to hostilities. The position of Austria, indeed, was such, that she was quite unable to go to war with Prussia, however willing she might have been to do so. Under the centralizing government of Herr von Schmerling her finances became so crippled, and the nationalities under her rule so discontented, that a war would inevitably have led her to bankruptcy and dismemberment. It is true that the Middle States supported her in opposing the designs of Prussia; but their support in a war would have been of little value, and would certainly not have preserved her from financial and political ruin. Strange to say, the only formidable opponent to Herr Von Bismarck in his aggressive designs on the Duchies has been the Chamber of Deputies at Berlin. The fact of the representatives of a nation refusing to sanction an increase of its territory, on the ground that the means by which it is to be obtained are unjust, is without a precedent in parliamentary history, and the magnanimity and disinterestedness of the Prussian deputies

stand out in striking contrast to the low cunning and shameless greed which has marked the conduct of the German Governments in this question.

But even the refusal of the Chamber to vote the supplies he required for his aggressive projects did not hinder Herr von Bismarck from steadfastly pursuing the policy he had adopted since the beginning of the war. The occupation of Kiel, in spite of the protests of Austria and the Confederation, was consummated with his usual daring and success, and the decision of the crown lawyers against the pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg, about which so much noise has been made in the press of England and France, was simply a repetition of the doctrine to which he had always adhered, in opposition to the Middle States of Germany, and which now offered so convenient a ground for the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia. His plans have been only too well and carefully laid; and, unhappily for the peace of Germany and Europe, the obstacles to their realization are gradually disappearing before his indomitable will and his cynical contempt for every obligation.

The question of the nationality of the Duchies, which a year ago was the principal element of the dispute between Germany and Denmark, has now been entirely laid aside by their despotic possessors. But indications have not been wanting, even during the last few months, that this will be the only firm basis for a definite settlement. Even Herr von Bismarck, who is so sagacious in his dealings with foreign governments, found all his penetration and acuteness at fault when he had a population to deal with. He soon perceived his mistake in thinking he could drill the Schleswig-Holstein deputies into a compliance with his views, and was forced to abandon the idea of convoking the Estates of the Duchies, with the object of turning the tables on Austria, and bringing over to his side the liberal opinion of Germany. The Gastein Convention was, in fact, the result of a conviction on the part of Herr von Bismarck that, though he was in possession of the territory of Schleswig-Holstein, its inhabitants were gradually escaping from his grasp. A deep and undisguised detestation of Prussia, which was secretly fomented by Austria, has grown up among the Schleswig-Holsteiners; and the Prussian minister hopes, by securing the connivance of Austria, and taking in hand the most refractory of the two Duchies himself, to crush out all opposition among the people to his designs. But he will find this no easy task. History teaches us that when a nationality is held in subjection by a strong military despotism, oppression only has the effect of strengthening its aspirations towards independence; and we may be sure that the Schleswig-Holstein question will continue to agitate Europe, so long as it is not settled in conformity with the wishes of the Schleswig-Holstein nationality.

ART. VII.—MR. GROTE'S PLATO.

Plato and the other Companions of Sokrates.

By GEORGE GROTE, F.R.S. 3 vols. London: John Murray. 1865.

Of this book we venture to predict that it will be talked of by many, read by few, and thoroughly appreciated by fewer still. Yet it is a long time since a work has issued from the press more entirely deserving of careful attention.

Plato is, perhaps, the greatest name in ancient literature. Mr. Grote himself ranks among the first of Greek scholars, and is undoubtedly the first of living historians. When a critic like Mr. Grote takes in hand a thinker like Plato, we have a right to expect something unusually interesting. That it should not be popular as well, is more a matter of regret than surprise. There is a prejudice, well founded as a rule, against vast systems of philosophy; life is thought not to be long enough for the orderly arrangement of our knowledge, and far too short for information on theories admitted to be obsolete; so people are content to wander in the wide field of letters, picking up here a fact and there an opinion, like cattle (to borrow a simile of Sokrates) grazing in the enclosure of a temple. Those who can see no use in anything which does not issue in an immediate result, may be pardoned for esteeming lightly the works which have come down to us from the pre-Aristotelian times. Of Plato in particular they may justly say that we owe little to him of direct practical value—*philosophiam pulchre multis locis inchoavit; ad impellendum satia, ad edocendum parum*. Looked at, however, from a wider point of view, the Platonic writings have a value which justifies the admiration which they have always received, and the enormous amount of labour which has been spent upon them. They describe an important phase in the history of Greek—that is to say, of European—thought, and their historical relations are thus especially interesting. It is from this side that Mr. Grote approaches them. The present work was undertaken in fulfilment of a promise long ago made to himself, that when he had finished the political history of Hellas, he would complete its intellectual history from his own point of view. It is, therefore, no mere fragment, but part of a larger and completed whole.

Readers of Mr. Grote's History will remember that in his 68th chapter he described the life of Sokrates, and dwelt at some length on the influence exerted by that extraordinary teacher. We are here shown the result of this influence exhibited in the writings of Plato, and the other companions of Sokrates. These men, Xenophon, Æschines, Eukleides, Antisthenes, Aristippus, and the rest, to whom the title *Sokratici viri* properly belongs, were, it is true, rather admirers and friends of their great master than his disciples; yet, from constantly listening to his conversation, they borrowed something of a common method, which passed from them into various derivative systems of philo-

sophy. Respecting the less known members of the group, Mr. Grote has collected much curious information, and the way in which later speculations lead up to Sokrates through some of these his friends is traced in a particularly clear and interesting manner. The criticism of the Megarian and Kyrenaic schools, for example, which is connected with the account of Eukleides and Aristippus, is as well worth reading as anything in the book, and is especially suggestive to students of Aristotle, who will find in it an explanation of many obscure allusions and references. But the chief interest of these volumes centres, as is natural, in Plato. To him, as undoubtedly the most distinguished of all the admirers of Sokrates, the chief part of the entire work has been devoted, that part, however, on which the greatest labour has been expended, and by which the whole will certainly be judged. This section (which is nothing less than a critical digest of the whole body of the Platonic philosophy) is not inferior in value to anything which Mr. Grote has yet written. To make Plato interesting and intelligible to the English reader—to explain his method, to rescue his doctrine from the perversions it has undergone—is about as difficult a task as anyone can have undertaken, and we question whether any living scholar could have discharged it so completely and so well. Mr. Grote has devoted a lifetime to the study of Grecian life and character. The social, political, and literary antecedents of the Sokratic age are perfectly familiar to him, and in this case such knowledge is indispensable. We lately had occasion to remark, in reference to Mr. Lewes' essay on Aristotle, on the importance in philosophy of an historical method of treatment. Now, Plato, even more than Aristotle, requires to be read in immediate sequence with the thinkers who preceded him. And for this reason. Aristotle's works have come down to us in the form of treatises, in which the reasoning is carried on from principles originally assumed or established. Except in the way of criticism, there is not much reference to earlier speculations; indeed, it is one of the charges which Bacon brings against him that he established his intellectual supremacy by putting his rivals out of the way—*Ottomanorum more erga fratres*—just as the Sultans begin their reign by cutting their brothers' throats. In the Platonic writings, on the contrary, the personal element is constantly present; Parmenides, Protagoras, Hippias, Polus, Gorgias, Sokrates, are brought vividly before us, and their character and opinions are an essential part of the discussions in which they join. Add to this that Plato abounds in allusions which only those can understand who are acquainted with the habits of the ancient world, and it must be admitted that a commentator has every opportunity of bringing into play a minute and extensive knowledge of history. In this qualification Mr. Grote has no rival. His "History of Greece" is not only an astonishing example of erudition, but it is written in the best spirit and with a thoroughly comprehensive aim. If we except "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," there is nothing in the English

language which can be compared with it. Nor will the readers of this great work require any evidence of its author's philosophical accomplishments. The chapters* in which he describes the Grecian mythopoëic spirit; the account of the Ionic philosophers; of Pythagoras;† and the elaborate excursus on Sokrates and the Sophists contained in the eighth volume,‡ will have prepared everyone to expect a masterly treatment of any subject requiring a knowledge of metaphysics and ethics.

It is quite time that a little vigorous and wholesome criticism was applied to Plato; for, to say the truth, he has been too long the stalking-horse of a philosophical party, who have somewhat abused the privilege of dressing up a lay figure in their own clothes. Many who have read Plato by the light of their prepossessions, and a still greater number who have not read him at all, are fond of appealing to him as the champion of the theory of inborn essential truth. Aristotle they regard as the representative of conceptualism; and whenever it is necessary to oppose the flash of spiritual insight to the process of inductive investigation, we are sure to hear of the authority of "the divine philosopher"—of his theory of ideas, and of his subordination of the world of sense to that of mind.§ Others, who approach the subject rather from the side of theology than philosophy, read into the mind of Plato much of the religious feeling which, no doubt, characterized Sokrates. The mysticism of the Academy is set against the infidelity of the Peripatetics, and we have a highly-coloured picture of a Greek philosopher looking at the world and its relations from an outpost spiritual and divine.¶ Examples of this view may be found in most popular manuals of philosophy. Need we add that Plato has been at all times the philosophical bulwark of the great Conservative party? It must be admitted that he embodies their favourite theory of Athenian history. That, dating from the Persian invasion, private and public life in Athens began to be corrupted; that this corruption may be traced to the ascendancy of its democracy; that the Sophists offered to the vanity of youth and the ambition of wealth a substitute for that authority which the laws of Solon had attached to birth and property, are propositions unhesitatingly believed in by those to whom monarchy is the only type of well-being. Of course, too, popu-

lar and fashionable writers often have a word to say on Plato. To them he appears in the disguise of a melancholy man, with dreamy eyes and a pale brow—the Byron of the fifth century B.C. He is thought to have invented a plan for making love without committing oneself. This system, under the name of "Platonic affection," is supposed to be described in one or more dialogues, for which reason, among others, the name of Plato is frequently given by well-educated young ladies, in answer to the question, "Who is your favourite author?" To this order of criticism, also, belong such expressions as "the moonlit abyss of Plato," by which Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton conveys the impression produced upon his mind by a study of the Sokratic philosophy.

The elaborate exposition of Mr. Grote will modify considerably these and similar views. Adopting the principle that Plato is his own best interpreter, he examines how far one consistent scheme can be deduced from the various dialogues. His conclusion is, that this great writer is not at one with himself; that numerous contradictions and inconsistencies may be observed, a result arrived at in one dialogue being not infrequently refuted in another; that, as regards method, the negative procedure, borrowed by Sokrates from Zeno, was treated as co-ordinate in value with the affirmative; that some portions of the Platonic writings give prominence to one, and some portions to the other, and that it is a mistake to suppose that where no issue is arrived at Plato must have had some ulterior conviction in his mind—held but not expressed.

We will now attempt to describe somewhat in detail the manner in which these propositions are established.

Mr. Grote prefaces his inquiry by examining the authenticity of the Platonic writings. The works usually received as genuine comprise thirty-five dialogues and thirteen epistles. The *editio princeps* of Aldus printed all these, mainly on the authority of a catalogue, compiled by Thrasylus in the first century A.D., and subsequent editors for the most part have not questioned the propriety of this decision. Some modern critics, however, amongst whom is Schleiermacher, have made light of Thrasylus and his catalogue. Their view is, that the title of any given dialogue to be considered the work of Plato depends far more on the internal evidence of style, handling, and thought, than on historical tradition. They proceed as if the burden of proof lay on those who accept, rather than on those who reject the received canon. This principle Mr. Grote refuses to adopt. He considers that the presumption in favour of the catalogue of Thrasylus is particularly strong when the Platonic writings are compared with those of the same age and country, and that the positive evidence for the authenticity of the compositions comprised in it is considerable. Mr. Grote supports his opinion by a bibliographical history of the MSS., from the time of their being deposited in the school library of the Lykeum; by way of contrast, he sketches the history of the Aristotelian MSS.; and he adds some interesting details regarding the great

* "Hist. Greece," vol. i. cc. xvi. xvii.

† Ibid. vol. iv. c. xxxvii.

‡ cc. lxvii. lxviii.

§ Ἐπιστολάσῃ δὲ Πλάτων, ἐπὶ καὶ τῇ ἀλλήλῃ τῶν πύκτω, γρησὶ καὶ τέλειων. Ἡξίον δὲ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατείδεν ἡμῶς, εἰ μὴ τὰ θεῖα πρότερον ὁδεῖν. "Aristoc. apud." Euseb. Caesar. Prepar. Evangel." xi. c. iii. (Quoted by Coleridge, "Friend," vol. iii. p. 120.)

¶ It should be added that Mr. Coleridge (who adopts this view) seems to have thought that the use of the *a posteriori* method in Plato was preparatory and subsidiary only; that it was to be employed in explaining the results of a more scientific process to those for whom knowledge of the results was alone requisite and sufficient. In this view, Plato's neglect of the process itself would not be absolute but relative. See "The Friend," vol. iii. essay v.

Alexandrine collection, and its chief librarians Kallimachus and Aristophanes of Byzantium. Altogether this chapter is very learned and curious. On the question of the genuineness of the commonly received canon, Mr. Grote considers the following facts either proved or fairly presumable.

1. The canon rests on the authority of the Alexandrine library and its erudite librarians, whose written records went back to the days of Ptolemy Soter and Demetrius Phalereus, within a generation after the death of Plato.

2. The manuscripts of Plato, at his death, were preserved in the school which he founded, where they continued for more than thirty years, under the care of Speusippus and Xenokrates, who possessed personal knowledge of all that Plato had really written. After Xenokrates, they came under the care of Polemon and the succeeding scholarchs, from whom Demetrius Phalereus probably obtained permission to take copies of them for the nascent museum or library at Alexandria, or through whom at least (if he purchased from booksellers,) he could easily ascertain which were Plato's works, and which, if any, were spurious.

This being the positive evidence on the subject, Mr. Grote proceeds (in his 5th chapter) to consider the case set up by Schleiermacher, Ast, Socher, Munk, Hermann, and other recent critics. These writers, who differ from one another considerably, both in principle and detail, agree in disregarding the traditional authority of the Thrasyllan canon, and they agree in having created a typical or ideal Plato, which furnishes a standard whereby to measure off his writings. Anything which does not approximate to this standard, which does not satisfy "internal reasons," which is inconsistent with Sokratic and Platonic feeling, according to their estimate of it, they reject. To all this Mr. Grote objects, and with considerable vigour. He points out that these critics are by no means agreed on their type; that "Platonic feeling" is a very fickle element, which has led to the most various and inconsistent results. He asserts the theories which have been laid down respecting the general and systematic purposes of Plato to be uncertified and gratuitous, and the "internal reasons" to be only another phrase for expressing the different theories of the critics themselves respecting Plato as a philosopher and a writer.

"While adhering, therefore," (he concludes) "to the canon of Thrasyllus, I do not think myself obliged to make out that Plato is either like to himself, or equal to himself, or consistent with himself, throughout all the dialogues included therein, and throughout the period of 50 years during which these dialogues were composed. Plato is to be found in all and each of the dialogues, not in an imaginary type abstracted from some to the exclusion of the rest. The critics reverence so much the type of their own creation, that they insist on bringing out a result consistent with it, either by interpretation specially contrived, or by repudiating what will not harmonize. Such sacrifice of the inherent diversity and separate individuality of the dialogues to the maintenance of a supposed unity of type, style, or purpose, appears to me an error. In fact, there exists for us no personal Plato any more than there is

a personal Shakespeare. Plato (except in the *Epistola*) never appears before us, nor gives us any opinion as his own; he is the unseen prompter of different characters, who converse aloud in a number of distinct dramas, each drama a separate work, manifesting its own point of view, affirmative or negative, consistent or inconsistent with the others, as the case may be. In so far as I venture to present a general view of one who keeps himself constantly in the dark—who delights to dive and hide himself, not less difficult to catch than the supposed Sophist in his own dialogue called 'Sophistes'—I shall consider it as subordinate to the dialogues, each and all: and, above all, it must be such as to include and acknowledge not merely diversities, but also inconsistencies and contradictions."

In this view we entirely agree. But we are far from supposing that the majority of the readers of Plato will receive it. Mr. Coleridge used to say that everybody was either a Platonist or an Aristotelian, by which he meant that those who had any definite opinions usually looked at things either from the real or the ideal side. No doubt the mental peculiarities observable in people who think, and the prejudices and prepossessions of others, may be roughly opposed by some such classification as this; no doubt, also, that it is exceedingly convenient for each party to have a representative man. Now the idealists have long clung to Plato with affectionate tenacity. His is the greatest name which can be invoked in favour of the opinion that there is an unconditioned and absolute ground for all that exists conditionally—that this ground may be reached by the exercise of philosophic imagination, and that human knowledge may thereby be reduced to a system. But if Plato speaks with an uncertain voice, who shall follow him? If, as Mr. Grote maintains, it is the fact that the dialogues disclose no systematic unity of theme and purpose—that different, and even contradictory, views are worked out in them—and that the greater number do not even attempt to work out any view at all, what becomes of "the grand problem, the solution of which forms, according to Plato, the final object and distinctive character of philosophy"? Schleiermacher, Coleridge, and *oi nepl* Coleridge, would unite in strong opposition to this theory.

Mr. Grote's criticism of the form of the Platonic writings is followed by a detailed exposition of their aim and character. Adopting the principle that the various manifestations of their author's mind cannot be resolved into one higher unity, there is no attempt to systematize, but the result of each dialogue is independently given. We believe this plan to be legitimate, but it gives to Mr. Grote's book a somewhat fragmentary appearance, and it has led him to repeat himself more than once. It also makes it somewhat difficult to throw his conclusions into a shape in which they can be conveniently represented.

We are first of all led to ask, what is the scheme and method of philosophy according to Plato? What in his opinion is knowledge? and how far (if at all) has he adhered to an authoritative creed? On these questions, which are among the most important that can be asked, this great writer announced little of his own.

He was content to borrow a great part of his dogmatic teaching from the Pythagoreans, and the most striking portion of his method from Sokrates. Now-a-days (as Mr. Grote says), in appreciating a philosopher, it is usual to ask, what positive truths, previously unknown or unproved, has he established? By what arguments has he enforced or made them good? This was not the way in which the matter presented itself to Plato or to the older thinkers whose opinions Plato followed. Philosophers are almost everywhere spoken of in the dialogues as learners and inquirers rather than teachers. In the "Phædrus" Sokrates declares the possession of wisdom to be the distinctive attribute of God—*θεῶν μόνον πρότερον*: it is sufficient for man to desire it. And, in the "Republic," the essence of the philosophic character is said to consist in a keen appetite for every kind of knowledge. For this reason Plato is eloquent on the advantages of an active, restless spirit. To be astonished at everything is the feeling which will most surely rouse the habit of inquiry, and therefore constitutes the most beautiful quality of the human mind. As he poetically phrases it, "the author who described the rainbow as the daughter of Wonder, traced her genealogy well."^{*} In nineteen dialogues out of thirty-five, this theory of philosophy is consistently kept up: all the interlocutors are at once ignorant and eager to know; all of them are jointly engaged in searching for the unknown. We find here debate, refutation, several points of view canvassed, and some shown to be untenable; but there is no affirmative result established, or even announced as established, at the close. In the remaining sixteen dialogues, together with much of the same vein of inquiry, a positive teaching may be found. Nothing can be more various than the forms into which this teaching is cast. Sometimes it is an allegory, sometimes a burst of impassioned declamation, and sometimes it takes the guise of an historical narrative; while in the amount of certainty claimed for it there is almost every degree in the scale, from rigid dogmatism to the bare suggestion of an indifferent opinion. If we inquire into the real value of this doctrinal teaching, we shall have to content ourselves for the most part with the language of apology. While every reader gratefully acknowledges that many elevating thoughts, many striking and beautiful images, are to be found in the writings of Plato, no one who reads those writings candidly will deny that the main positions enforced in them—those, that is, which are positive and Platonic—are utterly untenable. More than this: there is no first-rate genius, professedly dealing with such subjects as physics and politics, whose works have contributed so little to the advancement of science or to the resources of life. Take, for instance, the "Timæus," with its elaborate kosmical theory and its long disquisitions on Zoology, Anatomy, and Physiology: how much is there in the whole which it is of importance to remember? Does any anatomist, does any

physiologist, owe anything to Plato in the sense in which he is under obligations to Hippocrates? Or take the "Republic"—a splendid example, it must be owned, of constructive genius,—are any of the practical problems of politics solved in it? Does it even contain the material for their after solution in the manner in which such material is supplied by Aristotle in his "Politics"? Of the "Phædrus," of the "Symposium," of the "Kritias," as of all the dialogues of exposition, it may with equal truth be said that while they give us a high opinion of their author's dramatic and imaginative powers, they contain nothing which by any stretch of probability is likely to be made of use. As to the dialogues of pure investigation our verdict must be very different. They contain a protest as emphatic as has ever been recorded against loose and hap-hazard induction, and they bring out most clearly "the force of the negative instance" on which Bacon so peremptorily insists. On the whole, then (as Mr. Grote puts it), whether we look to the quantity or quality of the writings, it will appear that the true relation which Plato bears to philosophy is more that of a searcher, tester, and impugner than that of an expositor and dogmatist: that he is more negative than affirmative, more ingenious in pointing out difficulties than successful in solving them. Now this was the idea which Plato inherited from Sokrates, and which he has carried out in fully one half of his writings—that philosophy is a process of investigation, and that only; a method, not a body of truth; a search in which the object looked for may or may not be found, but which is at all events profitable and invigorating. To the manner in which this notion is worked out may be ascribed what is really valuable in Plato. His philosophy thus centres in its method, and the key to that method is Sokrates.

Sokrates affords a striking example of the immortality which can be conferred by the admiration of a great writer. Except on two occasions his name nowhere occurs in the political history of Athens: Of the circumstances of his private life we know little or nothing. And yet there is no one either in ancient or modern times with whom we are really so well acquainted, or whom, could he be brought to life again, we should more certainly recognise. His appearance, his habits, his character, were each perfectly distinctive. A man of unusually coarse and ugly features, with thick lips, staring eyes, and a flat nose, unshod, ill-dressed, ungainly, Dr. Johnson himself was hardly more unprepossessing. But the greatest exquisite of Athens declared that under the form of a satyr was concealed the image of a God.* This is not too strong a way of pointing the contrast between Sokrates as he seemed to be and Sokrates as he actually was. He combined in a very unusual degree strength of body with vigour of mind and determination of character. When serving as a hoplite in the winter expedition against Potidæa he distinguished himself not merely by his activity and courage, but by his indifference to the hardships of the campaign.

* Theat., 155. D. *Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ τὴν Ἴριν Θαύμαντος ἐκγονὸν φησας, οὐ κακῶς γενεαλογεῖν.*

* Alcibiades in Plat. "Sympos." 215.

He was on principle and practice remarkably abstemious. Alcibiades mentions with admiration the fact that no one ever saw Sokrates drunk. Yet when occasion required he could show that his abstinence did not proceed from blind asceticism. Thus Plato in the "Banquet" represents him as entering freely into the pleasures of the table and being the hardest drinker of the whole party: a description which he justifies by seeing all his companions under the table, after which, it being then morning, he gets up wholly unaffected, has a bath, and proceeds as usual to the Lykeum, where he engages all day in philosophical argument and discussion. This hardihood of constitution found its analogy in his character and disposition. On the only occasion on which he was called upon to take a leading part in politics—the day on which the motion was made in the Assembly against the six generals at Arginusæ—he steadily refused, at great personal risk, to put an illegal proposition to the vote. A few years afterwards, when he was tried for his life, he showed the same independence and contempt for consequences.

"No man," he says, in the speech which he addressed on his own behalf to the jury, "knows what death is; yet men fear it as if they knew well that it was the greatest of all evils: which is just a case of that worst of all ignorance—the conceit of knowing what you do not really know. For my part, this is the exact point on which I differ from most other men, if there be any one thing in which I am wiser than they. As I know nothing about Hades, so do I not pretend to any knowledge: but I do know well, that disobedience to a person better than myself, either God or man, is both an evil and a shame; nor will I ever embrace evil certain in order to escape evil which may, for aught I know, be a good. Perhaps you may feel indignant at the resolute tone of my defence. You may have expected that I should do as most others do in less dangerous trials than mine—that I should weep, beg, and entreat for my life, and bring forward my children and relatives to do the same. I have relatives, like other men, and three children, but not one of them shall appear before you for any such purpose; not from any insolent disposition on my part, nor any wish to put a slight upon you, but because I hold such conduct to be degrading to the reputation which I enjoy; for I have a reputation for superiority among you, deserved or undeserved as it may be. It is a disgrace to Athens when her esteemed men lower themselves, as they do but too often by such mean and cowardly supplications; and you, Dikasts, instead of being prompted thereby to spare them, ought rather to condemn them the more for so dishonouring the city. Apart from any reputation of mine, too, I should be a guilty man if I sought to bias you by supplications. My duty is to instruct and persuade you, if I can; but you have sworn to follow your convictions in judging according to the laws, not to make the laws bend to your partiality; and it is your duty to do so. Far be it from me to habituate you to perjury: far be it from you to contract any such habit. Do not, therefore, require of me proceedings dishonourable in reference to myself, as well as criminal and impious in regard to you: especially at a moment when I am myself rebutting an accusation of impiety advanced by Meletus. I leave to you and to the Gods

to decide as may turn out best both for me and for you."*

Had Sokrates been merely an independent, brave, and good man, he might easily have been forgotten, as many have been forgotten not less entitled to our respect and admiration. But his mind was of that order which never fails to leave a mark behind. Mr. Grote sums him up by saying that he was "the rarest intellectual phenomenon of ancient times, and the originator of the most powerful scientific impulse which the Greek mind ever underwent."† It is in this light chiefly, though not exclusively, that he appears in Plato, and in order to apprehend the view taken in these volumes of the Platonic philosophy it is necessary to form a distinct idea of the intellectual life of Sokrates and of the peculiarities of his method. The story of his life is soon told. It was spent in public discussion. For a long time, from middle age to his seventieth year, he talked and cross-questioned, and did little else. His avowed purpose was to stimulate the Athenian public to take stock of their ideas, to realize their objects in life, and to pursue them with an intelligent and conscious purpose. In his "Defence," he describes his relation to his countrymen by one of those homely and humorous images of which he was so fond. He likens the people of Athens to a large and well-bred horse, which had been suffered to become sleek and sluggish from want of work. He himself was like a gadfly, always irritating and worrying the animal, and leaving it no rest. "In this manner," he adds, "I am constantly stimulating, exhorting, and reproaching you, one by one, from morning to night, fastening on you everywhere." These words are scarcely an exaggeration of the fact. Day by day, he might have been found talking—incessantly talking—with anyone who chose to converse with him. It was a matter of perfect indifference who was the interlocutor; he was equally careless as to the time and place of his discourse. In the streets, in the market, in the pleasant suburbs of the city, at dinner with his friends, in the houses of casual acquaintance, early in the morning, far into the night, at all times and in all places, Sokrates was engaged in familiar and unrestrained conversation with men of every class and occupation. He looked on the world at large much as we may fancy an acute Nisi Prius lawyer looks at the people he meets in society. "This is a remarkable man: I wonder whether he would cross-examine well? Here is a very interesting woman: could I make anything of her, if I got her into the witness-box?" This perfect publicity and unreserve was one of the distinguishing characteristics of Sokrates as compared with other teachers. He was ready at any time to give up a long morning to the first comer. He had no school—no recognised band of disciples. He took no fee; indeed he did

* Grote's "Hist. Greece," viii. pp. 659–61, quoting Plat. Apol. p. 24–29.

† Preface to "Hist. Greece," vol. viii.

not profess to be able to teach. All he could do, was "to stimulate, exhort, and abuse," and by judicious questioning help his hearers to think and doubt for themselves. He neglected all profitable labour as well as all political business, and no doubt, in the eyes of industrious and ambitious citizens, he seemed to lead a remarkably idle and purposeless life. No such reproach however can justly be brought against him. His manner of spending his time is more than justified by the great results he achieved and by the strong conviction under which he acted. He fully believed that the Gods had entrusted him with a mission; that they spoke to him by oracles and in dreams, and especially by a warning or restraining voice, to which he was continually subject, which manifested itself to him when he was a child, and continued to the latest moment of his life. This voice, or sign, of whose supernatural character he was firmly convinced—*θεῖόν τι καὶ δαμόνιον*, he calls it,—would check him in the most trifling matters if he were about to do anything wrong. He was accustomed to obey it implicitly; in deference to it, he kept aloof from public life, and when he was beginning to prepare a set speech in answer to the accusation of Meletus, he abandoned his design in obedience to the injunction of his monitor. There is no reason to doubt that he felt himself constantly in the presence of a divine guide, under whose sanction he acted, and whose approval he assumed whenever he was not interfered with. It is necessary to keep in view this side of Sokrates' character, inasmuch as he is often represented, and was, in fact, indicted, as a religious sceptic. It is true that his dialectical method, had he employed it consistently, might easily have led him in the direction of theological doubt. That, on the contrary, notwithstanding the negative vein of his philosophy, he should have been an orthodox believer, exact and attentive in his religious observances, is owing partly to a strong element of superstition in his character, and in a still greater degree to the subject to which he confined himself. The choice of that subject, and the manner in which it was handled, mark a most important era in the history of speculation, and constitute Sokrates' real claim to the title of a great and original thinker.

From the time of Thales down to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, there had been a long course of speculation on the constitution of the physical universe. The earliest theorists found nature disguised under the forms in which it had been represented by the mythical and religious poets. To Homer and Hesiod the idea of an orderly whole never presented itself. The world, as they looked at it, was the manifestation of divine or semi-divine agency—a Pantheon or a Pandemonium, but not a Kosmos. The first effort of scientific thought was directed to the task of disengaging nature from the personal attributes which entangled it. The Ionic philosophers, and their immediate successors, Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Parmenides, Leukippos, Demokritos, Anaxagoras, sought for a more scientific basis than the popular notion could supply—some cause and begin-

ning of things, something, if more obscure, at least more universal and regular, than the action and volition of a God. "They fixed upon the common, familiar, widely extended material substances, water, air, fire, and they could hardly fix upon any others."* They failed in this search, but their systems (as Bacon says) have an element of natural philosophy and taste of the nature of things. This was the point which had been arrived at about the time when Sokrates was born, in the generation which witnessed the Persian invasion of Greece. Many attempts had been made to generalize the principles of physics, but there had been no effort to think out the more complicated questions of moral and political philosophy. Meanwhile a great change had been slowly operating in literature. Lyric and gnomic poetry had given way to tragedy and comedy. It was during the century of Athenian democracy—from its establishment by Cleisthenes to its abolition in the last year of the Peloponnesian war—that all the masterpieces of dramatic art were produced. Phrynichus gained his first prize in the year in which Hippias and his family were banished. Sophocles and Euripides, both died just before the capture of Athens by Lysander. Without pretending to determine how far the democratic constitution of Athens was a necessary condition of the existence of the drama, we may safely assume that it tended greatly to its perfection. In Æschylus, and still more in Euripides, we constantly witness the contests of the dikastery and of the assembly. Difficult cases of conflicting duty, such as that which forms the subject of the *Antigone*, are perpetually arising. To argue, to persuade, to defend, to confute, is the constant business of the poet. His subject is no longer Nature, but Man. He writes with the purpose of arousing the sympathies of a vast indiscriminate audience, and to this end he uses the ordinary weapons of political warfare in a free state, appealing without reserve to the common ethical sentiment, and to the prevailing opinions and prejudices of his hearers. "In place of unexpanded results, or the mere communication of single-minded sentiment, we have a large latitude of dissent and debate—a shifting point of view—a case better or worse, made out for distinct and contending parties—and a divination of the future advent of sovereign and instructed reason."† In comparing a writer like Æschylus with one like Pindar, we cannot fail to be struck with the wider range of subject and higher interest of the problems which tragedy permits itself.

It was to these questions of moral casuistry and political debate, with which the public had become familiar through the instrumentality of dramatic literature, that Sokrates turned his attention. It is important to remark that the way to this inquiry was paved for him by the literature and constitution of the democracy. A century earlier—under the paternal government of Hippias and Hipparchus—he would probably have found no one who cared to listen

* Grote's "Plato," vol. i. p. 90.

† Grote's "Hist. Greece," vol. viii. p. 462.

to him. But in an age in which every one took part in public discussion, and in which every one went to the theatre, when motives both of conflicting policy and conflicting duty were being constantly urged before the people, some kind of opinion on morals and politics would be sure to prevail. It was to these topics that Sokrates applied the resources of a singularly subtle and logical mind. He set himself to probe the mass of undefined association which constituted the basis of ordinary thought and action. He was the first, as Aristotle pointedly says, who busied himself about Ethics, and sought for a definition of general terms. His position in reference to the questions he treated was analogous to that of Thales and his followers in regard to the problems of physics. Like them he sought for something wider, more accurate and scientific, than the popular phraseology supplied. But here the resemblance ends. He had no sympathy with the objects of the earlier investigation. Indeed he considered it useless and irreligious to inquire into the constitution of the heavenly bodies or to speculate about the Kosmos. These were matters which in his opinion the Gods had shut out from the human ken. His motto was, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus*. His queries related exclusively to matters of everyday life, and to the sentiments and ideas prevailing in common practice—sentiments of recognized power, and ideas which were being constantly appealed to, and of which for that reason every one assumed himself to know the grounds. What is justice? What is injustice? What is knowledge? What is ignorance? What is happiness? What is virtue? What is a state?—these questions he never ceased asking. In the speech already referred to he states in a lively manner the result of his long inquiry.

"His friend and admirer, Chærephon, had asked the oracle at Delphi whether any one was wiser than Sokrates? The oracle declared that no one was wiser. On hearing this declaration from an infallible authority, Sokrates represents himself as having been greatly perplexed: for he was conscious of not being wise on any matter, great or small. What in the world, he thought, can the Delphian God mean by this saying? For a long time he debated the matter, and at length concluded that the declaration of the oracle could be proved to be true only on the supposition that other persons were less wise than they seemed or fancied themselves to be. To verify this hypothesis, he proceeded to cross-examine the most eminent persons in many different walks—political men, rhetors, sophists, poets, artisans. On testing them by questions, he found them all, without exception, destitute of any real wisdom, yet fully persuaded that they were wise, and incapable of being shaken in that persuasion. The artisans, indeed, did really know each his own special trade; but then, on account of this knowledge, they believed themselves to be wise on other matters also. So also the poets were great in their own compositions; but on being questioned respecting these very compositions they were unable to give any rational or consistent explanations—so that they plainly appeared to have written beautiful verses, not from any wisdom of their own, but through inspiration from the Gods, or spontaneous promptings of nature. The result was that these men were all proved to possess no more real wisdom than Sokrates; but he was

aware of his deficiency, while they were fully convinced of their own wisdom, and could not be made sensible of the contrary. In this way Sokrates justified the certificate of superiority vouchsafed to him by the oracle. He, like all other persons, was destitute of wisdom; but he was the only one who knew, or could be made to feel his own real mental condition. With others, and most of all with the most conspicuous men, the false persuasion of their own wisdom was universal and inexpugnable."*

Any description of Sokrates would be incomplete without an example of his peculiar and original manner. The following is taken from the "Republic."† The speakers are Sokrates and Polemarchus. Polemarchus having quoted a saying of Simonides, that justice consists in giving to each man his due, is led to admit that this must mean that justice lies in doing good to our friends, and harm to our enemies. Upon which Sokrates interrogates him as follows:—

"S. In cases of illness, who is best able to do good to friends, and harm to enemies, with reference to health and disease?

P. A physician.

S. And, on a voyage, who is best able to do good to friends, and harm to enemies, with reference to the perils of the sea?

P. A pilot.

S. Well: in what transaction, and with reference to what object, is the just man best able to help his friends, and injure his enemies?

P. In the transactions of war, I imagine—as the ally of the former, and the antagonist of the latter.

S. Good. You will grant, my dear Polemarchus, that a physician is useless to persons in sound health?

P. Certainly.

S. And a pilot to persons on shore?

P. Yes.

S. Is the just man, also, useless to those who are not at war?

P. I do not quite think that.

S. Then justice is useful in time of peace too, is it?

P. It is.

S. And so is agriculture, is it not?

P. Yes.

S. That is to say, as a means of acquiring the fruits of the earth?

P. Yes.

S. And further, the shoemaker's art is also useful, is it not?

P. Yes.

S. As a means of acquiring shoes, I suppose you will say?

P. Certainly.

S. Well then, of what does justice, according to you, promote the use or acquisition in time of peace?

P. Of covenants, Sokrates.

S. And by covenants do you understand co-partnerships; or something different?

P. Co-partnerships, certainly.

S. Then, is it the just man, or the skillful draught-player, that makes a good and useful partner in playing draughts?

P. The draught-player.

S. Well; in bricklaying and stonemasonry is the just man a more useful and better partner than the regular builder?

P. By no means.

* Vol. i. pp. 284-5.

† Book i. 332-4. (Davies and Vaughan's Trans.)

S. Well, then, in what partnership is the just man superior to the harp-player, in the sense in which the harp-player is a better partner than the just man in playing music?

P. In a money-partnership, I think.

S. Excepting perhaps, Polemarchus, when the object is to lay out money; as when a horse is to be bought or sold by the partners: in which case, I imagine, the horse-dealer is better. Is he not?

P. Apparently, he is.

S. And again, when a ship is to be bought or sold, the shipwright or pilot is better?

P. It would seem so.

S. That being the case, when does the opportunity arise for that joint use of silver or gold, in which the just man is more useful than any one else?

P. When you want to place your money in trust, and have it safe, Sokrates.

S. That is to say, when it is to be laid by, and not to be put to any use?

P. Just so.

S. So that justice can only be usefully applied to money, when the money is useless?

P. It looks like it.

S. In the same way, when you want to keep a pruning hook, justice is useful, whether you be in partnership or not; but when you want to use it, justice gives way to the art of the vine-dresser?

P. Apparently.

S. Do you also maintain that when you want to keep a shield or a lyre without using them, justice is useful; but when you want to use them, you require the art of a soldier or of the musician?

P. I must.

S. And so of everything else: justice is useless when a thing is in use, but useful when it is out of use?

P. So it would seem.

S. Then, my friend, justice cannot be a very valuable thing if it is only useful as applied to things useless. But let us continue the inquiry thus: is not the man who is most expert in dealing blows in an encounter, whether pugilistic or otherwise, also most expert in parrying blows?

P. Certainly.

S. Is it not also true that whoever is expert in repelling a disease and evading its attack, is also extremely expert in producing it in others?

P. I think so.

S. And undoubtedly a man is well able to guard an army, provided he has a talent for stealing the enemy's plans and all his other operations?

P. Certainly.

S. That is to say, a man can guard expertly whatever he can thieve expertly?

P. So it would seem.

S. Hence, if the just man is expert in guarding money, he is also expert in stealing it?

P. I confess the argument points that way.

S. Then, to all appearance, it turns out that the just man is a kind of thief; a doctrine which you have probably learnt from Homer, with whom Autolycus, the maternal grandfather of Odysseus, is a favourite, because, as the poet says, he outdid all men in thievishness and perjury. Justice, therefore, according to you, Homer, and Simonides, appears to be a kind of art of stealing, whose object, however, is to help one's friends and injure one's enemies. Was not that your meaning?

P. Most certainly it was not, he replied; but I no longer know what I did mean. However, it is still my opinion that it is justice to help one's friends, and hurt one's enemies."

The effect of cross-questioning such as this was to produce on candid minds a painful feel-

ing of incompetence and doubt. So far as we can judge, this was the precise result intended by the author. It was in like manner the result at which Plato aimed in the whole of that large portion of his writings in which he deals with the process of investigation simply. Philosophy presented itself to his mind as a tentative process, the value of which consisted far more in its mental and moral discipline, than in any body of ascertained truth as its result.

Modern readers find it difficult to share the enthusiasm which Sokrates and his disciples undoubtedly felt for this process. To spend a lifetime in talking without any hope of coming to a conclusion seems to the majority of people now, as it seemed to the public in the time of Parmenides, *ἀδολεσχία*, *useless prosing*—a fruitless and a wanton waste of time. So much is this the case, that the majority of modern critics treat Sokrates' disclaimer of knowledge as a mere affectation of ignorance. And the same presumption is usually made with regard to Plato in the negative or generally Sokratic dialogues. He is regarded as a theorist employing a method expressly calculated to enforce premeditated doctrines of his own. Mr. Grote declines to take this view either of Sokrates or Plato.

Each of them, he thinks, had affirmative convictions, though not both the same. But the affirmative theory had its roots *aliunde*, and was neither generated nor adapted with a view to reconcile the contradictions, or elucidate the obscurities which the negative Elenchus had exposed. It may further be observed that this negative method had a direct value in and for itself fully sufficient to justify the exclusive use made of it by Sokrates, and the great relative importance attributed to it by Plato. It bore then, as it bears now, with considerable force in two directions, one of which belongs to the theory of education, and the other to social ethics. In different parts of his book, and without expressly connecting them, Mr. Grote dwells at length on each of these issues.

"Those," he says, "who depreciate the negative process simply, unless followed up by some new positive doctrine which shall be proof against all such attack, cannot be expected to admire Sokrates greatly, even as he stands rated by himself. Even if I concurred in this opinion, I should still think myself obliged to exhibit him as he really was. But I do not concur in the opinion. I think that the creation and furtherance of individual, self-thinking minds, each instigated to form some rational and consistent theory for itself, is a material benefit, even though no farther aid be rendered to the process except in the way of negative suggestion. That such minds should be made to feel the arbitrary and incoherent character of that which they have imbibed by passive association as ethics and æsthetics, and that they should endeavour to test it by some rational and consistent standard—would be an improving process, though no one theory could be framed satisfactory to all."

But not only does the habit of seeing what a thing is not, give caution to the individual mind, and put it on its guard against those hastily formed conclusions which prevail in the opinions of everyday life; it also familiarizes

people with the idea of there being others who disagree with them, and thus it tends indirectly to set up a reaction against the intolerable supremacy of mere custom. We do not require to be told how great is the prejudice in our own day against any form of opposition to established traditions—what Mr. Grote calls “King law.” In the department of physical science, indeed, it is generally admitted that we are not necessarily bound by received opinion. But in politics, in ethics, in the innumerable details and relations of social life, questioning, inasmuch as it may possibly lead to change, is still felt by most people to be wrong. “No innovation, no turnpikes, no reading, no writing, no Popery! The fool saith in his heart, and crieth with his lips, ‘I will have nothing new.’”

This feeling is now universally recognised and allowed for whenever we seek to account for the action of modern society; but an effort is required to keep in view its equally constant operation in ancient times as well. Because the universal belief of the 5th century B.C. sounds ridiculous in our ears, we assume that it must have been insincere; yet there can be no doubt that the body of accustomed opinion was as strongly and firmly held in the 5th century B.C. as in the 19th century A.D. The great majority of staid respectable citizens in democratic Athens, of whom Nikias was the type,—men who had a stake in the country, who paid their way regularly, who discharged their liturgies with judicious liberality, and always kept a stock of good heady wine in their cellars,—devoutly believed that the Gods dined together on the top of Mount Olympus, that Hermes stole the cattle of the far-darting Apollo when he was a day old, and that the forces enumerated in the second book of the “Iliad” occupied a hostile country for ten years without ostensible supplies. More than this; they considered it highly neological and wrong to question these facts, which were all authenticated by the infallible authority of Homer; and before the time of Sokrates the facts had never been publicly questioned. It is true that the critical spirit had not been inactive. For some generations indeed it had been gradually acquiring strength. More than a century before that time Xenophanes had censured many of the current narratives about the Gods. Hecateus, a little later, rejected certain of the myths as inconsistent with historic credibility; and two generations later still Herodotus ridiculed several of Hecateus’ best stories, and treated with much contempt the Homeric notion of a circumfluous ocean-stream, the existence of the Hyperboreans, and the story of the marvellous travels of Abaris; while to the more educated judgment of Thucydides the whole Trojan legend, together with parts of the Herodotean narrative, seemed to want the necessary historical evidence. Thus there had been a partial inroad into the territory of the great king. These writers, however, appealed to a comparatively limited audience, and before it they impugned isolated portions only of the traditional popular belief. It was reserved for Sokrates to carry the spirit and the habit of ques-

tioning into the streets—to make the defenders of common opinion publicly ridiculous, and thereby to demonstrate the insufficiency of the ordinary creed throughout the whole length of its range. This must have been a sharp, but most valuable lesson. It familiarized the public at large with the idea that there were two sides to many questions which they had always thought only to have one. A people so quick-witted as the Athenians could scarcely have heard many conversations like those reported in the “Gorgias,” or that quoted above from the “Republic,” without drawing some conclusions. They might dislike Sokrates personally, and think that he made the better opinion appear the worse and the worse the better. But they could not possibly fail to see that his adversaries’ views had their weak side; from which they would be likely to infer that there was a stronger side elsewhere. “You, Polus,” (says Sokrates in the “Gorgias,”) “bring against me the authority of the multitude, as well as that of the most eminent citizens, all of whom agree in upholding your view. But I, one man standing here alone, do not agree with you. And I engage to compel you, my one respondent, to agree with me.”

Now no ordinary Athenian would have compared himself with Polus, Hippias, or Gorgias. And when these men—the professional representatives of all that was customary and of good repute—proved unable to defend their position in debate, the notion would be likely to arise, especially in the minds of the younger hearers, that, after all, the case was not so clear as it seemed, and that the other side might be worth a hearing. When such a conviction gains ground the first step is already taken towards tolerance and liberty of individual opinion.

Such and so great being the value of the negative process in Plato, what is the worth of the positive and affirmative side of his teaching? His scientific speculations, as they do not even profess to be anything more than pure imagination, may be set aside at once; but a genius like Plato may have a general system of belief whose grounds he either cannot or does not choose to lay before us, and it may nevertheless be eminently worth consideration. It is, however, indispensable that such a scheme should be coherent. If the teacher says one thing at one time and retracts or modifies it at another time, it loses the *prestige* which his unsupported authority would otherwise convey; and we are sorry to say that this is greatly the character of the Platonic philosophy. We are not at this moment referring to his theory of ideas, or of the pre-natal existence and condition of the soul, or to his description of the “heavenly place” in which the absolute forms of earthly objects are to be found. It would be quite out of place to criticise or to reflect upon these transcendental dogmas—they have their value, but they do not belong to philosophy: *ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν ὡς ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖ λόγος μῦθος, ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀρχαιότατον φιλοσόφημα, ἐξ δὲ τοῦ πᾶν ἐρμηνεύει χαίρει.* There is, however, a considerable body of teaching on more intelligible subjects—politics, education, morals, and so on, to which the objection applies, and as Mr. Grote’s readers

will see, in some force. We will give a few examples, out of several.

"In the 'Republic' Plato announced intoxication to be most unbecoming for his guardians. He places it in the same class of defects as indolence and effeminacy. He also repudiates those varieties of musical harmony called *Ionic* and *Lydian*, because they were languid, effeminate, and suitable for a drinking party. Various musical critics of the day impugned this opinion of Plato. They affirmed that drunkenness was exciting and stimulating, not relaxing nor favourable to languor, and that the effeminate musical modes were not congenial to drunkenness. When we read the treatise 'De Legibus,' we observe that Plato had come round to agree with these musical critics. He condemns intoxication decidedly, when considered simply as a mode of enjoyment, and left to the taste of the company, without any president or regulation. But he considers that intoxication, if properly regulated, may be made conducive to valuable ends—ethical and social. Without it the old men cannot be wound up to the pitch of choric activity; without such activity, the rectitude of the choric system has no adequate security against corruption; without such security the emotional training of the citizen generally will degenerate. Furthermore, Plato takes occasion from drunkenness to lay down a general doctrine respecting pleasures. Men must be trained to self-command against pleasures, as they are against pains, not by keeping out of the way of temptation, but by regulated exposure to temptations, with motives at hand to help them in the task of resistance. Both these views are original and suggestive, like so many other in the Platonic writings, tending to rescue ethics from that tissue of rhetorical and emotional commonplace in which it so frequently appears, and to keep present before these who handle it those ideas of an end to be attained and of discrimination as to means which are essential to its pretensions as a science."*

In the general spirit of the treatise "De Legibus," Plato approximates to Xenophon and the Spartan model. He keeps his eye fixed on the perpetual coercive discipline of the average citizen. This discipline, prescribed in all its details by the lawgiver, includes a modicum of literary teaching equal to all; small in quantity, and vigorously sifted as to quality through the censorial sieve. The intellectual and speculative genius of the community, which other Platonic dialogues bring into the foreground, has disappeared from the treatise "De Legibus." We find here no youths pregnant with undisclosed original thought, which Sokrates assists them in bringing forth; such as Theætetus, Charmides, Kleinias, and others—pictures among the most interesting which the ancient world presents, and lending peculiar charm to the earlier dialogues. Not only no provision is made for them, but severe precautions are taken against them. Even in the "Republic" Plato had banished poets, or had at least forbidden them to follow the free inspirations of the Muse, and had subjected them to censorial control. But such control was presumed to be exercised by highly-trained speculative and philosophical minds, for the perpetual succes-

sion of whom express provision was made. In the treatise "De Legibus" such speculative minds are no longer admitted. Philosophy is interdicted and put in chains as well as poetry. An orthodox religious creed is exalted into exclusive ascendancy. All crime or immorality is ascribed to a departure from this creed. The early communities (Plato tells us), who were simple and ignorant, destitute of arts and letters, but who at the same time believed implicitly all that they heard from their seniors respecting Gods and men, and adopted the dicta of their seniors respecting good and evil, without inquiry or suspicion, were decidedly superior to his contemporaries in all the departments of virtue—justice, temperance, and courage.

In the dialogue called by the name of "Hippias Major," there is a long discussion on the sentiment of Beauty—one of those attempts, of which there have been many, to ascertain the common quality the possession of which justifies us in calling a thing "beautiful." Sokrates suggests three distinct explanations, successively accepted by Hippias, and afterwards successively refuted by Sokrates:—1. The beautiful is the suitable. 2. The beautiful is the useful. 3. The beautiful is a variety of the pleasurable. The upshot is that no result is arrived at. Now in the "Gorgias" Sokrates again takes upon himself to define the Beautiful. He proposes as a definition, "that which either confers pleasure upon the spectator when he looks at it, or produces ulterior profit or good," which corresponds with two out of the three accounts given of it in the "Hippias," and there shown to be untenable. This definition is accepted without even a remark, much less an objection. Xenophon, in his "Memorabilia," has preserved a conversation between Sokrates and Aristippus on the same subject, in which the former declares that the Beautiful is coincident with the Good, and that both of them are resolvable into the Useful. This is also one of the three explanations refuted by Sokrates in the "Hippias." Now, assuming, as is likely from this coincidence, that the doctrine advanced by Sokrates in the "Gorgias" was really maintained by him,—that he thought the beauty of a thing to be determined, in a measure at least, by the usefulness of it—by the perfect adaptation of its means to its end—we have here an example of the manner in which Plato managed the reasoning of his dialogues. His object could scarcely have been to inculcate any specific teaching on the subject, or he would not have affirmed in one place what he expressly denied in another. But his intention was to get round a subject and present it in many different lights, to discuss, analyze, and distinguish, and if he did this he cared little for either inconsistency or for accurate portraiture.

If we cannot say with Mr. Coleridge that Plato's method is inductive throughout, we may fully admit the philosophical character of many of his inductions. There are isolated suggestions on education, on the nature of moral sanctions, on the relation of learner and teacher, and on the theory of punishment, which contain the substance of what the best of succeeding writers on these subjects have been able to

* Plato, vol. iii. pp. 328-9.

say.* But they do not constitute the sum, or even the chief part of the sum of what we owe to him. The comprehensive manner in which he himself applied the method of "the double-tongued and all-objecting Zeno," and the halo of immortality which he has thrown around Sokrates—the great champion of that method—are the titles by which he holds the gratitude of the scientific world—a gratitude which his own labours in positive science would never have enabled him to earn.

Such is in substance Mr. Grote's estimate of the philosophical character of Plato. He looks on him, not as a great constructive genius who occasionally made use of the negative arm of philosophy for the purpose of strengthening its positive side, still less as the idealist and poetic dreamer he is often taken to be, but as one who gave prominence at different times in his career to distinct intellectual impulses. So far as he was a pupil of Sokrates he followed out the vein so consistently worked by that eminent man, pursuing it nevertheless for its own sake, and with a distinct consciousness of its advantages, educational and scientific. So far as he was an original speculator, he yielded to the influence of an unusually fertile imagination, and constructed a scheme of the universe which would have been a good scheme had there been any evidence of its truth or any possibility of its practical application. It probably would never have been heard of in our times but for the pure and beautiful language in which it is described and for the varied resources which were brought to bear in illustrating it. In these respects the Platonic philosophy has neither rival nor second. True or false, it is the most perfect example of literary art which any age or country has produced.

ART. VIII.—LETTERS FROM EGYPT.

Letters from Egypt, 1863-65. By Lady DUFF GORDON. Second Edition. London. Macmillan and Co. 1865.

It is beyond doubt that, generally speaking, the common English mind is peculiarly unfitted to receive, and the common English pen peculiarly unfitted to convey, just and true impressions of Eastern life and manners. Our national exclusiveness, our national respectability, and our national religious views, conspire to make us prejudiced observers and describers of Oriental doctrines and manners; and what is true of male writers is in a greater degree true of female writers. With the latter—or, at any rate, with the majority of them—the bigotry or partiality of our race is intensified to such a degree as to

render any fair and liberal estimate of Moslem habits and feelings almost wholly impossible. The general character of books written by English ladies about Eastern people may be pretty accurately conjectured beforehand. There will be in them a certain amount of pious pity for the darkness of an unconverted people—a stereotyped Jeremiad over the profession of a faith which, at all events, has substituted the belief in one God for the belief in many gods and demons throughout the many civilised portions of the Eastern world—and a perverse interpretation of sentiments and opinions in which liberal and candid minds will recognise no very distant resemblance to the feelings and thoughts which mould the ordinary life of most Christian communities. There will be that mixture of supercilious compassion and contemptuous depreciation which betokens at once the sense of national and of sectarian superiority, and which proves the great difficulty of our acquiring a thorough acquaintance with the reality of Eastern life through the medium of such observers.

The book before us is singularly and conspicuously free from errors and impertinences of this kind. Written in the first instance to her mother and her husband, Lady Duff Gordon's letters from Egypt owe their value and effect to that outspoken frankness and vivid personality which would be lost in the conventional phraseology of a book designed for public reading. She writes as one who wishes to transfer her own thoughts and impressions to familiar minds in language which they will at once recognise and understand. Hence much that will startle some people accustomed to regard Eastern life from a certain English point of view, but more that will stamp the picture of Oriental habits and feelings on the mental retina of thoughtful readers, and will awaken a tone of reflection far deeper and more enduring than the hackneyed phrases of the humdrum tourist, or the obvious speculations of even an accomplished bookmaker:

Those who have read Lady Gordon's letters from the Cape of Good Hope will be prepared for the true liberality of mind, the generous appreciation of alien races, and the genuine admiration of goodness and intelligence which are so characteristic of these volumes. And those who have been repelled by the language of superficial astonishment and supercilious pity with which the mob of English lady-writers are accustomed to touch on the religious and social habits of "unenlightened" and "unconverted" barbarians, will note with pleasure the kindly feeling and catholic charity by which Lady Gordon elicited corresponding sentiments in her Moslem followers and friends. The same respect for the opinions, and sympathy with the sufferings of others which made her the friend of the Malay and negro at the Cape, made her the friend of the Nubian and the Arab in Egypt. The same recognition of their human brotherhood evoked confidence and love, and—if her letters contained nothing beyond this—they would be valuable for the evidence which they afford of the power of charity to pierce the mail of sectarian animosity, and break down the barrier of national prejudice.

* Protag. p. 324, c. δ μετὰ λόγον ἐπιχειρῶν κολάζειν οὐ τοῦ παρελθυῖτος ἐνεκα ἀδικήματος τιμωρεῖται οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸ γε πραχθεὶν ἀγένητον θεῖν... ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος χάριν. ἀποτροπῆς γοῦν ἐνεκα κολάζει. "You are not hung for stealing a horse, but that horses may not be stolen."

That Lady Gordon may sometimes have erred in her lenient judgment of her Arab friends is not improbable; but if so, she has erred on the right and merciful side, and, had she judged more hastily of them or spoken more harshly to them it seems very questionable whether she could have extracted from them the amount of information respecting their tenets, their opinions, and their practice, which is contained in these volumes. We much doubt whether any European woman in recent times has, without a long residence in the country, and without a much profounder knowledge of Arabic than Lady Gordon professes to have attained, seen more thoroughly into the popular mind of modern Egypt, or caught its general tone more truthfully than she has done.

She differs in one striking respect from the generality of modern travellers. She does not, like them, look upon the people as mere accessories to a strange Eastern scene—like a man or woman barely visible in the foreground of one of Martin's magnificent pictures,—and having as little to do with our thoughts, feelings, and ideas, as the Sphinx, the pyramids, or the Nile. On the contrary, she regards them as men and women, of like passions as ourselves, with customs and habits moulded and modified—as are the customs and habits of all nations—by the imperious conditions of climate, soil, and government. Moreover, in these customs and forms of speech, she fully recognises the Egypt of the Bible, the Egypt over which Pharaoh reigned, and which Joseph administered. Instead of calling out for Bibles, she finds it all Bible. In the language of self-depreciation, which is still used by men of lower to men of a higher rank, she sees an illustration of the respectful modesty with which the Patriarch Jacob extenuated his own prosperity, when questioned by the Egyptian monarch. She sees Boaz sitting in the cornfield, as he has sat for so many thousand years. As she well expresses it, "this country is a palimpsest, in which the Bible is written over Herodotus, and the Koran over that: in the towns, the Koran is most visible, in the country, Herodotus." There are many ceremonies of a date long anterior, some contrary, to those enjoined by the religion of the Moslems. And no wonder that, viewing it with so comprehensive a gaze, she shrinks from the false colouring daubed over the biblical story by the good little books with which a certain school of religious compilers seeks to saturate the minds of English youth; and she exclaims with ingenuous indignation, "All the vulgarised associations with Puritanism and abominable little scripture tales and pictures peel off here, as the inimitably truthful representation of life and character comes out." On the pernicious effect of these "abominable little scripture tales and pictures" it would be irrelevant to dilate here; but no one who is familiar with the operations of middle-class Puritanism in Eastern countries can have failed to observe and to deplore the acid dogmatism and ignorant bigotry of the men who learned the first rudiments of religion from such a source. And—as these pages show—no more serious obstacle to the admis-

sion of Christian precepts and to a recognition of their beauty could well be conceived than the intellectual narrowness of the men who venture on the task of proselytizing the professors of another faith by obtruding on them what is new and repulsive, rather than by showing and commending the truths and excellences which are common to the two religions. That there is a common ground, not only of ethical but of Christian doctrine, between the Arabic and the European mind, several incidents narrated in these letters are sufficient to prove. Lady Gordon hints that the separation between the Turk and the Christian is more complete than between the Egyptian and the Christian; and it is not improbable that the political relations of Turkey to Christian Europe—its dependence upon states formerly despised and almost unknown, combined with a mournful retrospect of past greatness—may render the Turk an unfair observer and a partial judge even of the ethics of the Nazarene faith. Or it may be that the Turks of whom Europeans speak the most, are those who have seen the greatest number and the worst specimens of Franks,—viz., the Turks of Constantinople. And, certainly, it would be hardly reasonable to expect that a tolerant appreciation of Christian morals could be readily attained by infidels whose field of contemplation had been limited to those professors of the Christian faith whose daily life adorns that city of barbarous luxury and splendid squalor. But that the Arab and the Egyptian regard Christianity, not only without horror but even as having some principles in common with their own religion, will, we think, be clear from the following passages of this volume.

Lady Gordon is visiting a Coptic church at Bibeh, which is undergoing repairs, under the superintendence of one Girgis, who, although a Copt, has been chosen head of a Muslim village:

"Presently," she relates, "we were joined by the mason who was repairing the church: a fine, burly, rough-bearded old Muslim, who told how the Sheikh buried in the church of Bibeh had appeared to him three nights running at Cairo, and ordered him to leave his work and go to Bibeh and mend his church; how he came, and offered to do so without pay, if the Copts would find the materials. He spoke with evident pride, as one who had received a divine command, and the Copts all confirmed the story, and every one was highly gratified by the miracle.

"I asked Omar if he thought it was all true, and he had no doubt of it; the mason he knew to be a man in full work, and Girgis added that for years he had tried to get a man to come for the purpose without success. It is not often that a dead saint contrives to be equally agreeable to Christians and Muslims, and here was the staunch old 'true believer' working away, in the sanctuary which they would not allow an English fellow-Christian to enter!"

Again, she says:—

"The thing that strikes me most is the tolerant spirit that I find everywhere. They say, 'Ah, it is your custom!' and express no sort of condemnation; and Muslims and Christians appear perfectly good friends, as my story of Bibeh goes to prove. I have yet to see the much-talked-of fanaticism; at

present I had not met with a symptom of it. There were thirteen Coptic families at Bibeh, and also a considerable Muslim population who had elected Girgis their head man, and kissed his hand very heartily as our procession moved through the streets. Omar said he was a very good man and much liked."

And she loves to dwell on the pleasure invariably afforded to the more unsophisticated people of the country (out of the way of average tourists and Baksheesh) by the mere act of partaking a cup of coffee, and sitting down on the mat with them.

On the whole, Lady Gordon's narrative impresses us with the conviction that the character of the good Muslim Arab contains many qualities of the good Christian gentleman. Indeed, how could the type of Christian chivalry be better described than in the following words of the father of her donkey-driver, Hasan?—

"I asked," says Lady Gordon, "if Abd-el-Kâdir were coming here, as I had heard; he did not know, and asked me if he were not 'Akhu-l-Benât' (a brother of girls)? I prosaically said, I did not know if he had sisters. 'The Arabs, O Lady! call that man a 'brother of girls' to whom God has given a clean heart to love all women as his sisters, and strength and courage to fight for their protection.'"

Or how could the great Christian virtues of justice and charity be more emphatically and comprehensively enforced than in the following sermon preached by the Sheikh Yoosuf among the graves of Luxor? First Yoosuf pointed to the graves—

"Where are all those people?" and to the ancient temples, "Where are those who built them? Do not strangers from a far country take away their very corpses to wonder at? What did their splendour avail them? etc. etc. What, then, O Muslims, will avail that you may be happy when that comes which will come for all? Truly God is just, and will defraud no man, and he will reward you if you do what is right, and that is to wrong no man, neither in his person, nor in his family, nor in his possessions. *Cease then to cheat one another, O men!* and to be greedy; and do not think that you can make amends by afterwards giving alms or praying or fasting, or giving gifts to the servants of the mosques. *Benefits come from God; it is enough for you if you do no injury to any man, and, above all, to any woman or little one!*"

It might not be disadvantageous to the morality or consciences of our own snug suburban congregations, if the Evangelical incumbents who are entrusted with the task of looking after the souls of our metropolitan brokers and dealers were to diverge occasionally from the beaten path of their verbal traditions into the homely doctrines of Sheikh Yoosuf's strict and comprehensive code. "To do no injury to any man, and, above all, to any woman or little one," is an injunction which might be profitably borne in mind by Christian bankers, trustees, and others, to whose keeping is often confided the whole worldly substance of the widow, the fatherless, and the friendless. And they might learn more accurately than many of

them have hitherto learned, the harmony of the Muslim and Christian creeds in the punishment with which the Divine and the human lawgiver alike visit the oppressors of those "little ones!"

We have cited Muslim inculcations of justice, charity, and chivalry. There is another virtue which we are apt to imagine is peculiarly Christian, both in its origin and in its practice, but which the disciple of the Prophet claims as a particular quality of the true believer. Those who know the Muslim only from Turkish or Indian examples, would hardly give him credit either for a practical or for a theoretical admiration of humility. Certainly it is not the Muslim virtue which is most frequently and impressively brought under the observation of Christian tourists; but this may perhaps be explained—indeed, the context of the following story indicates that it should be explained—by our own incapacity to elicit it. However this may be, the little anecdote we are about to quote shows that it is classed among the virtues of their religion. There had been an endemic sickness among the people in the neighbourhood of Luxor, aggravated by the long fast of the Ramadan. Lady Gordon, with her usual kindness, prepared broth and other messes for the sufferers:—

"One poor peevish little man," she says, "refused the chicken broth, and told me that we Europeans had our heaven in *this* world. Omar let out a 'Kelb!' (dog!) But I stopped him and said, 'O my brother, God has made the Christians of England unlike those of Egypt, and surely will condemn neither of us on that account; mayest thou find a better heaven hereafter than I now enjoy here!' Omar threw his arms round me, and said, 'O thou good one! surely our Lord will reward thee for acting thus with the *meekness of a Muslimeh*, and kissing the hand of him who strikes thy face.'"

The anecdote which we have quoted above is the key-note to the success of our author in winning the respect and love of her Muslim acquaintance. She knew neither color, caste, nor creed in her dealings with them when they were sorry or sick. It sufficed that they were men and women afflicted and distressed, for her to minister aid and consolation. The novelty of this conduct on the part of a great Frank lady touched a chord long strange to such tenderness, and provoked from the young Sheikh Yoosuf another sermon, wherein he taught his hearers a lesson which might be of use to some of our own propagandists, viz., to look on all men—not Mussulman only—as brothers, and to regard the good deeds of others rather than their erroneous faith. Nothing can be more touching than the gratitude of the old father of Sheikh Mohammed, whom Lady Gordon tended and supplied with medicines as he lay dying in his Arab hovel. And no wonder that when she returned to Luxor from Esneh, a host of people should gather to meet her at the landing-place, and salute her with this beautiful address—"Welcome home to your place! We have tasted your absence, and found it bitter." Nor were the advantages of this mutual good-will exclusively of a sentimental character. During the whole of her journey from Cairo to Upper Egypt, she reaped the substantial fruits of cour-

teasy and good-nature; for she paid a little less than one-half of the ordinary price for her Nile boat and the wages of her servant Omar, who—to the great disgust of his compatriots—undertook to be cook and dragoman, both in one, and who let his Frankish mistress know that he volunteered these services in consideration of her politeness to his countrymen. English travellers are paying more and more extravagantly every year for their boats and attendance. But then, they take it out in that despotism of insolence which too often accompanies the first travels of youthful opulence. This kind of man seems to travel in the East with the fixed idea that the people of the country should be alternately belaboured with cudgels and drenched with tracts. He knocks down his donkey-drivers or his boatmen, while his mother and sisters inundate them with twopenny pamphlets, showing that they are in an utterly lost state, and are doomed to extreme perdition, unless they become Low Churchmen of the Clapham and Oheltenham type. Taken separately, the cudgelling and the tract-distributing are each sufficient to rouse a temper far more accustomed to the insolence of oppression than even that of the people of modern Egypt: taken together, they would, of course, simply be intolerable, but for the accompanying baksheesh, direct or indirect, admitted or implied, which mitigates either grievance. But although money may, in part, reconcile a servile people to whacks and thumps, it cannot reconcile a people, who love their religion, to the slights and sneers with which the arrogant Englishman regards it. “I wish,” says Lady Gordon, and we share the wish—

“I wish the English could know how unpleasant and mischievous their manner of talking to their servants about religion is. Omar confided to me how bad he felt to be questioned and then to see the Englishman laugh, or put up his lip and say nothing. ‘I don’t want to talk about his religion at all, but if he talks about mine, he ought to speak of his own too. You, my lady, say when I tell you things, ‘that is the same with us,’ or that is different, or good or not good, in your mind; and that is the proper way, —not to look like thinking, *all nonsense*.’”

When shall we learn manners? When shall we learn that the highest virtue of the Christian faith involves the most tolerant judgment of opinion; and that the mode in which the great old races of mankind worship the Almighty Father of All is a subject which no truly religious mind can contemplate in any other spirit but that of reverence and humility?

But mischievous as may be the example, and painful the spectacle of the Frank traveller, cigar in mouth, arrogantly catechising the Muslim Arabs as to the rites and tenets of a faith which is to them the fullest consolation and the highest hope, more pernicious is the practice, and more odious the spectacle of the same insolent foreigner “licking the beggars” as he terms his performance in the streets of Cairo or Alexandria. Upon this point Lady Gordon writes with strong, but not too strong indignation:—

“It is,” says she, “really heart-breaking to see what we are sending to India now. The mail days

are dreaded. We never know when some brutal outrage may possibly excite Mussulman fanaticism. They try their hands on the Arabs, in order to be in good training for insulting Hindoos. The English tradesmen here complain as much as any of the natives.”

If any one wishes to see the full-fledged insolence of vulgar English superciliousness, let him wait for the arrival of the bi-monthly mail in Alexandria, and let him see—as we have seen—the beardless ensigns, the offshoots of our bourgeoisie, hurling their schoolboy slang at the Arabs and Nubians indiscriminately, flinging sticks at their heads, and calling them “liars,” “blackguards,” “thieves,” with a profusion of supplementary Billingsgate. The puzzle of the thing is, whence comes this contempt for the Oriental races? It certainly is new—*i.e.*, not a generation old. It seems to be a reflex of that hatred for the negro which is now so curiously characteristic of almost all Anglo-Saxons but the professional or sectarian philanthropists of Exeter Hall. But the negro of Western Africa, the negro seen in the West Indies and the North American States, is in every respect different from, and inferior to, the Arab of Egypt—inferior even to the more ignoble type of Arab who has been corrupted by the example and extravagance of the Frank sojourn in Alexandria and Cairo. He is also far inferior to the negro of Nubia, which supplies not only vigorous forms, but also acute intellects to the commercial capitals of Egypt. Why, then, should young ensigns and Calcutta clerks conspire to nickname all the dissimilar races with whom they come in contact, Arabs and Copts of Egypt—Moormen of Ceylon—Madrasses and Bengalees—all by the contemptuous name of “niggers?” The dislike to the negro is probably associated with some real and some imputed short-comings of the ex-apprentice in our West Indies. And certainly those who have seen specimens of the race only in the sea-port towns of Barbadoes and Jamaica, may be pardoned for not admiring his social or industrial qualities. His slothful, dilettante, and self-satisfied style of work, his impertinence, his intense self-conceit—these prominent qualities entirely obliterate the impression made by his general cheerfulness and passive good-nature, which are more apparent in purely agricultural districts. Indeed, these worse qualities quite tried and wore out Lady Gordon’s native tolerance of disposition. Nothing can be more graphic than her story of the little black slave-girl, Zeyneb, whom she took under her protection at Cairo. This child had been sent to the American Consul from Kharthum, at eight years of age, and, when first seen by Lady Gordon, was a timid, crouching, shrinking, cowed little creature, with no will, and no semblance of a will of her own. Lady Gordon became her mistress and protector, had her taught the common domestic arts of civilized life, and when she herself went up the country, left the tiny negress under safe and kindly keeping at Alexandria. Zeyneb became a proficient in all the accomplishments of the Franks. She learned to sew, wash, cook, &c. &c. But unfortunately as she became accomplished, she also became sulky, sullen,

and self-conceited. The cowed, crouching little slave learned to be ungrateful and contemptuous; she learned to despise the mistress who had been so kind to her, and also her Arab servant, because he loved his mistress. At last Lady Gordon—the most tolerant of women—is forced to exclaim, “There is no conceit like *black* conceit;” to which all those who have had opportunity of judging will say “Amen!”

But to retrace our steps. Granted the shortcomings of the negro, or rather of that section of the negro population of Western Africa, best known in English colonies—why should all other negroes, and especially the Nubian—why should races as unlike any negro race as possible, old and noble races like the Arab, the Copt, or the higher races of India, be nicknamed “niggers?” They have not even the negro colour. They have histories and traditions of their own, as glorious as those of Highland Clans or Irish septs. They have also manners—the traditionary bequest of an immemorial civilization—which may put to shame those of the civil or military tyro who introduces himself to the Eastern world at Alexandria or Point de Galle, or Madras, by kicking, cuffing, and swearing at the people whose pens or arms he is to direct for the next thirty years of his life. There is not a Jones, Brown, or Robinson, who issues from an English grammar-school or Scotch university into the civil departments of our Indian service, who may not find himself daily confronted in his own office at Calcutta by a peon whose courteous salaam and dignified mien are to the shuffling awkwardness of his young master as the bearing of a cavalier to that of a Yorkshire peasant. “But they are such liars, and such lazy brutes, those Eastern fellows!” We remember when it was the fashion to talk so of all Italians. We fancy that it would not now be easy to find an Englishman bold enough to apply to the whole people of Italy language originally true only of the scum of Naples, Rome, or Leghorn.

In the same way it may become rare to apply to the mass of the people of the East, terms only applicable to the donkey-drivers or *laquais de place* of Alexandria and Constantinople. That the better classes of the East will long be misunderstood by the mob of Englishmen and Englishwomen, whether travelling or settled in the East, is probable enough. Lord Macaulay long ago pointed out the origin of the error which attributed invariable and intentional mendacity to Italians. A similar explanation may be offered on behalf of the Arabs. While bullying and “licking” may have rendered the wretched donkey-boy utterly indifferent to truth or falsehood, educated Englishmen may understand that a sense of politeness, and of the courtesy which he considers due to the stranger, prevents an Eastern gentleman from giving a direct negative to an assertion made with the absolute positiveness of Western speech. And, making due allowance for the different forms of language and of manner, it might not be difficult to remark in a London drawing-room, instances of a polite reticence, differing only in degree from the polite assent of the cultivated Arab.

But the wonder is, after all, why they are not all arrant liars and scoundrels, bullied as they are by strangers, and plundered no less than bullied by their own government. This is a subject of painful interest. It touches not only our moral sensibilities, but our material interests. Egypt has become one of the outlying colonies of England. It is the seat of a great English trade, and—so to speak—of an important English cultivation. We import from Egypt grain to the value of 611,880*l.* annually. We import already cotton to the value of two millions. We hope to extend this importation indefinitely. We have already invested a large capital in the country. The rare excellence of its climate and fertility of its soil seem to promise fair returns for larger investments. Much of our future wealth is bound up with the fortunes of Egypt. But those fortunes depend on the tranquillity of the country; and the tranquillity of the country depends on the security which its government extends to life, liberty, and property. We have no fears for the lives, liberties, and properties of the European population settled in the pacha's vicereignty. They are safe enough. No pacha will lay violent hands on the subjects of France or England. No kadéeh will pervert the law to their injury—at least, not in favour of a native. But this security is not all-sufficient. It is not enough that an exclusive and exceptional immunity should be given to the English, French, or Italian sojourner. Nay, this aggravates the existing evil. It tends to confirm and foster that disposition to bully the natives, which is exhibited by our beardless clerks and ensigns, but which is exhibited in a tenfold odious form by the scum of French and Italian adventurers. Without an even-handed justice—without an evenly administered law, the operations of commerce are as unsteady and uncertain as the ministrations of industry are desultory and untrustworthy. After all, the great incentive to labour is hope. But what hope is there for the man whose industry is chalked out, whose earnings may be assigned, and whose savings may be appropriated by the Government of his country? If it is thought desirable that European enterprise and capital should be introduced into Egypt, then it is absolutely necessary that the spirit of Muslim justice should pervade all contracts of hire between labourers and proprietors on the one hand, and between proprietors and the Government on the other. That this is not the rule at present, may be inferred from the following account given by Lady Gordon:—

“—is my near neighbour, and he comes in, and we discuss the government. His heart is sore with disinterested grief for the sufferings of the people. ‘Don't they deserve to be decently governed,—to be allowed a little happiness and prosperity? they are so docile, so contented; are they not a good people?’ Those were his words as he was recounting some new iniquity. Of course, half these acts are done under pretext of improving and civilizing, and the Europeans applaud and say, ‘Oh, but nothing could be done without forced labour,’ and the poor Felláheen are marched off in gangs like convicts, and their families starve, and (who would have

thought it?) the population keeps diminishing. No wonder the cry is, 'Let the English Queen come and take us.' You know that I don't see things quite as our countrymen generally do, for mine is another *Standpunkt*, and my heart is with the Arabs. I care less about opening up the trade with the Soodán, or about all the new railways, and I should like to see person and property safe, which no one's is here,—Europeans of course excepted.

"Ismaeel Pasha got the Sultan to allow him to take 90,000 feddans of uncultivated land for himself as private property. Very well. But the late Viceroy granted, eight years ago, certain uncultivated lands to a good many Turks, his *employés*,—in hopes of founding a landed aristocracy, and inducing them to spend their capital in cultivation. They did so; and now Ismaeel takes their improved land, and gives them feddan for feddan of his new land (which will take five years to bring into cultivation) instead. He forces them to sign a *voluntary* deed of exchange, or they go off to Feyzoghloo,—a hot Siberia, whence none return. I saw a Turk, the other day, who was ruined by the transaction.

"The Sultan also left a large sum of money for religious institutions and charities, Muslim, Jew, and Christian. None have received a faddah. It is true, the Sultan and his suite plundered the Pasha and the people here; but, from all I hear, the Sultan really wishes to do good. What is wanted here, is, hands to till the soil; wages are very high; food, of course, gets dearer, the forced labour inflicts more suffering than before, and the population will decrease yet faster. This appears to me to be a state of things in which it is of no use to say that public works *must* be made at any cost. I dare say the wealth will be increased, if, meanwhile, the people are not exterminated. Then every new Pasha builds a huge new palace, whilst those of his predecessors fall to ruin. Mohammad Alee's sons even cut down the trees of his beautiful botanical garden, and planted beans there; so money is constantly wasted more utterly than if it were thrown into the Nile, for then the Felláheen would not have to spend the time, so much wanted for agriculture, in building hideous barrack-like so-called palaces. What chokes me is, to hear Englishmen talk of the stick being 'the only way to manage Arabs,' as if there could be any doubt that it is the easiest way to manage anybody, where it can be used with impunity."

Doubtless, it would be unsafe to leave the Felláheen to labour at their own discretion for fixed wages, without careful supervision. It is not a safe thing to leave English labourers unwatched and undirected, as every country gentleman who amuses himself with amateur farming can abundantly testify. But if our countrymen are to settle in Egypt, we would suggest to them whether a little less of the "stick," and a little more of fairness (with firmness) and good wages might not procure the requisite amount of labour. And here we have great pleasure in quoting a little story which illustrates the value of "a good character" in the East. The scene is laid at Luxor.

"A worthy Copt here, one Todoros, took 'a piece of paper' for 20*l.*, in payment for antiquities sold to an Englishman, and after the Englishman was gone, brought it to me to ask what sort of paper it was, and how he could get it changed; or was he perhaps to keep it till the gentleman sent him the money? It was a circular note, which I had difficulty in explaining; but I offered to send it to Cairo

to the bankers to get it cashed; as to when he would get the money, I could not say, as they must wait for an opportunity to send up gold. I told him to put his name on the back of the note, and Todoros thought I wanted it as a receipt for the money, which was yet to come, and was going cheerfully to write me a receipt for the 20*l.* he was entrusting to me. Now a Copt is not at all green where his pocket is concerned; but they will take anything from the English.

"Mr. Close told me, that when his boat sank in the cataract, and he remained half dressed on the rock without a farthing, four men came and offered to lend him anything. While I was in England last year, an Englishman, to whom Omar acted as *laquais de place*, went away, owing him seven pounds for things bought for him. Omar had money enough to pay all the tradespeople, and kept it secret, for fear any of the other Europeans should say 'shame for the English;' he did not even tell his own family. Luckily, the Englishman sent the money by the next mail from Malta, and the sheykh and the dragomans proclaimed it, and so Omar got it; but he never would have mentioned it otherwise."

A character of this kind, proved and tested by daily practice, would, with the co-operation of just laws, raise the moral standard of the neighbouring people, and increase the material wealth of the country, beyond the hopes of the most intelligent natives, or the most benevolent strangers.

Nor has the old Biblical virtue of mercifulness to animals lost its savour in the East, though Christian ministers in England seldom deign to inculcate its observance on their congregations. The Dean of Westminster will be gratified to learn that his old dragoman, Mahammad, has remembered him—as, "Sheykh Stanley"—in connexion with this virtue. "And in truth," he said, "he is a Sheykh, and one who teaches the excellent things of religion. Why, he was kind even to his horse, and it is of the mercies of God to the English, that such a one is the Imám of your Queen and Prince."

We cannot conclude without a brief notice of the Muslim theory of married life. Of course, all untravelled Englishmen have made up their minds that a harem is merely a convenient phrase for a systematized and unlimited sensuality. Despite what preceding travellers have said, and Lady Gordon says here, a notion, justified perhaps by the usual conditions of a sultan's or a pacha's life, continues to retain its place among the conventional superstitions of Englishmen. But in Egypt, and indeed in Turkey, among the middle and lower classes, it would seem as if polygamy had its duties as well as its privileges; perhaps we ought rather to say, that it is regarded more as a duty under certain circumstances, than as a privilege: at least, we should infer this from the following story:—

"I heard a curious illustration of Arab manners to-day. I met Hasan, the janissary of the American Consulate, a very respectable, good man. He told me he had married another wife since last year. I asked, What for?

"It was the widow of his brother, who had always lived in the same house with him, like one family, and who died, leaving two boys. She is neither young nor handsome, but he considered it

was his duty to provide for her and her children, and not let her marry a stranger. So you see that polygamy is not always sensual indulgence; and a man may thus practise greater sacrifice than by talking sentiment about deceased wives' sisters. I said, laughing, to Omar, as we went on, that I do not think the two wives sounded very comfortable. 'Oh, no! not comfortable at all for the man, but he take care of the woman; that is what is proper. That is the good Muslim.'

But it is almost impossible for us English folk thoroughly to understand the delicate rules of etiquette which govern the relations of the sexes in the East. For instance, it is quite shocking for a married woman to speak of her "husband." She must talk of him as the "master," "my lord," or "father of my son." On the other hand, a man never mentions his wife to another man; but there is no impropriety in his discussing the most sacred and secret subjects of conjugal life with a woman. As her faithful servant Omar expressed it: "Of course, I not speak my harem to English gentleman; but to good lady can speak it." To those Englishmen who have a notion that unlimited and irresponsible indulgence of the passions is sanctioned by Muslim practice and religion, we commend the answer given by an old Turk, whom an Englishman was chaffing about his domestic arrangements in that delicate manner peculiar to our race in foreign parts: "Well, young man, I am old, and was married at twelve; I have seen, in all my life, seven women; four are dead; three are happy and comfortable in my house; *where are all yours?*" We may remark, by the way, that as a woman is never "seen" but by her lord and master, the word has acquired a peculiar signification.

It is clear to us that the life of the harem has yet to be written; and it can only be written by a woman, for none but a woman can ever see it; and to be of any use at all, it must be written by one who unites several distinct qualifications. First, she must know Arabic; next, she must have some previous knowledge of the customs of the country; thirdly, she must bring to her task a mind free from prejudice, tolerant of foreign maxims and usages, together with a kindness and courtesy of manner, which will remove suspicion and inspire confidence. An educated Englishwoman, whose social position, catholic charity, largeness of view, and accuracy of observation, while they gave her a passport to the best native families, would also enable her to see and comprehend not only the external fringe of the domestic economy, but the nature and direction of domestic opinion in Egypt, might render a great service to Egypt and to England, by bridging over the gulf which now separates the intelligent classes of both countries. There is, indeed, already a kind of social intercourse between Europeans and Egyptians at Cairo and Alexandria, as there is between Europeans and Turks at Constantinople; but it is not exactly the most satisfactory kind. Raffish adventurers, unscrupulous speculators, loose men, and fast or eccentric women, are as unsatisfactory representatives of French or English life as those semi-Europeanized orientals, who return

from the lycées of France, or academies of Scotland, eunuchs in religion and epicures in patriotism, are of the sterling qualities of the East. It is only when the best female culture of Europe has penetrated the recesses of the harem, and given a flavour to the life of Eastern women, that intercourse, easy, friendly, and familiar, can take place between the races. And it seems to us that Lady Gordon has some of the special qualifications for such a mission as we have spoken of. She has no bitterness of sectarian belief; she has no prejudices of colour. She does not go into an Arab family with a cut-and-dried lecture on their "blindness and ignorance," and her own superior "privileges." She does not see unmingled goodness, justice, charity, and rectitude in the most ultra-christian propagandist. She does not—like the characteristic presbyterian whom she quotes—see in the tried virtues of the trustworthy Arab servant only the operations of the devil. She recognises, in the disciple of the Koran, many of the principles which the disciple of the Bible is bound to carry out in practice, and was once not too spiritual to commend by preaching. Her whole intercourse with the people among whom she dwelt, and the narrative of that intercourse which these pages embody, bear witness to the accuracy of observation, justness of thought, and love of equity, which characterized the writings of John Austin, and have been inherited by his daughter.

To women of this kind, possessing, perhaps, a profounder knowledge of Arabic than Lady Gordon professes to have acquired, and endowed with robust health than she, unfortunately, enjoys, it may be reserved to effect the greatest social revolution in the East, by contributing to the emancipation of Eastern women from those trammels of ignorance and frivolity which most fetter them in the early education of their children, and thus prevent their sons from attaining the virile standard of European principle and thought. When the women of the East have been educated—not so much by books and lectures as by the companionship of accomplished and kindly European women—then we may expect to see a race of men arise superior to their fathers, not only in learning and science, but in the diffused practice of those virtues which we are too apt to consider the special inheritance of Western civilization. And for such teaching as this Egypt offers a field of greater and readier promise than any other part of the Eastern world.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORDGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 270, Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE instalment now before us of the Bishop of Natal's work on the Pentateuch is in many

respects the most important of any which have appeared.¹ As the author has entered more fully into his subject, he has acquired a firmness of grasp upon it which shows itself in an increased vigour of style, and some of the new matter to which we are here introduced is of the highest interest. It is, however, a volume especially for the student, and, from the multifariousness of its divisions, not altogether inviting to any who are not anxious to grapple with the whole subject of which it treats. We have first a preface, pp. xlv., in which the Bishop deals in his usual kindly and courteous manner with some of his critics and opponents, principally with Bishop Browne of Ely, whose efforts to extricate himself from the accumulated proofs of a composite authorship of the Pentateuch are really pitiable. In the work itself Bishop Colenso displays in detail the proofs of the diversity of hands which have been employed upon the book of Genesis, and undertakes to distribute the several portions of it as nearly as possible to the several authors, endeavouring to fix from internal evidence (for external evidence is, of course, entirely absent) the times about which they must have lived. It is still generally supposed, even by those who have been compelled to admit that the diversity in the divine names implies some diversity of authorship in the earlier parts of the Pentateuch, that this is the only phenomenon which points to that conclusion. It is, however, only one of many others. It is in this work shown in detail that the style and verbal usages or phrases common in the other parts of Genesis do not occur in the Elohist portions; while the distinction is equally remarkable in sentiment and religious conceptions between the Elohist and Jehovistic portions of Genesis. The strong anthropomorphic expressions which ascribe human actions, passions, and affections to the Deity are characteristic of the latter; as, for example, the details of the second history of creation, the events in Paradise, the repenting and being grieved; shutting up Noah; smelling a sweet savour; coming down to see Babel and Sodom; eating bread and meat; tempting Abraham. Moreover, it is only the Jehovist who multiplies curses, and dwells upon the darkest passages in the histories of the patriarchs. So that if the history of Abraham, for instance, be taken solely from the supposed Elohist document, his character is without flaw; to the later additions are due the story of his deception as to Sarah at the court of Pharaoh, and afterwards at the court of Abimelech—on which latter occasion Sarah was an old woman of ninety, yet miraculously pregnant with Isaac—the hard-hearted expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, the willingness to make a burnt-offering of Isaac, the taking Keturah to wife when he was apparently a hundred and thirty-seven years old (xxiii. 1), and having six children by her, although he had been too old, naturally, for begetting chil-

dren at ninety-nine (xvii. 17; xviii. 12). There are also discrepancies in the duplicate narrative of the Deluge, and of the lives of the patriarchs (pp. 45—47). But neither is the whole of the non-Elohist matter homogeneous, of which a salient instance is found in Genesis xiv., which has no relation with any other part of Genesis, is a mere episode, and represents Abraham as a powerful sheikh, with 318 trained servants in his house, of which there is no trace in any other part of the history, and which is inconsistent with the timidity which he subsequently shows at the court of the petty prince of Gerar, who takes his wife from him. There appear also to be a small number of verses even in Genesis due to the author of Deuteronomy, who has been shown already to have written about the time of Josiah, and who revised or edited the previously existing Tetrateuch. Moreover, there seems reason to believe that there was a second Elohist writer, who may possibly be the same with the Jehovist, writing under some variation of purpose or circumstances. On a more thorough analysis of the documents, Bishop Colenso finds his original opinion confirmed, that Samuel may have been the Elohist—which, on the whole, is the most conservative hypothesis of which the facts admit—and he arranges the results of his investigation of the signs of time to be found in the books in the following table, according to the usual chronology:—

	B.C.	Contemp. Prophet.
"Elohist . . .	1100—1060	Samuel.
Second Elohist	1060—1010	Nathan.
Jehovist		
Second Jehovist	1035	Gad.
Deuteronomist	641—624	Jeremiah."—p. 180.

After a detailed analysis of the book of Genesis by means of other marks and signs of time than the use in its several portions of the names Elohim or Jehovah, it remains to compare the result so obtained with that which would be presented if the use of those names were considered as the test of the authorship of the several parts. And it appears that the Elohist, writing, as is supposed, in the time of Samuel, has used Elohim eighty-eight times—Jehovah not at all; the second Elohist or first Jehovist (in the last years of Saul), Elohim, twenty-two times—Jehovah not at all; the second Jehovist (in the second decade of David's reign) Elohim, sixty-seven times—Jehovah, seven; the third Jehovist (in the latter part of David's reign), Elohim twenty-nine times, and Jehovah eighty-nine; the fourth Jehovist (in the time of Solomon), Elohim twenty times, and Jehovah fifty-two. And the conclusion is that the name Jehovah became more and more freely used as the name of the covenant God of Israel after the days of Samuel. It is possible the passages distributed in sets to the first, second, third, and fourth Jehovist, may not have been written by more than one hand, for such a man as Nathan may have written the first of these sets, in which Elohim is still used exclusively, under Saul at the age of twenty, and the last, in which Jehovah predominates as five to two, under Solomon at the age of seventy. It is, however, evident, from the thorough analysis to which

¹ "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined." By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part V. London: Longman and Co. 1865.

the Pentateuchal writings have been subjected by continental scholars, and now in our own country by Bishop Colenso, that the personal identification of the authors is at once beyond our reach, and of altogether inferior or of no importance. The only really important conclusion on that side of the inquiry is a negative one, determining that the books are not those of Moses, and are, in fact, anonymous. But the positive conclusions which follow from these examinations are of great consequence; namely, that we have evidence in these writings of the growth and variation of the religious conceptions of the Jews as to the object of their worship. The thorough analysis which has been presented in this volume of the book of Genesis, may seem to some to be unnecessarily detailed; but it should be borne in mind that the detail was not only necessitated to the author from the nature of the case, but that he would naturally feel himself compelled, by the unfairness with which his criticisms have been treated in England, to omit no step or particular of the investigation which has led him to his particular conclusions. If a single jot or tittle had been omitted, it would have been said that he had not stated the whole of the case—however unimportant it may be to the majority of readers to discuss whether this or that verse belongs to the second or third set of Jehovistic insertions. In order to place the main result more clearly before the reader, our author has exhibited *in extenso*, in a new translation, the several documents of which the book of Genesis has been made up. Not that documents is the word we should employ, for it does not appear that the history was welded together out of so many independent narratives: rather, there existed an original narrative, called here the Elohist, to which various additions were made from time to time during that period in the life of the Israelitish nation, when certain changes in their ecclesiastical constitution were going on, and certain modifications in their ideas as to their national Deity. Of the separate constituents of the book as here drawn out, the "Elohist narrative" is incomparably the most important, and carries conviction that it must have existed very nearly as now exhibited, as a consistent and coherent whole, before the other parts of the book, as we now have it, were added to it.

After setting forth the order in which the additional layers may be conceived to have been superimposed upon the original history, and showing thereby how the worship of God as Jehovah came to preponderate more and more, the enquiry naturally arises—whence came the name of Jehovah, what was really implied in that name or title, and in what way does he seem to have been actually worshipped among the Jews? For these enquiries, though they belong in a certain sense to a later period of the history itself, are naturally anticipated here by reason of the introduction of the name Jehovah, by the later interpolators, into a period to which it did not chronologically belong. The name Jehovah, or Jahveh, has, as Ewald acknowledges, no certain derivation in Hebrew, and there is considerable probability that it was

derived from the Phœnicians. It is at least clear that the name of the Phœnician sun god, in one of his attributes, was expressed both by heathen and Christian writers by the same letters in Greek, ΙΑΩ which they used to express the Hebrew Jah or Jahveh. The Bishop gives, in an appendix, a translation, abridged from Movers, on this subject. Then, connected with this enquiry, arises another—whether there are traces of the worship of Jehovah among the Jews having resembled that which the Phœnicians are known to have offered to their god Baal. In Chapters 19 and 20, which will be read with the greatest interest, perhaps, of any in the book, are drawn out the proofs of the prevalence in Israel of corrupt forms of worship, both in the way of bloody and sexual pollutions, intimately intermingled, to say the least, with the worship of Jehovah:—

"In all this, then, we have very strong evidence to show that the worship of Jehovah began among the Hebrews, and was long continued among them, as regards the great mass of the people, in the same low form in which it already existed among the Canaanite tribes; and that it was only gradually purified from its grosser pollutions by the long-continued efforts of those great prophets whom God raised up for the purpose from time to time in different ages—aided, no doubt, in this work by the sorrowful national calamities which befel them, and probably also in some measure by their coming in contact, during the time of the captivity, with those divine truths which were taught in the Zoroastrian religion."—p. 299.

It would not be possible to give any view which can do justice to it, of the complete "Critical Analysis of Genesis," extending through 261 pp. of a separate paging, in which each verse and word when necessary is submitted to a thorough scrutiny, and the criticisms examined in detail of the most eminent modern scholars who have gone over the same ground, particularly Boehmer and Hupfeld; nor can we afford space for more than a mere reference to the extremely interesting matter in the appendix. Appendix I. gives an abridgment of Professor Dozy's work "De Israëliten te Mekka" ("Westminster Review," No. LII.), of which the design is to show the probability of Mekka having been founded by the Simeonites, who disappear in a remarkable manner from the history of the Jews before the time of Solomon, as already remarked by Bishop Colenso himself (Part III., 817). Appendix II. treats of the Elohist and Jehovistic Psalms in reference to the remarks made upon the author's previously expressed opinion by Mr. Perowne and Bishop Browne of Ely. It is difficult to suppose otherwise than that these controversialists merely wrote for the sake of persons who would never read Bishop Colenso—they certainly meet here with an exposure of haste and inconsistency as ruthless as it is courteous. The third appendix consists of the abstract from Movers, "Die Phœnizier," already mentioned. And thus while the Bishop of Natal has been denounced by persons of narrow understandings for undermining the foundations of the faith in demonstrating the baseless character of much of the Pentateuchal history, he has been contributing

most valuable material to history of a higher kind than any which his persecutors are capable of appreciating, and the general bearing of his labours may be illustrated in the following passage:—

"The beggarly condition of the Levites in the early days of David, as revealed in Gen. xlix. 5—7,—the claims advanced on their behalf in a later day for a liberal maintenance, as shown in the laws of Leviticus and Numbers,—their increased influence but diminished numbers in Josiah's time, as implied in the book of Deuteronomy,—the elaborate ritualistic directory which may perhaps have been copied from that of the Tyrian worship, and may represent the system which was meant to be enforced—but never actually was enforced—in the Temple of Solomon,—the minute specifications for the building of the Tabernacle, which read almost as if they were actually taken from the 'working drawings' of the Temple itself by some one who was personally concerned in its erection, and may perhaps give us some idea of the gorgeous Temple which Hiram built for the 'Tyrian Hercules,' and which Solomon is believed to have imitated,—the injunction which commands human sacrifices, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, and the narrative in Gen. xxii., which, while not condemning—rather approving—yet seems intended to discourage them;—all these, and a multitude of other similar notices, require only to be freed from the restraints of conventional, traditional interpretations, and they will at once become instinct with life and meaning. In short, the whole Pentateuch, to the critical eye, is pregnant with history; and the driest details of the Levitical law may yield some fact of interest and importance, to illustrate the course of religious development in Israel."—p. 309.

Only a few clergymen here and there have ventured, in the face of an organized discouragement of free opinions, ecclesiastical, political, and social, to avail themselves of the liberty of criticising the Biblical writings unfettered by any theory of supernatural inspiration.* The timidity exhibited by them as a body would excite our unbounded surprise, if we did not believe it to be largely due to a *bona fide* ignorance. Mr. Desprez is not one of these timid people; and he has shown a sincere purpose of finding out the truth, and of enabling others to appreciate it also. Some years ago, Mr. Desprez published a work on the Apocalypse, which has gone through three editions, and met with great approval in many quarters;† he maintained from the internal evidence of the book that the accomplishment of its visions was to be sought for in the events of the great Jewish war, and the date of its writing therefore to be fixed somewhat earlier; but he did not abandon the supposition of its being a prophecy in the usual sense of the word. Many, therefore, who applauded the former work, will no doubt be greatly shocked at the more recent one; for Mr. Desprez may be said to have been the first

clergyman who has availed himself in a practical and effectual manner of the liberty which has been declared to belong to them. The result is very shattering to a stronghold of orthodoxy. The book of Daniel is generally supposed to contain in more than one passage chronological prophecies fixing the time of the appearing of Messiah, and thereby identifying him inevitably with Jesus of Nazareth. If Mr. Desprez shall prove to have been as successful in his treatment of the Apocalypse of the Old Testament as he was acknowledged to be in the case of the Apocalypse of the New, he will have dealt as severe a blow at the whole theory of Messianic prophecy applicable to Jesus, as he did in the other work at the "Evangelical" identification of the Scarlet Woman of the Revelation with Papal Rome.

"In endeavouring," says Mr. Desprez, "to establish for the book of Daniel a date later by more than four centuries than that usually assigned to it, and in attempting to show, that however it may incorporate fragments of more ancient history, in its present form it is not earlier than the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, it will be necessary to enter into the consideration of the following points of inquiry:—I. *The diversity of style in which the book is written.* II. *The place occupied by the book in the Hebrew Canon.* III. *The use of Greek words.* IV. *The style of the book differing from the writings of the Captivity.* V. *The historical character of the book extending to, but not far beyond, the Age of Antiochus Epiphanes.* VI. *The seemingly marvellous narrations and historical inaccuracies which have aroused suspicion from the earliest times.*"—pp. 8, 9.

On all these grounds he finds reason for affixing to the book a later date than that usually assigned to it. And whatever the date to which it might be attributable, the predictive, or quasi-predictive portions of it, admit of no other solution than that which is presented by the circumstances of the Maccabean period. When the issue of the struggle between the Jews and their oppressors yet hung doubtful in the scale, our author conceives a patriotic Jew to have encouraged his countrymen by setting before them visions of success under the name and authority of Daniel. Mr. Desprez shows very successfully that the several visions met with in the book of Daniel relate to the same, or to parts of the same series of events; that the symbols of the Great Image (ch. ii.), the Four Great Beasts (ch. vii.), the Ram and the Goat (ch. viii.), together with the explanatory vision (chs. x. xi. xii.), refer to events comprised within a definite period during the sway of certain Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Syro-Egyptian kings. It is customary to identify the fourth kingdom with the Roman Empire, in order to be able to interpret the Stone cut out of the mountains of the establishment of Christianity. But Mr. Desprez says:—

"That by the Fourth Great Beast the Roman empire is not signified, would seem plain from the circumstance that the above-named kingdom cannot with accuracy be said to succeed the three first kingdoms; the sway exercised by these being chiefly, if not entirely Asiatic, and extending beyond the River Euphrates, whereas that river was the eastern limit of the Roman empire. Added to this, the Ro-

* "Daniel; or, the Apocalypse of the Old Testament." By Philip S. Desprez, B.D., Incumbent of Alvediston, Wilts. With an Introduction by Rowland Williams, D.D., Vicar of Broad-Chalke, Wilts. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

† "The Apocalypse fulfilled in the consummation of the Mosaic Economy and the Coming of the Son of Man."

mans were not the immediate successors of the empire of Alexander, neither can their kingdom be said to have followed the Macedonian as the Babylonian was followed by the Medo-Persian; the kingdom immediately succeeding the Asiatic rule of the successors of Alexander being that of the Parthians, and these were never brought under the Roman yoke."—p. 87.

The fourth kingdom being acknowledged to be the Syro-Egyptian, and not the Roman, there is little difficulty in the identification of the "little horn" (vii. 8, 24; viii. 9) with the king of the fierce countenance (viii. 23), and the vile person (xi. 20) as Antiochus Epiphanes. And there remains only one important prophecy for discussion—that of the seventy weeks, in respect to which Mr. Desprez makes a suggestion of great ingenuity and, as we believe, original. It is easy to show that any interpretation which assumes the cutting off Messiah the Prince to be a prediction of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, is hopelessly at a loss for a *terminus a quo*, a starting-point for the weeks, and equally at a loss for an accomplishment of the 'confirming the covenant with many for one one week,' &c. In fact, if the prophecy were a prediction miraculously inspired of the time at which Christ should suffer, it would be inconceivable that there should be any difficulty in verifying the epochs of commencement and of close of the period embraced by it—the anticipated calendar of the prophecy and the actual almanac of events would be found to coincide like two equal triangles laid one upon the other. But although such observations may be fatal to the ordinary interpretation of this celebrated passage, is it possible to show a historical correspondence with what it requires, supposing it to be a prophecy *post eventum*, for in that case also it must have had a meaning, and must have been intended to describe, not what was about to happen, but what had happened? For, even, if we date the commencement of the seventy weeks, as is most probable, from the going forth of the word [of the Lord] to Jeremiah, when Nebuchadnezzar set himself against Jerusalem (Jer. xxxii.),—B.C. 590, the seventy weeks would run out about a century before the Christian era, when the history is not seen to be culminating in any remarkable events. Observing, then, that the sum of seventy weeks is made up of seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week, Mr. Desprez suggests that it is not necessary to suppose the sixty-two weeks to be subsequent to the first seven; they may have had the same starting-point; the rebuilding of the city at the end of the seven weeks being typical, as it were, of the second rebuilding by Judas Maccabeus at the end of the sixty-two weeks. Judas then is the Messiah cut off—*ve ayn lo*, 'and there is not (a helper) to him.' Of the identification of the Messiah cut off with Judas Maccabeus we have no doubt, but feel considerable difficulty in counting the sixty-two weeks and the seven weeks from the same starting-point, in the face of the words, "seventy weeks are determined," &c. We can only further slightly notice the concluding chapter of Mr. Desprez's work, in which, while rejecting the notion that Daniel

spake consciously of Jesus Christ, he considers the book of Daniel, together with the book of Enoch and other writings of the same class, to have contributed to form the Messianic conceptions which were current among the Jews in the time of Christ, and which were shared by Jesus Christ himself. It is possible, indeed, that the eschatology attributed to Jesus in the Synoptics may be due to a distortion of what he really said through the medium of the imaginations of his followers; but if his sayings as to the last day and the revelation of the Son of Man, &c. are accurately reported, he must have shared expectations which were falsified by the event. The whole of this last chapter we very much recommend for perusal. What will become of the "argument from prophecy" after such investigations as Mr. Desprez's does not at this moment concern us, nor does he feel, perhaps, that it concerns him as a follower of truth: as such we wish him God speed.

The variations which the Christian doctrine has undergone in the course of ages proves a great difficulty to High Church and Low Church, to Roman Catholics and Protestants. These variations are not the least striking in reference to the doctrine of the Atonement;⁴ and in the case of this, as of other dogmas, controversialists are more successful in showing the developments held by their opponents to be inconsistent with original or primitive Christianity, than in justifying their own. Thus Mr. Oxenham is triumphant in proving the absence of the "Evangelical" conception of the Atonement from the writings of the fathers and doctors of the Church, but less so in vindicating or reconciling their teaching severally. Of the first three centuries he says, as we believe, correctly, "There is no trace of the notion of vicarious satisfaction, in the sense of our sins being imputed to Christ, and His obedience imputed to us;" or again, "of the notion that God was angry with His Son for our sakes, and inflicted on him the punishment due to us;" "there is no mention of the justice of God in the forensic sense of the word;" "the term satisfaction does not appear in this connexion at all, and when Christ is said to suffer for us, *ὅτι* (not *διὰ*) is the word always used;" the early patristic writers "speak of our being reconciled to God, not of God being reconciled to us."—pp. 28, 29. In Irenæus and Origen the death of Christ becomes a ransom from Satan, the latter father combining the notion of a satisfying of the claim which Satan had acquired over mankind with that of a sacrifice to God. Throughout the subsequent patristic period these two views are also concurrent, but it was not imagined that "either the Incarnation or the Cross effected a *change* in the mind of God towards us." Mr. Oxenham then shows how the *Cur Deus homo* of Anselm form-

⁴ "The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement: an Historical Inquiry into its Development in the Church. With an Introduction on the Principle of Theological Developments." By Henry Nutcombe Oxenham, M.A., formerly Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Longmans. 1865.

ed an epoch in the history of the doctrine of the Atonement. The theory which had prevailed in the Church for a thousand years, of a ransom paid to Satan by the death of Christ, is in it expressly rejected; but the theory of a debt incurred to God takes its place. By sin man has robbed Him of his honour. The consequent debt is greater than the whole universe, and man has nothing wherewith to pay it. But God cannot suffer anything to mar the perfection of his kingdom. The satisfaction, to be equal to the sin, must be greater than anything outside God. "The debt was so great that none but God could pay it, and none but man owes it; therefore One must pay it who is God and man." So that Christ's death was regarded by Anselm, not as a punishment inflicted on Him by the Father for our sins, but as a voluntary payment of a debt which we could not discharge for ourselves. In the system of Thomas Aquinas the idea of vicarious satisfaction is developed: "satisfaction is defined as giving to the offended party something he loves as much as he hates the offence, or more." Duns Scotus, on the other hand, contradicted much of the Thomist "and the whole Anselmic view of satisfaction." The punishment due to sin is no otherwise infinite than as the will continues sinful, and God might punish it for a single day, and then annihilate the soul. There was therefore no necessity for a restoration of the human race at all, and the redemption might have been effected in other ways. But Christ offered his Passion to the Father for us, and we are not the less indebted, but more, since he might have redeemed us without it. For an infinite merit is here substituted a voluntary acceptance, "while the denial of an infinite debt removes any plea for the necessity of an infinite satisfaction." But further, according to the Thomist view, had there been no Fall, there would have been no Incarnation, for no satisfaction would have been requisite; according to Scotus, "Christ would in any case have come to be the Second Adam and Head of the mystical body." The doctrine of the Reformation, which had been already shadowed forth by Wickliffe, of an imputation of our guilt to Christ, of a punishment vicariously endured by Him, and of an imputation of his merits to us, is foreign both to the earlier patristic and to the Scotist modes of representation, which latter has become chiefly prevalent in the more recent Roman Theology. There is even a recoil from the old Lutheran doctrines in some modern Lutheran divines, such as Nägelsbach and Rothe, who present the redemption operated by Christ as a full union of God and man, to which self-oblation or sacrifice is necessary, but not substitution. Nor can the Incarnation have been contingent upon the Fall, for "it is opposed," as Kurtz says, "to all Christian feeling and consciousness, that we should owe it and the deification of our nature only to sin" (p. 180). Mr. Oxenham, as may be supposed, considers the restoration wrought out for man by the Incarnation to be continually operating in the Church in the Eucharist, wherein are ever present the true deity and humanity of the Lord—for "there is an inseparable union between

the sacrifice of the altar and the sacrifice of the Cross." The sacrifice is not repeated, but continued; for, by a wondrous miracle, Christ, at his Last Supper consecrated the eucharistic elements to be for ever the veil and vehicle of his perpetual oblation of himself. Here on earth the sacrifice is continued "through the ministry of his representatives, as in the courts of heaven directly by himself." And in the doctrine of the One Sacrifice is implied that of the real presence; for "if the oblation is the same, the thing offered must be the same too," though the manner of the oblation be different. If, indeed, the unity of the sacrifice be pressed, of which "the duration does not prevent its being one and indivisible" (Döllinger), it not only carries with it the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental elements, but, as far as we can see, the transubstantiation of the priest. This doctrine has not as yet been developed. Mr. Oxenham contents himself with quoting a statement in the Tridentine Catechism:—

"Sed unus etiam atque idem Sacerdos est, Christus Dominus; nam ministri, qui sacrificium faciunt, non suam, sed Christi Personam suscipiunt, cum ejus Corpus et Sanguinem faciunt. Id quod et ipsius consecrationis verbis ostenditur. Neque enim sacerdos inquit 'Hoc est Corpus Christi,' sed 'Hoc est Corpus Meum,' Personam scilicet Christi Domini gerens, panis et vini substantiam in veram Ejus Corporis et Sanguinis substantiam convertit."—p. 177.

Here is at least the germ of another "development." Nor is it pretended by Mr. Oxenham that the Catholic would be justified in pronouncing the developments of his Church to be final. His object is to vindicate the Catholic theory of development, on the one side against the cut-and-dried theology of the Protestant confessions, and on the other against the "rationalistic theory of development." For he has thus much in common with the "rationalist."

"While development is the law of all God's natural dispensations, are we to predicate an exceptional stagnation of the kingdom of grace? To imagine that theology, as we now possess it, sprang full grown from the mind of the first century, like Pallas from the head of Zeus, is but to transfer to the moral what we have learnt to discard from our conceptions of the material world, a succession of miraculous cataclysms, with another succession of supplementary miracles to obliterate all traces of them."—p. xxxix.

We apprehend the "rationalists," acknowledging with Mr. Oxenham "the gradual education of the Gentile world," and the "growing tone of spirituality" among the Jewish people from patriarchs to prophets, and from prophets to later psalmists and apocryphal writers, would maintain their own theory as the more consistent, which does not require the "cataclysm" of a miraculous incarnation. Nor, as we apprehend, would they be disinclined to acknowledge the evidences of an increasing purpose in the spiritual education of the world since the Christian era. But they would not, with Mr. Oxenham, conceive this spiritual growth to be confined within the limits of one church, nor would they illustrate the principle of develop-

ment by variations of doctrine often utterly antagonistic to each other; they would, above all, object to that which is a characteristic of the so-called Catholic developments, the deducing logical conclusions from mystical premises—as of eucharistic flesh and blood from a figurative victim. Nor, indeed, is it clear how the motto from St. Bernard, “Non mors sed voluntas placuit sponte morientis,” can serve as a foundation for the doctrine of the perpetual sacrifice of the mass, if it is fatal to the Lutheran fictions of the transfer of Christ’s merits and of his vicarious punishment. Mr. Oxenham’s is the treatise of a scholarly divine, and is worthy both of his first training at Oxford, and of the countenance of his eminent Roman Catholic friend, Dr. Döllinger, who suggested it. We will only further commend the following passage to the attention of some high Anglican Churchmen:—

“Another opinion, which has widely prevailed among Catholics, though borrowed originally from Protestants, but which is now known to be untenable, is a belief in the verbal inspiration of Scripture, first dogmatically laid down in the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* in 1675, but previously maintained by the great body of the Reformed. Biblical criticism is yet in its infancy, and discoveries like that of the *Codex Sinaiticus* (now established beyond dispute) may seriously affect it. Should the controversies of our own day ultimately lead to some definition on the meaning and limits of inspiration, or the nature of future retribution—subjects on which the Church has hitherto been silent—this in its turn would open out fresh sources of speculation in other directions.”—p. xxix.

The fifth volume of the collected works of Edward Irving contains *Sermons on the Incarnation and on the Gifts of the Holy Spirit*.^{*} In the former he set forth the views for which he was ostensibly deposed from his ministry in the Scotch Church; in the latter, he began to encourage the expectation of miraculous manifestations in the church, and especially of some gift of tongues. Whether orthodox or heterodox, he was, on the former subject, still within the acknowledged field of theological discussion; on the latter, it began to be surmised that his genius and eloquence were leading him beyond any bounds of common sense. The peculiarity of his notion of the Incarnation touched only the humanity of Christ; he was perfectly orthodox on the side of his Divinity. But he held that the human nature which the Saviour took upon him was the human nature inherited from Adam since his Fall, not the human nature of Adam in his sinless state anterior to the Fall; and it was thus he was fitted to become the Redeemer of humanity, in that he participated in the very nature which he came to restore, and in his own person raised it from the depth to which it had fallen. Irving held, indeed, that while Christ took on him the fallen human nature, He took it as regenerate, and this, if we understand rightly, *in utero Mariæ Virginis*. The conflict, there-

fore, which was carried through by him was the conflict in which *regenerate* men are likewise through him promised the victory. Irving, it need not be said, held firmly with the other Scotch Calvinists the doctrine of particular election.

“That this gift is to be communicated to a part only of the human race is evident as well from the fact as from the language of Scripture and the continual doctrine of the Church; universalism having always been regarded as a most damnable heresy.”—p. 248.

To this *élite* of humanity Christ came to show the way of salvation, and to this same *élite* the Holy Spirit which dwelt in him is exclusively communicated. Thus the sinlessness which according to the more orthodox opinion is secured to the person of the Redeemer by the supposition of his having participated in a human nature which contracted no stain or corruption by its birth, belongs to him on Irving’s hypothesis as the first of the regenerate. He maintained that “Christ’s flesh was as rebellious, as fallen as ours,” but his flesh was not the whole of his being; “it is His humanity, inhabited by the Holy Ghost, which maketh up His creature being,” and through that power “acting to the overcoming of the evil propensity of the fallen man, it is that the fallen manhood of Christ is made mighty and holy and good” (p. 169). Though he touched, however, necessarily, upon the Nestorian and Monothelite controversies, Irving did not at all attempt a psychological solution of the difficulties which beset the doctrine of the union of the two natures, and which beset his own, as it seems to us, no less than others; nor does he deal at all successfully with the text “tempted in all points like as we are,” (Heb. iv. 15,) which is the strong point of his position. “The Son of Man was tried with every trial with which it is possible for human nature to be tried by the putting forth of all the power and subtlety of Satan” (p. 276); for He could not have succoured the tempted unless He had undergone “the sum and substance of all possible temptation.” (*ib.*) But the force of temptation to us is derived from the weakness of our will to good, and from the *concupiscentia carnis*, inherited, according to the theologians, from the fallen Adam. If this corruption was neutralized in the Son of Man at the very moment of the Annunciation, it does not appear how his life would serve “for imitation, consolation, or assurance,” for his temptation, upon neither theory, was the same as ours. It will, however, be a lasting reproach to the Kirk of Scotland, to have deposed a minister on account of such an obscure and fine-drawn speculation. The Church which in the nineteenth century could depose Edward Irving, would certainly, with the power, in the sixteenth have burnt Servetus.

Whenever the statements of the Bible and the conclusions of science have come in collision, the verdict of science has always stood its ground, and the Biblical statements have always given way. They have given way be-

^{*} “The Collected Works of Edward Irving.” In five volumes. Edited by his nephew, the Rev. G. Carlyle, M.A. Vol. V. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

“Man’s Age in the World according to Holy

fore astronomy, before geology, before geography and ethnology. Unwise defenders of the Bible prolong the defence of untenable positions: its more prudent friends counsel an orderly retreat in time to save the appearance of defeat. An "Essex Rector" is of this latter class. He is too timid to give his name, and careful not to intimate what inferences must follow from the surrender which he makes of the verity of the narratives of the Creation, of Paradise, of the Deluge, and of the Tower of Babel. With many apologies, he is exercising a portion of the liberty which others have won for him and his brother clergy. The sum of his argument he states as follows:—

"1. That the excavation of the valley of the Somme and the formation of its gravels, as is admitted by the most careful school of geologists, require a longer period than the received age of man. 2. That the change of a white people into black from Egypt to the tropics, and their return into a lighter colour from the tropics to the Cape, are incompatible with the time allowed us by the chronologers of the Expulsion from Eden, and are impossible, from natural causes, with the received dates of the Deluge. 3. The statements of Moses, which were not made from his own personal knowledge and observation, were drawn from traditions, which preserved only fragments of truth. He embodied many of these fragments as symbols only, and not as history. 4. From these traditions, which Moses was inspired to collect or preserve, we may learn all that is needed to ground the work of God in Creation, and the work of Christ in Redemption. . . . Conclusion: Therefore, the free investigation and full acceptance of these opinions will not destroy, but support, Faith."—p. 236.

The English critics are sometimes reproached with clothing themselves in the cast-off clothes of the Germans. We are certainly invited to do so by Mr. Glover, who translates and edits Ewald's most feeble and sentimental "Life of Christ." The editor's object is to set it forth as an antidote to the works of Strauss and Renan, yet he does so with certain misgivings and apologies:—

"The author's disbelief," he says, "in the Old Testament miracles serves as a dark background which makes us more admire the firm faith in the works of Christ which shines forth in this volume. On one fundamental point this author's protest may, I hope, be useful—his protest, I mean, in favour of the genuineness of St. John's Gospel. Modern scepticism is using every effort to throw discredit on this Gospel as a record of the words and sayings of our Lord. It feels that this is the grand bulwark of the Christian's faith in the divinity of Christ. The narrative of the supernatural birth of Christ and of the Resurrection it may explain as myths; but our Lord's language about himself, as given in this Gospel, can only be set aside by denying the truth of the Gospel."—p. xv.

We do not understand the value of a "protest" in a critical inquiry, nor has the assumption

tion of the genuineness of the fourth Gospel served altogether as a bulwark of the faith to M. Renan.

The collection of the works of W. J. Fox enables us to mark the theological movement of the last forty years.* We are here carried back to the time (1819) when Mr. Carlile could be prosecuted and convicted for the republication of Paine's *Age of Reason*, and when the Unitarian body itself little dreamt of the modifications which scientific education and historical criticism would bring about in their own creed. Mr. Fox himself protested against the Carlile prosecution in a discourse entitled, "The Duties of Christians towards Deists," but he held at that time to the belief of a supernatural revelation, commencing with Abraham, carried on by prophets, who foretold the particulars of the manifestation of the Messiah, fully made known in the mission of Jesus, which was vouched by his miracles and crowned by his Resurrection and Ascension. Mr. Fox came, indeed, to reject the miraculous element in Christianity altogether.

The twelfth volume of Theodore Parker's works[†] contains, besides other reviews and discourses, his own "Account" of his Ministry, his "Experience as a Minister," and his telling "Letter to the American Unitarian Association." As the summary of a controversy it is incomparable, and as a controversial weapon unanswerable.

"The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," by the Abbé Martigny,[‡] contains a great deal of information, only accessible in the costly works of the Italian antiquaries. Some of the principal results with which he presents his readers are derived from researches in the Roman catacombs. The discoveries there made, as well as other remains of Christian antiquity, are of course interpreted from the Catholic point of view and in submission to the voice of the Church.

According to the accounts of recent travellers, the Samaritan people seem to be drawing near to their extinction.[§] From many passages in the Old Testament it appears that the tribe of Ephraim claimed a prerogative as a royal tribe, and that the parting of the ten tribes from the two under Jeroboam was only the carrying

* "Memorial Edition of Collected Works of W. J. Fox." Vol. I. Lectures, Sermons, &c., prior to 1824. Vol. II. Christ and Christianity. London: Charles Fox; Trübner and Co. 1865.

† "The Collected Works of Theodore Parker," &c., &c. Edited by Frances Power Cobbe. Vol. XII. Autobiographical and Miscellaneous Pieces. London: Trübner and Co. 1865.

‡ "Dictionnaire des Antiquités des Chrétiennes, contenant le Résumé de tout ce qu'il est essentiel de connaître sur les Origines Chrétiennes jusqu'au moyen âge exclusivement." 1. Étude des Mœurs et Coutumes des Premiers Chrétiens. 2. Étude des Monuments Figurés. 3. Vêtements et Meubles. Par M. l'Abbé Martigny. Ouvrage accompagné de 270 Gravures. Paris. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

§ "Abulfathi Annales Samaritani. Quos ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum Berolinensium, Bodleyani, Parisini, edidit et Prolegomenis instruxit Eduardus Vilmar." Gotha. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

Scripture and Science." By an Essex Rector. London: Lovell Reeve and Co. 1865.

† "The Life of Jesus Christ." By H. Ewald. Translated and edited by Octavius Glover, B.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

out of a rivalry between Judah and Ephraim, which had its origin long before. Nor, however these Samaritans or Ephraimites may have become mixed with other people (2 Kings, xvii. 24) can it be fairly doubted that they have continued a real traditional descent down to modern times. The "Samaritan Annals," edited by Vilmar, were compiled by one Abulfath in the fourteenth century; he was probably not a priest himself, but in the service of the then high priest Phinehas. Of these annals, which are written in a corrupt Arabic, there exist four manuscripts, more or less complete, which the editor has collated for his edition. The annals themselves commence with Adam, and present, with some well-known variations, the outline of the Pentateuchal story. The origin of the Jewish sect they attribute to Eli, who forsook the worship in Gerizim, and unlawfully assumed the priesthood, which of right belonged exclusively to the descendants of Eleazar, he being descended from Ithamar. Samuel, the false prophet, was the next great favourite of the Jewish schism, and Saul, anointed king by him, prevented the faithful for twenty-two years from assembling for worship on Mount Gerizim. David carried still further the secession from the true religion, for though in the beginning of his reign he worshipped on Gerizim, he afterwards consecrated the hill of Jerusalem, and laid there the foundation of the temple which was completed by his son Solomon. Nevertheless, it is allowed in the annals that the whole of the tribes did in fact acknowledge the sovereignty of David and of Solomon, and that the separation between the ten tribes and the two took place under Rehoboam. The prophets of Jerusalem are thenceforward stigmatized as promoters of false doctrines, and Elijah and Elisha are especially reprobated. The invasion of Nebuchadnezzar and the captivity of seventy years is recorded, but the previous transplantation of the ten tribes by Shalmanezar is ignored. And so throughout, the history is twisted to the Samaritan point of view. So recklessly is this done, that the whole Jewish war, ending in the ruin of Jerusalem, is passed over in silence; but the baptism of Jesus by John, his assumption of the prophetic character, the beheading of John, and the crucifixion of Jesus are recited. It is apparent that the greatest part of the material of these annals has been derived from the histories of other people, and principally from the books of the Jews; yet there may here and there be found a trace of genuine independent tradition. However rudely this particular work has been executed, it is nevertheless an instructive example of the maxim that no people can be thoroughly trusted when recounting their own history or the history of their enemies, and however great the literary superiority of the Jewish records, this maxim must be taken as applying to them likewise. The tenets of the Samaritan religion are here comprised under five heads: 1, Concerning the One God; 2, Concerning Moses the prophet of God; 3, Concerning the divine law revealed by Moses; 4, Concerning the Mount Gerizim; and 5, Concerning the judgment of the last day. The fifth head was probably of later addition,

although the Samaritans appear to have entertained an expectation, parallel as it were to that of the Jews, of a "restitution," and of a Messiah who should "restore again the kingdom," but not originally to have defined the judgment of the last day as it is imagined in the Christian and Mahometan theology. The volume before us consists of the Arabic text of the Chronicle with pp. cxx. of prolegomena.

The treatise of Augustus Gladisch, entitled "Anaxagoras,"¹² is intended to illustrate one portion of the comparative history of religion and philosophy which is treated in its larger outlines in his previously published work.¹³ He considers the founders of the renowned schools of Greek philosophy not to have originated doctrines disconnected from all other religious or philosophical speculation; at least that among other peoples opinions had been held analogous to or parallel with them. And in illustrative treatises he has already compared the Pythagoreans and the Chinese philosophers, the Eclectics and the Hindus, Empedocles and the Egyptians, Heraclitus and Zoroaster. He now draws a parallel between the conceptions of the Deity as pure spirit and intelligence according to Anaxagoras and according to the Jewish writers. The treatise is extremely well worth perusal, although we think the author has not sufficiently noticed how the Israelites entertained very different ideas of God at different periods of their history, and that he has derived his principal illustrations and founded his argument too much upon those of the Jewish writings which belong to the Apocryphal period and show an Alexandrian influence.

Von Kirchmann's "Treatise on Immortality"¹⁴ deserves great praise for the clearness with which the whole subject is treated: the various attempts, philosophical and religious, to present a satisfactory solution of the problem are fairly set forth; and the author's own answer, startling as it may be to many, fearlessly presented. In fact, philosophers and teachers of religion have failed hitherto in their endeavour to deliver some theory or doctrine of immortality which should satisfy the intellect, for they have represented immortality as life to take place after death. Hence, as our perception fails to reach into that region, we are incapable of verifying any facts which are assumed in these several systems, or of testing their coherence with other facts and laws already known to us. Thus the descriptions of immortal life which various religions present are mere imaginary creations, unsatisfying to the intelligence. It may be urged, indeed, that such a science as astronomy leads men to adopt conclusions respecting the properties and laws of things which

¹² "Anaxagoras und die Israeliten." Eine historische Untersuchung von Aug. Gladisch Director des Gymnasiums zu Krotoschin. Leipzig. London: D. Nutt. 1864.

¹³ "Die Religion und die Philosophie in ihrer Weltgeschichtlichen Entwicklung und Stellung zu einander nach den Urkunden dargelegt." 1852.

¹⁴ "Ueber die Unsterblichkeit." Ein philosophischer Versuch. Von J. H. von Kirchmann. Berlin. London: D. Nutt 1865.

lie beyond human observation and verification. But the ground itself on which the universality of certain laws is assumed in astronomy does lie in the field of human observation; whereas the supposed law of immortality, according to its usual definition, has no empirical basis whatever to rest upon, on which account it has always been sought to establish the law of immortality deductively, because of the absence of material for induction. Now, if sensitive perception—which is the root, or necessary constituent at least, of all our consciousness—be untrustworthy, there is nothing to be relied upon from which this method of deduction can derive itself. On the other hand, if our perception is to be trusted, we infer necessarily the reality of “Being.” It is true, “Being” presents itself to us in a continual flux, or “Becoming,” but this flux belongs to our “Knowing.” And hence the proposition which the author conceives to contain the solution of the whole difficulty concerning immortality, “*Nur das Wissen stirbt, nicht das Sein.*” Thus there is got rid of entirely the notion of immortality being a life “after death.” “Being” is immortal because it continues, not because it begins again after dissolution. Nevertheless there is no obvious impossibility in a renewal of “Knowing” in relation to “Being.”

Mr. John Stuart Mill's Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy¹ has undoubtedly blown away some very prevalent illusions respecting the value of that distinguished person's contributions to mental science. Admiring cordially the unrivalled learning of the Scotch professor, he has shown that notwithstanding, or perhaps in consequence in some degree, of that very learning, Sir William Hamilton's system abounds with inconsistencies, while his great discoveries in philosophy as well as in logic are found to have had an imposing appearance but little solid worth. Mr. Mill has here shown, as we think effectually, that the famous “Law of the Conditioned” breaks down in both its parts.

“It is not proved that the Conditioned lies between two hypotheses concerning the Unconditioned, neither of which hypotheses we can conceive as possible. And it is not proved, that as regards the Unconditioned, one or the other of these hypotheses must be true. Both propositions must be placed in that numerous class of metaphysical doctrines which have a magnificent sound, but are empty of the smallest substance.”—p. 87.

Following up his strokes, he has shown, in relation to Mr. Mansel's celebrated application of the philosophy of the conditioned to religion—

“that he has not made out any connexion between his philosophical premises and his conclusion. The relativity of human knowledge, the uncognoscibility of the Absolute, and the contradictions which follow the attempt to conceive a Being with all or without any Attributes, are no obstacles to our having the same kind of knowledge of God which we have of

other things, namely, not as they exist absolutely, but relatively.”—p. 105.

Equally successful is the review of Sir William Hamilton's criticism of the grounds of belief, according to Cosmothetic Idealism, of the existence of an external world:—

“The theory of the third form of Cosmothetic Idealism is, that though we are conscious only of the sensations which an object gives us, we are determined by a necessity of our nature, which some call an instinct, others an intuition, others a fundamental law of belief, to ascribe these sensations to something external, as their substratum or as their cause. There is surely nothing *a priori* impossible in this supposition. The supposed instinct or intuition seems to be of the same family with many other Laws of Thought, or Natural Beliefs, which our author not only admits without scruple, but enjoins obedience to, under the usual sanction that otherwise our intelligence must be a lie. . . . He says that we cannot infer a reality from a mental representation, unless we already know the reality independently of the mental representation. Now, he could hardly help being aware that this is the very matter in dispute. Those who hold the opinion he argues against, do not admit the premise upon which he argues. They say, that we may be, and are, necessitated to infer a cause, of which we know nothing except its effect.”—p. 168.

Mr. Mill's statement of the theory of those who hold that the belief in an external world is not intuitive, but an acquired product, is as follows:—The mind is capable of expectation; we expect the recurrence of sensations already experienced; they become to us possible sensations; and by the law of the association of ideas, phenomena which have heretofore been experienced in connexion tend to be thought of in connexion: the ideas answering to such connected facts or phenomena become blended, and the facts or phenomena themselves come to imply each other. So that what seems to be an experience of a single object is really a heap of inferences. Moreover by means of reminiscence, expectation, and association, we assume the existence of objects which, having heretofore excited certain sensations, would excite them again if we were in similar circumstances. Hence—

“The conception I form of the world existing at any moment comprises, along with the sensations I am feeling, a countless variety of possibilities of sensation, namely, the whole of those which past observation tells me that I could, under any supposable circumstances, experience at this moment, together with an indefinite and illimitable number of others which, though I do not know that I could, yet it is possible that I might, experience in circumstances not known to me.”—p. 193.

Moreover, our sensations occur not only in groups, but in a fixed order of succession, thus giving rise to the ideas of Cause and Effect. A like order of succession we necessarily infer holds between the antecedents and consequents in nature—which is by no means always, nay seldom, represented to us by parallel or simultaneous order of succession to us in sensation. Whether we are asleep or awake, the fire goes out and puts an end to the possibility of our receiving warmth and light, or the fire may be

¹ “An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, and of the principal Philosophical Questions discussed in his Writings.” By John Stuart Mill. London: Longmans. 1865.

burning in another room, where it would warm me if I were. Thus the sensations, though the original foundation of the whole, come to be looked upon as a sort of accident, and the permanent possibilities to be the actual realities of which they (the sensations) are representations, the causes, of which they are effects. "The groundwork in sensation of these permanent possibilities is forgotten," and they come to be supposed something intrinsically distinct from it. And though the sensations cease, the "possibilities remain in existence," and we find they belong as much to other sentient beings as to ourselves.—(pp. 192—196.)

And then he goes on:—

"Matter, then, may be defined a Permanent Possibility of Sensation. If I am asked whether I believe in matter, I ask whether the questioner accepts this definition of it. If he does, I believe in matter: and so do all Berkeleians. In any other sense than this I do not. But I affirm with confidence, that this conception of matter includes the whole meaning attached to it by the common world."—p. 198.

If we rightly understand this doctrine, this "possibility of sensation" has no objective existence, but is objectified psychologically. And we apprehend many, who would go a certain way with Mr. Mill, would accept a description of matter as that which is permanently capable of effecting sensation, and without which sensation does not arise, would not feel that the arguments in this eleventh chapter carry them to the conclusion, that the external world is an abstraction generated by the mind out of its own processes. Consequently, however, upon what has been said, though the Ego and the Non-ego are now in our consciousness, there is no reason for supposing that the latter was co-existent with the Ego from the beginning; we can see the way in which it grows up. And more than that, our conception of self or Ego, is a growth likewise. We have no conception of mind itself, as distinguished from its conscious manifestations, but we figure to ourselves a something which is permanent, while our particular feelings change. Hence "the belief I entertain that my mind exists, when it is not feeling nor thinking nor conscious of its own existence, resolves itself into the belief of a permanent possibility of these states."—(p. 205.) According to this theory, the mind would be a series of feelings "with a background of possibilities of feeling." Mr. Mill argues that this theory would leave our conviction of the existence of other spiritual or rational existences just where it now is, for we are irresistibly led to infer, on any theory, the existence of other beings like ourselves, from the outward manifestations like our own which they display. So it leaves as before the evidence for the existence of God. "Supposing me to believe that the Divine mind is simply the series of the Divine thoughts and feelings prolonged throughout eternity, that would be at any rate believing God's existence to be as real as my own."—(p. 210.) And "as to immortality, it is precisely as easy to conceive, that a succession of feelings, a thread of con-

sciousness, may be prolonged to eternity, as that a spiritual substance continues to exist."—(p. 211.) But although, according to our author, this theory can withstand the most invidious arguments directed against it, there is this difficulty attending it:—

"If we speak of the mind as a series of feelings, we are obliged to complete the statement by calling it a series of feelings which is aware of itself as past and future; and we are reduced to the alternative of believing that the mind, or Ego, is something different from any series of feelings, or possibilities of them, or of accepting the paradox that something which ex hypothesi is but a series of feelings, can be aware of itself as a series."

And he terminates by saying,—

"I have stated the difficulties attending the attempt to frame a theory of mind, or the Ego, similar to what I have called the psychological theory of matter, or the Non-ego. No such difficulties attend the theory in its application to matter; and I leave it as set forth, to pass for whatever it is worth as an antagonistic doctrine to that of Sir W. Hamilton and the Scottish school, respecting the Non-ego as a deliverance of consciousness."—p. 213.

We have been able only to notice very briefly a few of the questions on which Mr. Mill criticises the Hamiltonian philosophy, but most of our readers, we do not doubt, have perused and studied the book for themselves, and will not require to be directed by us, especially to the chapters on the Law of Inseparable Association, on the Doctrine of Concepts, and on the Freedom of the Will.

Very much concerned also with Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy is Professor Grote's volume.¹⁸ We wish we could give it the praise which belongs to the above noticed work of clearness of style and method. The Professor does great injustice to himself by his rambling treatment of his subject and his involved sentences. Take the following:—

"Matter is a thing that we are conscious of; this is my cardinal doctrine. I put it two ways: it is because matter is *after all*, so far as we can tell, *only* a thing that we are conscious of—a thought of ours supposed warranted, a mental creation properly created, a something the certainty of the existence of which depends for us on the certainty of our own existence, and the trustworthiness of our own feeling—that the study of consciousness is higher than the study of matter (in my language, philosophy than phenomenalism), and that we ourselves who are conscious, know ourselves pre-eminently with a different knowledge from that with which we know matter of which we are conscious, just as we know also our own thoughts and feelings with a consciousness more intimate and immediate than that with which we know matter, since we mean by matter something which we suppose to give occasion to varieties of such feelings; that is one way; again, because matter is a thing which we are conscious of, therefore there is a study of it *as* we are conscious

¹⁸ "Exploratio Philosophica." Rough Notes on Modern Intellectual Science. Part I. By John Grote, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

of it, which we may pursue without at all troubling ourselves what the *being conscious* of it means, and this is what I call "phenomenalism."—p. 126.

Mr. Grote goes on in the next paragraph with considerable force, but in equally long sentences, to point out an inconsistency in the use of the term "consciousness" by Sir William Hamilton. For he makes it sometimes to be synonymous with mental modification and matter is set over against it, at other times matter is a portion of its contents. And so throughout the work are many excellent things, but as a book it is almost unreadable.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

In a collection of essays on political and legal reform, Mr. Boyd Kinnear discusses the question of the extension of the franchise, which he wishes to bestow on all who can read and write, and enters into some estimate of the modifications which such a franchise would produce in the various constituencies. There can be but little question that whatever form any numerical increase in the constituencies of the kingdom may ultimately assume, the ability to read and write should certainly be demanded as one at least of the qualifications of a voter. The chief value of the possession of the franchise consists in the educative influences which it is to be hoped it may exert on those who exercise it, and in the means which it affords of interesting them in a larger circle of ideas than those of their immediate personal interests. Mr. Kinnear has reduced his proposal to the practical shape of a draft bill to be laid before the House, which has the advantage of bringing in a short compass before his readers the collateral changes involved in the project, and of displaying the working of the required machinery. In his chapter on the principle of non-intervention, he does little else than expand and weaken the arguments of Mr. J. S. Mill. On taxation, he is a thorough-going adherent of the party which exclaims against our expensive armaments, both naval and military, and he goes at great length into a comparison of our present resources with those at our command in 1805. After a very full discussion of our means of defence, and of the modifications to which they have been subjected by steam navigation and the more powerful artillery of the present day, he comes to the conclusion that when the effect of every change is duly weighed, the balance is rather in favour of defence than of attack, and that, consequently, we are under no necessity to maintain a force so greatly in excess of that which was considered sufficient when we were exposed to an imminent risk which is not likely to recur without ample warning. The legal reforms which he advocates are a simplification of

our laws by codification in the first place, and a system of authorized reports in the second. This latter desideratum he would arrive at by making it obligatory on the judges to deliver their decisions in writing, which should then be the only authoritative precedents producible in a court of law. On the two questions of the assimilation of the law in England and Scotland, and the law of marriage in the two countries, he is much more conservative and tender in his criticisms than on his other topics: local customs are defended by old associations, and by the convenience which it is assumed has led to their origination; but there is nothing not defensible, if we look back exclusively to its beginnings; there are no customs whatever to which men, growing up where they are prevalent, will not become at last attached. Not the less must they, in every case, submit to be criticised by a larger estimate of public utility, and where they stand unquestionably in the way of a general improvement, they can claim no exemption from reform on the ground of their pretended convenience to a small section of the community. The marriage laws of the two countries, reposing as they do on opposite principles, cannot be brought into harmony. The question ultimately resolves itself into, whether it be the duty of the state to regulate the marriage contract in the interests of society at large, or in those of the contracting parties? In England the former purpose is chiefly kept in view, and the aim of all English law on the subject is directed to protect, by a legalized publicity, not only the sacredness of the contract itself, but the interests of all those who can in any way be affected by its existence. The system of banns, licences, and registrars is based upon the principle of providing evidence of a fact which, if concealed, may injuriously affect all who come in contact with those to whom it applies. The Scotch system is not so much concerned with the interests of society as with those of the contracting parties, and is primarily directed to establish in any possible way that consent which is by necessity essential to a valid marriage here as elsewhere. The religious sanctions differ in the two countries only as their ecclesiastical systems differ. But while, in the civil aspect of marriage, England has delivered its legislature from all clerical influence, in Scotland there is still an effort made to throw a religious sanction over the most irregular and clandestine connexions, at the cost of depriving society at large of the protection which it is the chief object of the English system to secure. Mr. Kinnear's predilections naturally follow his earliest associations; but he is very clear and full in the statement of the questions he discusses, and his book is a valuable contribution to the controversies it handles.

Mr. Masheder has taken remarkable pains in a review of Mr. Gladstone's expressed opinions on Church Government¹ to prove what is as notorious as that the sun shines at mid-day;

¹ "Principles of Reform: Political and Legal." By J. Boyd Kinnear. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

² "The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.," &c., &c. A Political Review. By R. Masheder, B.A., author of "Dissent and Democracy." London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1865.

but what purpose he supposes himself to serve by demonstrating that there is but little harmony between the early ecclesiastical views entertained by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the character of some of his later acts, to say nothing of the tendency of some of his most recent expressions, it is difficult to discover. If the whole tone of the book were not decidedly opposed to such a conclusion, we should suppose that Mr. Masheder intended to compose an elaborate recommendation of the statesman he criticises to the unreserved confidence of the liberal party. The gradual conquest which life and experience have gained, in Mr. Gladstone's mind, over study and sentiment, can hardly be better displayed than in this attack on his so-called tergiversation. It seems that, in Mr. Masheder's opinion, it is the primary duty of every man to remain faithful to the earliest convictions he may acquire, and that development is nothing better than dereliction.

While this "apostasy" is laid bare to all Conservatives, a note of warning is sounded in the ears of timid Liberals by a constantly recurring insinuation that the old church principles are still vital and operative in the mind of him who was once their warm advocate, and that nothing but the mode of attack is altered. This insinuation has a certain partisan acuteness, but will deceive none but those who are acquainted with the external history only of the Tractarian movement. No party in England has been so well served by that school of thought as the advanced Liberals. Had it not been for the thorough criticism to which their views were subjected by the Oxford party, there would have been far less consistency and complete insight into their own principles among them. In fact, the period whence Mr. Masheder dates the first vacillation in Mr. Gladstone's mind is precisely that in which all those who had been attracted by the cultivation and serious purpose of the Tractarian party, felt themselves called upon to choose between the alternatives which offered themselves as the ultimate result of their views, and which proved the destruction of the party as a ruling power in England. The premises on which they relied, and which found their most complete expression in Dr. Newman's book on "Development," led as logically to the fullest freethinking as to the complete resignation of all personal thought. Individual character weighed far more in the final choice than anything else whatever. Had Mr. Gladstone entered the Church, as it has been said was once his intention, there is every probability that he would have been influenced by the circumstances of his position, as all richly-endowed minds are, and would have had but small chance of escaping from the fate which has led so many imaginative men out of it. But, fortunately for himself and for England, the free intercourse of public life, and the large practical interests which have occupied his mind ever since the commencement of his parliamentary career, have, as we think is plainly shown by Mr. Masheder's quotations, liberated him from the conclusions which have been drawn by the school in which he was educated, conclusions drawn rather by moral persuasion, if not in-

timidation, than by any really logical process. To our mind, there is no such sound Liberalism as that which is the result of a reaction against the Church principles of twenty years since, and we look upon all who have overcome that dragon as possessing something of the invulnerability of the horny Siegfried.

As a party manifesto, we look upon Mr. Masheder's book as an utter failure, and think it far more calculated to serve than injure the object of his attack, for it gives the fairest grounds of confidence to many who, upon the single point it treats, still entertain doubts as to the direction of Mr. Gladstone's personal views on points connected with the Established Church.

The great experiment upon which so much labour and thought has been bestowed, "how far Irish Roman Catholics and Protestants could proceed together with perfect unanimity, in introducing scriptural light among the population generally," after maintaining itself for more than thirty years by every imaginable compromise, is now threatened with an attack upon its fundamental principles which it will with great difficulty resist. The difficulties of a neutral system of education offered to the most violent partisans are too great for any human ingenuity; the more enlarged and liberal the education, the greater these difficulties become.

It might have been supposed that a system which met with the support of two such men as the late Archbishops Whately and Murray must be in its ultimate character irreproachable. But no! in religion, as well as in other things, we pride ourselves more upon some paltry distinctions from our fellows, than upon the common humanity which comprehends them; any trifling speciality seems more important to its possessor than all the generic qualities he has in common with his kind. The appeal which Mr. Butt makes,* in a very clear review of the history of the Irish national system, to the principles of complete liberty of teaching, is not easily answered on any grounds that do not assume the Irish people to be in a state of tutelage. We must be content to accept, what appears to us an evil, at the hands of our general principles, as well as the good by which they recommend themselves to our convictions. For a whole generation we have tried to bribe the Irish nation to be tolerant; but the moral virtues are not purchaseable, and we now find the bribe claimed as a right, and the toleration refused as absolutely as ever. The virtue we have not been able to purchase we are ourselves called upon to exercise without fee or reward, and it is difficult to discover direct arguments by which we can excuse ourselves. All collateral arguments drawn from the anticipated consequences of supporting the kind of education which will be given in unrestrained Roman Catholic schools, partake too much of the character of foregone conclusions to be valid and admissible; in spite of the different circumstances of the two countries, it is impossible to found on them a refusal to Ireland of a freedom enjoyed by every form

* "Reflections and Proposals on the Subject of Irish National Education." By Isaac Butt. Dublin: W. B. Kelly. 1865.

of religious confession in England. This is a position from which it is impossible to drive the advocates of sectarian education in Ireland; but if the Irish National Board is to be accommodated in all respects to the English educational system, we hope that the Irish Catholics are fully prepared to accept the sound principle that they must earn the national subsidy by "results" which have no connexion with the principles for which they are at present contending with a considerable prospect of success.

The necessity of explaining the Sepoy revolt has induced both Mr. Kaye and Mr. Arnold to look out for a cause as extensive as the lamentable event they had to explain; this has led them to subject Lord Dalhousie's administration to a closeness of criticism which might afford a cumulative reason for an event which, we think, is sufficiently explained by a far simpler cause. This course has naturally called forth replies from those who knew the incriminated nobleman, and among them the recent volume of Sir Charles Jackson^a deserves an attentive study. The violent attacks of Major Bell, and the strong language he uses in condemnation of the general policy of annexation, are too extreme to carry with them any judicial weight; but the supposably calmer inquiries of the other two gentlemen called loudly for such a vindication as Sir Charles Jackson attempts. We think that an attentive consideration of his remarks will go far to exonerate the memory of his friend from the gravity of the accusations which have been brought against him. None but those who are wedded to theories connected with the dynastic interests of dependent princes and rajahs can fail to be influenced by his clear statements. That we must conquer India by our arms, as our fathers did by their arms, if we wish to hold it as a peaceable possession, is the only conclusion to which any reasonable person can come. Whether the maintenance of particular native families will contribute to our security in the interval which must elapse before that desirable consummation is brought about, is a very large question, which has never been fully argued, except by those who have taken it up with a foregone conclusion. We are not without our fears that we have committed ourselves by Lord Canning's celebrated proclamation to a policy that will be most difficult to sustain; the whole history of our past relations with the native princes is full of warnings which threaten its permanency.

The cry of India for the Indians, or the more moderate form in which it is stated that we must govern the peninsula for the benefit of its inhabitants, by no means implies that we are to support in every case, and under every circumstance, the existing executive power of the native princes; indeed it may be argued that it is incompatible with such a course. A free and open career for native ability is the one thing needful, and we are likely to be in need of it for a long time to come, both on account of English prejudices and native shortcomings. These

are the things to be overcome by every educative influence which can be brought to bear upon them. It is useless to fall back upon the native character as utterly unworthy of trust in the higher departments of executive government.

The much-maligned commercial community of Calcutta has shown that it can educate natives to a point of mercantile honour and good faith which will bear, in very many cases, the closest comparison with English probity. A permanent native interest in the English supremacy must strike deeper and wider roots than there is room for under the musnuds of Indian princes and petty rajahs.

Until we thoroughly set ourselves to work on the native character, we cannot expect any good and lasting sympathy to grow up between the ruling power and those it governs by means and on principles in which they have so little share. But to return to Sir Charles Jackson, who is concerned with a much more restricted question. In his pages, the other side of the shield is held up in the cases of Nagpore, Sattarah, Bajee Rao, and the Bhonsla fund, Tanjore, and Azeem Jah, while, on the crowning fact of Oude, Lord Dalhousie is shown as acting under orders which he loyally carried out against his own expressed opinion. In fact, we are almost led to the conclusion that had it been possible for the great Governor-General to have ruled in India for another eight years, and to have ruled with an unfettered power, the measures he advocated in vain would have rendered the mutiny impossible, in spite of any predilection he may have entertained for the native army—a feeling in his time shared by too many to justify any peculiar blame that subsequent events have induced so many to heap upon his shoulders.

Another book on Indian affairs,^b which gives the whole history of our connexion with the native court at Hyderabad, goes far to support the views we have just indicated. Our faithfully the Nizam would probably have been far from so staunch in his adherence to our alliance had he not, during the eventful period of the mutiny, been fortified by the advice of a really superior minister in the person of Salar Jung, who, with an intelligence and honesty that may some time or other be less exceptional, kept his immediate superior free from the temptations which beset so many other native princes. The relations between this faithful servant and his lord are of themselves sufficient to show of what stuff even the most trustworthy of our Indian allies are made, and how little is to be hoped from a race of men brought up in the seclusion of an oriental family, even when they are possessed of the remarkable personal vigour of the present ruler of the Deccan. The incidental remarks which are made by Captain Fraser give no force to the accusations which are brought against Lord Dalhousie, but rather support the general judgment of the skill and care with which he selected his executive officers,

^a "Vindication of the Marquis of Dalhousie's Indian Administration." By Sir C. Jackson. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

^b "Our Faithful Ally the Nizam." By Captain Hastings Fraser, Madras Staff Corps. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

and the remarkable courage and constancy with which he sustained their authority. The exploits of the Hyderabad Contingent, with which the author served during the suppression of the mutiny, are related *con amore*, while the advantages which he enjoyed from his father having been for many years political resident at the Court of the Nizam, give a certain authority to his general narrative.

Prefaced by a rapid and able summary of the state of education in the various countries of Europe, Mr. Staunton^{*} has gathered together a complete account of the management and resources of the great public schools of England. Anyone who may wish to compare the routine of education, and the expense attendant on it, at any of these great establishments, has in this volume, ready to his hand, what could not otherwise be arrived at without an extended research. Though an ardent admirer of these ancient seats of education, Mr. Staunton does not allow himself to be carried away by their associations into an unqualified panegyric, but lays the report of the late commission on these schools before his reader, for the most part heartily endorsing all the recommendations it contains. The chief, and we fear ineradicable, defect of these establishments is, that monastic and clerical element which can hardly be eradicated without great risk of pulling up much good as well as evil. This feature, and their great expense, will for a long time secure a conservative education for the bulk of the more wealthy part of the nation. Even when an endeavour is made to obviate the latter of these difficulties in the way of the great mass of the middle class, old associations give an advantage to clergymen as masters which, it is to be hoped, a new class of educated laymen will soon successfully dispute with them. There is no danger of our moving too fast in this direction, for we may be sure that English prejudices on this point will only be overcome by genuine performance of what is one of the most difficult of duties, but which is also, we are glad to think, fast becoming one of the most honourable employments.

A series of papers reprinted from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, called *Sketches from Cambridge*,[†] gives a very clear and vivid picture of life at that university. They are coloured by a peculiar humour, of which the key-note is struck in the first few lines. "The world may be divided into two classes—of those who have and those who have not received a university education. With regard to the latter—they, too, are God's creatures." This is certainly donnish, but though the author is unquestionably intimate with the society he paints, we entertain our doubts whether he does not in some degree overdo the character he assumes. There is a certain tone of calm cynicism which we do not think would be willingly paraded by the genuine Don. However this may be, he is

unquestionably amusing, and describes the various types of undergraduate and the characteristic features of university authorities with a penetration and a humour that loses none of its pungency on account of its general kindness. The customary pictures of college life are usually drawn from the student's point of view, and it was certainly an original idea to exchange it for that of a tutor bored by his duties, but highly appreciating the advantages of his position. The author does not cultivate the usual good stories of pluck questions and answers, but has some very amusing instances of them, and a theory of their production which bears too much the aspect of truth to be very encouraging to *paterfamilias*. The rest of God's creatures who have foregone the advantages of a university education may draw considerable comfort from his pictures of its average result.

Another collection of sketches from the same paper, by Anthony Trollope, is devoted to hunting,[‡] and gives, after his manner, an account of the different kinds of persons who are found in an average field. The man who likes it, and the man who don't, the hunting parson, farmer, and lady who rides to hounds, are all described in that facile style to which Mr. Trollope owes so much of his popularity, the chief feature of which is the undeniable talent with which he makes gossip inoffensive. Decidedly inferior in grasp to the sketches just noticed, they can offend no one; the standard to which they appeal is that universally received one of average good sense and general respectability of sentiment which is exactly suited to the large circle of readers for which the author so assiduously labours. The pros and cons of conventional propriety were never better handled than by Mr. Trollope, and where they are not wearisome are sure to be highly attractive. In these slight sketches, as well as in his novels, the author knows his subject, and his directions, "how to ride to hounds," give just that degree of practical advice which will save many of his readers from failure and annoyance, as well as judicious warnings against some bad habits which are but too easily acquired in the scenes he describes.

Among books which treat of the condition of women, of their means of independent livelihood, or of the influence they exercise on society, so many are vitiated by peculiar theories of their position in relation to men, or are substantially protests in favour of some imaginary state of society, that a book which is entitled "Essays on Woman's Work"[§] will meet with but little attention. But if those who have been annoyed by unpractical disquisition on the subject, will for one moment lay aside prejudices, which are not indeed without some foundation, but which are usually much stronger than are justifiable, and turn to a little volume by Miss Parkes with that title, they will find that in this instance at least the writer's feel-

* "The Great Schools of England." By Howard Staunton. London: Sampson Low, Sons, and Co. 1865.

† "Sketches from Cambridge by a Don." London: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

‡ "Hunting Sketches." By A. Trollope. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

§ "Essays on Woman's Work." By B. R. Parkes. London: A. Strahan. 1865.

ings do not get the better of her judgment, nor her heart run away with her head. A more temperate and, within its limits, a more full discussion, not of women's rights but of their present position, it is impossible to imagine. Miss Parkes has no theory to thrust upon her readers, and is wedded to no foregone conclusion, but she has given a long and attentive consideration to the question she writes upon, and is as fully informed of the real facts of the case as anyone in England. It is from these facts that she endeavours to extract that better wisdom which every one desires; it is an existing evil that she attempts to redress by calling attention to the shape it really assumes. As she most justly points out, the question of female labour has been settled already in the lower orders, or with two-thirds of the population; there is no hesitation with those classes who look to factory employment or domestic service, about the position which their daughters shall assume in life; while with the upper class, by which she means those who have an assured means of life, some sort of provision is absolutely demanded by the moral feelings of those who compose it. Substantially the question of female employment is concerned at present with three-thirteenths only of the population who ape the manners of the upper classes, while they are, in the great majority of cases, quite unable to make a provision for the female members of their families, whom they bring up with tastes and prejudices that are utterly unsuited to any but those whose means of life are beyond doubt, and are but a poor provision for happiness even when that is the case. Miss Parkes then gives a full account of all the really practical plans which have been set on foot for improving the education and extending the sphere of usefulness of unoccupied women, and offers to all who are in search of it the most valuable advice. The good feeling and temperate judgment of these essays ought to recommend them to a much larger circle of readers than that which is commonly interested in books on this subject.

The more general question of master and workman has been treated by Dr. Blaikie¹⁰ in a very different spirit. His review of the improved relations between employers and employed is little better than a pulpit moralizing on facts which have grown out of the necessity of the case under the fostering care of much more practical men. His book bears about the same relation to the various endeavours which have been made and are still making, all over the country, to improve the habits and condition of the working classes, that Dr. Trussler's "Hogarth Moralized" does to the healthy and manly morality of the artist. We look in vain through his volume for any practical suggestion to which he can lay a personal claim; but find abundant professional "improvement" of the efforts of other men. Even the copious collection of facts in almost every field of labour is marred, to our taste, by frequent inac-

curacies of statement in details, and by a prevailing tone of religious sentimentality that but ill represents the earnestness of the various efforts he distorts in describing.

Mr. Marras' essay on the secret fraternities of the Middle Ages, which gained the Arnold prize of the present year at Oxford, not only treats of the subject named on its title page, but also of secret societies in general.¹¹ The little that is positively known, and the affected filiation of modern masonry on the earliest secret societies of which there is any notice, sharpen curiosity, and often give a fictitious interest to very unsubstantial conclusions. Though a very rapid survey, Mr. Marras' essay contains all that is really worth knowing. Secret and mysterious fraternities afford much better material for poetry than history. The most vital and efficient of them were but natural protests against an intolerable condition of society like that which gave birth to the Westphalian Vehmgericht, which maintained its enormous power only so long as the conditions which called it into existence lasted. The assumed connexion between the Assassins and the Templars, who, after all, can hardly be called a secret society, and the presence of Gnostic doctrine with some fragmentary remains of their symbolism among the Rosicrucians, Illuminati, and Freemasons, is traceable to no more positive source than the desire for that importance which is always attached to mystery. The refuge which justice and free thought have at times found in the bosom of these societies was never a permanent one; sooner or later all secret associations become corrupted and perish by the inevitable introduction of members who abuse the mutual confidence to personal and evil purposes. Where thought has no public shackles and justice is open to all, a secret society—if it aims at anything more than mutual mystification in its doctrines, or benevolent and social purposes in its action—soon perishes for want of sustenance. The extended history of such secret associations among the Egyptians and Greeks in their religious mysteries, as among the ancient Persians, Christians, and Mahometans, is always found to contain some account of immoral practices or other perversions which have been their destruction as soon as a free and wholesome public life has supplied that protection of which the weak must always stand in need.

In two very handsome volumes Mr. Newton has gathered together his correspondence while engaged in his researches in the Levant.¹² They not only contain a more popular account of his great discoveries at Budrum, but give the particulars of his visits to Rhodes, Branchida, and the various islands within the circle of his consulship at Mytilene. The history of his prolonged negotiations with the Turkish proprietors of the ground he wished to excavate at

¹⁰ "Heads and Hands in the World of Labour." By W. G. Blaikie, D.D., F.R.S.E. London: A. Strahan. 1865.

¹¹ "The Secret Societies of the Middle Ages." By A. P. Marras, B.A. London: Rivingtons. 1865.

¹² "Travels and Discoveries in the Levant." By C. T. Newton, M.A., Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. London: Day and Son. 1865.

Halicarnassus gives a fresh and very characteristically dramatic interest to his narrative. All the sculptures recovered from the mausoleum are engraved in these volumes with singular fidelity and beauty, the drawings preserving the tone and style of art displayed in the originals with a skill that is highly remarkable; this is particularly the case with those by Mrs. Newton. The value of these remains can hardly be exaggerated. The strange good fortune by which Mr. Newton has in some cases recovered fragments in the course of his excavations that have fitted to the broken limbs of bas-reliefs which had been removed from Budrum four hundred years ago, affords a striking instance of the most appropriate reward to so much labour and patience. One of the most noteworthy features of these sculptures is the marked decadence which they betray when compared with the works of the Parthenon, completed only eighty-five years before them. But, though in style very inferior, they have a quasi-domestic interest that gives them a peculiar value. They also illustrate in a very striking manner the freedom with which the Ionian artists treated natural objects, and the principles of characteristic selection on which they worked. It will hardly be denied that these principles are often carried to a vicious extent. The lions stand with claws protruded as no living lions ever stood. This is, no doubt, the result of a doctrine which inculcated a full development of the most striking peculiarities of the object treated; but it at the same time gives evidence that the doctrine had already become a dead rule, and was no longer animated by that profound judgment in execution which accompanied its first enunciation. The human figures of the frieze, too, have a violence of attitude and almost operatic elegance which contrast disadvantageously with the noble calm of the corresponding sculptures in the Parthenon. On the whole, we are almost tempted to think that the ancient renown of this celebrated monument reposed as much upon the lavish expenditure bestowed upon its construction as upon any very elevated beauty. We are accustomed to suppose the Greeks too artistic to have been betrayed in their judgment by so vulgar a standard; but we have here, in our opinion, some trace of a general human weakness which they shared in common with a less cultivated posterity. From the mode in which these volumes are put together we reap the advantage of many excellent reflections on the effects of our consular system in the East, and gather not a few interesting particulars of modern Turkish life which will make them welcome to those persons, if such there be, who take but a small interest in their antiquarian contents.

Mr. Hutchinson very properly calls his volume on Buenos Ayres and the Argentine Republic, "Gleanings,"¹³ for there is very little coherence and arrangement, except such as is afforded by the routes he followed in his journeys through the country. The result is a

mass of hasty sketches that would be almost useless to anyone who had not previously paid some attention to the history of the country; this can fortunately be done in the book lately published by M. Santiago Arcos, which we noticed in a late number of this Review. A fair notion, however, of the semi-savagery of the country is well given in his pages, and though in the last degree desultory, we are inclined to think that the results at which the author arrives are reliable and trustworthy. The object of his most extended journey up the valley of the Salado, was to ascertain the capabilities of the district as a field for the production of cotton, and to determine the truth of a report that the plant was indigenous. The conclusion to which he comes, in which he was supported by the opinions of the most well-informed natives was, that if England were prepared to send out seed, capital, and labour, an indefinite amount of the desired commodity could be raised in the province of Santa Fé. This conclusion is more reasonable than encouraging; had there been room for any other, the strange inroad of the Paraguayans, and the disturbed state of the country, would have been fatal to any extended enterprise in this direction. The statistical summaries and general reports on trade and emigration will be found valuable, and the remarks on the latter subject are worthy of attentive consideration.

Under the title of "East and West," Mr. Stefanos Xenos gives a history from the Greek point of view, of the annexation of the Ionian Islands to the kingdom of Greece.¹⁴ He is far from thinking that the mouth of a gift horse should not be too closely examined, and leaves untouched none of those features of the cession, which were forced upon England by the co-signatories of the treaties of 1815, and which were very naturally far from pleasing to his countrymen. There is an amusing contrast throughout the volume between the reasons he gives for Greek attachment to England, and the ground to which he appeals when England is to be induced to reward that attachment with more solid recompenses. To the Greeks, he speaks of the commercial advantages which they must and do draw from a cordial union with this country; to the English, he expatiates upon the ancient glories of the land, and declaims on the "great idea" that the Greeks are the natural inheritors of the Byzantine empire. He very unblushingly shows, that if heirs, they are ready with immediate homage to any one who may appear as executor to the present possessor of the assumed heritage. There is something utterly absurd in a political writer dwelling on the effect produced on the minds of Candiotes by the remains of Gnosus, Apollonia, Rithymna, Cydonia, Amphimalia, and of many other beautiful towns of the kingdom of Minos (!), remains which they do not know by name, and which only the most patient and learned research enables a modern traveller to recognise. This

¹³ "Buenos Ayres and Argentine Gleanings." By Thomas J. Hutchinson, H.B.M. Consul for Rosario, Santa Fé. London: E. Stanford. 1865.

¹⁴ "East and West." By Stefanos Xenos. London: Trübner and Co. 1865.

kind of rhetoric does harm to any conclusions it is used to support. That English influence should be used to retard instead of to accelerate the expected dissolution of the Turkish power in the East, is the chief and almost only burthen of M. Xenos' complaints. Had his compatriots cared as much for the great idea as for the more enticing and immediate rewards of commercial enterprise, the last thirty years might have brought them far nearer to the realization of that splendid dream; their attitude during the Crimean War, however easily explainable to a Greek public, is full of suggestions as to what kind of gratitude England would meet with, even could she be persuaded to enter on a crusade for their advantage. There is an absurd mixture of coaxing and bullying about the whole of this narrative, either of which is equally out of place. Two-thirds of the volume are filled with the principal treaties, conventions, and protocols concerning the Ionian Islands and Greece, concluded between 1797 and 1864; these at least give it some value as a book of reference to their contents.

In an essay on the condition of Servia and other states to the north of Greece, edited by Dr. Sandwith,¹⁴ we find no notice of an answering desire on the part of the Slavonian population for a union with that kingdom which M. Xenos assumes as a matter of course. An equal impatience of Turkish supremacy leads rather to a desire for direct independence than for an union with the more southerly provinces. The present condition of Servia and Bulgaria is very well described by the authors, two English ladies, who have for some time resided in and travelled through these countries; but they notice no tendency towards a common union among the European tributaries to the Turkish empire. Sympathies with France or England grounded on hopes and expectations they found on either, are the chief features of their foreign politics. If any fresh justification were needed for the waiting attitude of English policy in the East, it would be abundantly found in the discord and contradictions which reign supreme on every branch of the Eastern question. Scarce two observers agree, and every one seems rather governed by chance predilections than by a well-grounded insight into the condition of the country.

If it were not for its affectations and attitudinizing style, Mr. Dixon's *Holy Land*¹⁵ would be a useful book. His object is to be picturesque, and he certainly possesses considerable powers of vivid description. He sets aside all criticism of the Gospel history, and accepts the Scripture narrative in the simplest shape, endeavouring, and not without a large degree of success, to fill it up with the civil history of the times, and to supply a frame-

work of Roman and Jewish life among the events of which the days of Christ were spent. The result, however, though orthodox in form, is quite otherwise in the impression it will leave on most readers, and we think that a certain sentimental and affectionate familiarity of tone which closely approaches an offensive flippancy will jar on the feelings of many who put forth no very high pretensions to any kind of orthodoxy. The affectation which leads him to say in his preface that these operose and elaborate descriptions were not intended to serve as chapters of a book, but merely as notes for a few fire-side friends, will make most people smile. If any one ever presented himself to the public more completely got up for the occasion, and more characteristically dressed out for that very purpose, we have not been so fortunate as to meet with his performance. The conception of the book is undoubtedly good; we wish we could say as much for the taste displayed in its execution.

In June, 1862, Viscount Milton and Dr. Cheadle undertook a most adventurous journey across the whole breadth of British North America, with a view of exploring a direct route to British Columbia by the Red River and the Saskatchewan, across one of the more northerly passes of the Rocky Mountains. The account¹⁷ which they give in common of their adventures forms one of the most interesting volumes of modern travel. They wintered in 1862 in the woods around La Belle Prairie, a station about 140 miles north-west of Fort St. George, and prepared themselves for the trials of their further journey by living like the natives, and relying for the most part on their guns for their subsistence. During this winter they had the fullest opportunity of studying Indian character, and their book abounds in genuine traits of savage life that supply even now one of the most complete views of the strange contrasts of which it is made up. The alternations between a rude abundance and imminent starvation in which such a race of hunters lives is not only described from hearsay, but shown in actual existence, together with the equally violent moral contrasts which such a life develops in the native character. The most heroic self-denial and control is found side by side with the most violent passions, a power of abstinence which seems to exceed the limits of human endurance, is associated with a ferocity of pursuit equally excessive where any trifling gratification is in view, a kind consideration for their families, which, without blows, extorts from their women and children an amount of patient labour and an implicitness of immediate obedience that admits of not a moment's question. These features of savage nature have hardly ever been so well brought before the English reader. There is no romance about their life; their virtues and their vices are extreme and momentary, looking neither before nor after, but

¹⁴ "Notes on the South Slavonian Countries in Austria and Turkey in Europe." Edited, with a Preface, by H. Sandwith, C.B., D.C.L. London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

¹⁵ "The Holy Land." By W. Hepworth Dixon. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

¹⁷ "The North-West Passage by Land." By Viscount Milton, F.R.G.S., F.G.S., &c., and W. B. Cheadle, M.A., M.D. Cantab., and F.R.G.S. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1865.

reaching heights and depths of each which civilization happily renders impossible to the great majority of those who have enjoyed its advantages.

After breaking up from their winter quarters in the spring of 1863, they proceeded to Edmonton, on the Saskatchewan, to organize their party for its further journey. Here they engaged an Assiniboine hunter, with his wife and son, to act as guides through the passes of the Rocky Mountains; and here also they picked up a strange adventurer, an Irish classical tutor, who had been knocked about in all quarters of the world, and who was living on the charity of those around the station, in the hope of meeting with some party who would take him on to Columbia, where he hoped to turn his talents to some account. Among these talents woodcraft held no place, nor, in fact any of the qualities of self-help which go to its acquisition. His selfish refusal of all work, and his incessant discourses on how the work ought to be done by others, had caused him to be shaken off by all the different parties he had hitherto joined; but his forlorn position induced the authors to take him by the hand, and though he proved a sore burthen on their journey, he considerably lightens the account of it by the amusing contrast he constantly exhibited between his position and his powers. The contempt he aroused in the minds of the Indian guide and his family is evidently shared in by the authors; but they give it a good-humoured expression in spite of the trials to which he subjected them. After striking the Rocky Mountains at the water-shed of the Athabasca and Yellow Rivers, they found their further progress in a direct line utterly shut out by an impassable forest, and were forced to turn southward, following the track of a large party of Canadian emigrants who had made for the Thompson river, which runs down to join the Fraser at Lytton. On this route they suffered the greatest hardships; losing the track of their predecessors, who had taken to the swollen and dangerous stream, they were obliged to cut their way through a forest so encumbered with fallen timber that they frequently made only two miles a day. They had but one hatchet among them, having lost much of their accoutrement in crossing the swollen river. Their provisions became exhausted, and, after a month's wandering in these woods, so completely without food or the means of procuring any that they were obliged to kill and eat their half-starved horses, they at last fought their way safely out. But only the day before they came upon the open country they found the corpse of an Indian who had starved to death in these forests some time before, and which, dried up and without a head, was sitting over the ashes of a burnt-out fire. Some notion of the perils of this part of their journey will be gained from the following account of some emigrants who had shortly before attempted the same route:—

"A party, consisting of five Canadians—three brothers, named Rennie, and two others, Helstone and Wright—crossed later in the autumn, and ob-

tained canoes at the cache to descend the Fraser. The Shushwaps there had informed us that they had discovered the canoes lying bottom upwards, and their property strewn along the shore, below some rapids, and believed the whole party had been drowned. But three of their number met with a far more horrible fate than this. We now learnt that, in order to shoot the dangerous rapids with greater safety, they had lashed the two canoes together; but, in spite of this precaution, the boats were swamped. Two of the Rennies succeeded in reaching the shore, and the other three men a rock, in the middle of the stream. For two days and nights the latter remained exposed to the bitter cold of the commencing winter, without a morsel of food, before their companions were able to effect their release. A rope was at last passed to the rock, and the men hauled ashore, half dead with hunger and fearfully frostbitten. They were so helpless as to be quite unable to proceed farther; and the two Rennies, having cut a quantity of firewood, and given them almost the whole of their scanty stock of provisions, set out on foot to seek assistance at Fort George, which they calculated on reaching in six days; but they had underrated the distance. Their path lay through dense encumbered forests, and the snow had fallen to considerable depth before they reached the Fort, frostbitten and almost dead from hunger and exhaustion, after twenty-eight days' travelling. Indians were immediately sent out to the assistance of the unfortunate men left behind, but returned in a few days, declaring the snow was too deep for them to proceed. Other Indians, however, discovered the party some time afterwards. Helstone and Wright were still alive, but, maddened by hunger, had killed Rennie. When they were found, they had eaten all but his legs, which they held in their hands at the time. They were covered with blood, being engaged in tearing the raw flesh from the bones with their teeth. The Indians attempted to light a fire for them, when the two cannibals drew their revolvers, and looked so wild and savage, that the Indians fled and left them to their fate, not daring to return.

"The following spring, a party of miners, on their way to Peace River, were guided by Indians to the place where these men were seen by them. The bones of two were found piled in a heap; one skull had been split open by an axe, and many of the other bones showed the marks of teeth; the third was missing, but was afterwards discovered a few hundred yards from the camp. The skull had been cloven by an axe, and the clothes stripped from the body, which was little decomposed. The interpretation of these signs could hardly be mistaken: the last survivor had killed his fellow-murderer and eaten him, as shown by the gnawed bones so carefully piled in a heap. He had in turn probably been murdered by Indians, for the principal part of the dead men's property was found in their possession."

On reaching New Westminster they made an excursion to the gold diggings at Richfield, on the Upper Fraser, which they had hoped to reach by a much more direct route, and give a very full and interesting account of the wild life among the miners. As a practical result of so much labour and toil, both Viscount Milton and Dr. Cheadle come to the conclusion that a direct route to the North Pacific through the gold regions of Columbia is so essentially practicable as only to be a question of time; while the large and fruitful districts on the banks of the Saskatchewan will supply all that can be necessary, not only for the support of the line of

travel, but for a large and prosperous population, so soon as its vegetable and animal resources are adequately utilized. This book of travel is as amusing as the most romantic fiction, and abounds with interesting anecdotes of the wild animals of North America with which the authors were obliged to make that intimate acquaintance which results from depending on them for the means of life. We have never met with so impressive a picture of the desolation of a virgin forest, and agree most heartily with the epigraph on the title from "As You Like It," where Touchstone says, "If this is Arden, when I was at home I was in a better place."

Of Columbia and the neighbouring colony, Vancouver Island, an excellent account has been compiled by Mr. Macfie,¹⁸ who was a resident in Victoria during the difficulties with the Americans on the San Juan question, and who witnessed the first rush to the colony on the report of gold being discovered in the Fraser. It is so important to all who think of emigrating to these colonies to be able to form just notions both of what they may expect there and of the qualifications they should themselves possess, if they wish to avoid failure and distress, that a thorough review of the history, resources, and prospects of these colonies, like the present, is of the highest value; and to those who have no such thoughts, but find an interest in the study of the strange tumultuous fashion of modern colonization, Mr. Macfie's volume will prove a complete treasury of well-observed facts. The miscellaneous community which is now gathered together on the West coast of the Pacific is admirably described, and not without considerable sympathy with their avid ambition to become the connecting link between England and the East. It seems but a small thing to these colonists, warmed with the idea of such a future, to demand of the mother country a railway from Canada to Victoria. Colonies, like children, seem very often to suppose that it is the chief duty of their parents to spare them all the labour of the first difficult steps; but this claim of the Western colonies of British North America is perhaps as large and bold a one as ever colonists have yet made. Visions of the stream of commerce directing itself across the Pacific, and leaving the old route round the Cape, may indeed be prophetic, but, like many other prophecies, they will, if true, fulfil themselves when their time is fully come. It is not the less admirable that a small community, scarce twelve years old, should entertain such lofty notions of their future greatness, for these notions, too, bring about the grandeur dreamt of. At present, however, the practical thing is to know what can at once be done, and this is as little neglected by Mr. Macfie as the more enticing topics of colonial ambition. The best attainable returns of the productiveness of the various crops, of the wages rate, and of the mining prospects of these colonies, are brought together in his pages; while his graphic sketch of society in Vancouver Island and Columbia is

full of warning to the thoughtless and incompetent class which so much infests an infant colony, and abounds in curious and dramatic incidents. Of the perishing Indian population he has gathered with great judgment, while it is yet time, what can be ascertained of their habits and superstitions, and shows how the mere presence of a white community is gradually pushing them off the face of the earth. The author's colonial sympathies extend even to the adoption of colonial English, and many new words, which will some day flourish in our dictionaries, may be here found putting forth their claim to that distinction. On the whole, we do not think a better book on its subject is anywhere to be had.

In May, 1860, Capt. Hall,¹⁹ of the U.S. mercantile marine, who had long reflected on the possibility of ascertaining some trustworthy particulars of the fate of Franklin and his companions, started from New London, Connecticut, with the adventurous purpose of making an overland journey from Hudson's Straits to King William's Island. He purposed familiarizing himself with the Esquimaux, and, by acquiring their language and confidence, he hoped to gather from them a knowledge which he firmly persuaded himself some of them must possess. He was supported in his enterprise by Mr. Grinnell and some other equally devoted friends of arctic discovery. Having accepted a free passage in the whaling barque *George Henry*, he sailed for Northumberland Inlet, but unfortunately lost his boat and much of his equipment in a storm at the mouth of Frobisher's Straits in the following September. The main purpose of his voyage being thus frustrated, he devoted himself to the study of the locality to which he was fixed for the winter, and established the fact that the so-called straits are really a bay. He surveyed the whole coast line on each side, and on one of the islands in the bay discovered remains of Frobisher's expedition, being led to the spot by traditions among the Esquimaux. This, as corroborating the views with which he started, was as encouraging to himself as it must be interesting to everyone. It is certainly a remarkable circumstance that a tradition of the presence of white men in these latitudes should have been handed down among the wandering natives for 300 years, with a particularity which unquestionably connected it with Frobisher's expedition in 1578.

Many of the relics in question he sent, on his return in 1862, to England. The bulk of his present book is composed of a very detailed account of Esquimaux, or, as he prefers to call it, Innuît life. The *George Henry* being caught in the pack ice at the close of the season of 1861, Captain Hall was compelled to spend a second winter among them. When not travelling about the shores of the bay, he lived in the ice-houses or igloos of the natives, accommodating himself to their customs and diet, with a view of determining the possibility of a European sustaining life on the resources of the country. These are not inviting, and it is somewhat strange to

¹⁸ "Vancouver Island and British Columbia." By Matthew Macfie, F.R.G.S. London: Longman and Co. 1865.

¹⁹ "Life with the Esquimaux." By Captain Charles F. Hall. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co. 1865.

hear him expatiating on raw rein-deer fat and the uncooked blood and brains of a seal as appetizing delicacies that he would often have been but too glad to have had at his command. Tough whale-skin does not appear a very nourishing diet, and the general habit of dispensing with any kind of cooking or condiments does not seem pleasant; but Captain Hall assures us that these things are, after all, very unessential civilized luxuries. No European has had so full an opportunity of studying the character of the natives, but the personal friendships he formed among them (a couple returned with him to the United States) lead him to give the fairest representation of their peculiarities, while it is incidentally evident that they have all the generic qualities of semi-savages. Their amiability is a fair-weather good nature which will not withstand any great trial, and their whole life is exposed to such severe hardship, aggravated by the thoughtlessness of all races in similar circumstances, that it is not surprising to find them abandoning their sick to die alone, immured in an ice house, as soon as their feeble remedies have been exhausted and there is nothing left but a burthen which they can shake off. They are generous in plenty, but often savagely and capriciously cruel. The numerous well-authenticated instances of their plundering and killing shipwrecked Europeans seem to exercise no influence on Captain Hall's judgment of them, for he started on another expedition in June, 1864, in the hope of yet being able to solve the sad riddle which has taken so strong a hold on his imagination. It is much to be regretted that some experienced friend had not expunged a great mass of moralizing reflections and jejune remarks which encumber the pages of this most interesting book, and enormously detract from the pleasure which the strangeness and novelty of the life it brings before us would otherwise give to every reader.

SCIENCE.

In his account of the state of science in 1865, M. V. Meunier takes a much narrower field than M. L. Figuier in his "*Année Scientifique*," confining his attention for the most part to subjects more or less connected with biology; and having little to say except upon French works or discoveries. In fact, from the general structure of the articles, as also from some statements which occur here and there in the book, they would seem to be reviews and essays contributed by the author to journals, and now given to the world in a separate form. M. Meunier evidently belongs to the advanced school of naturalists; he commences with an attack upon the foolish manifesto which was got up in this country about a year ago deprecating the pursuit of scientific investigations which might seem to invalidate

the statements of scripture, and in subsequent articles maintains the antiquity of man, the Darwinian theory of the origin of species, and even the doctrine of heterogeneity. Besides these and other essays on various departments of science, we find several vigorous articles charging certain leading French naturalists with gross favouritism in their recommendations of candidates for vacant chairs of Natural History. The whole of the articles are written with much spirit, and the book will well repay perusal.

Dr. Fliedner's "*Problems in Physics*,"¹ of which a third enlarged edition has recently appeared, furnishes a large series of most useful questions for solution by the student, in all departments of pure physics and mechanics. The present edition contains two new sections, one consisting of problems relating to the theory of heat, the other of chemical questions. The little volume concludes with an elaborate series of tables containing the empirical data necessary for working out the problems.

In a large, handsome, and profusely illustrated volume, bearing the fanciful title of "*Astra Castra*,"² Mr. C. H. Turnor has published a very elaborate history of aeronautics from the earliest periods to the present time; indeed he may be said to carry his researches considerably beyond the domain of history, for in his second chapter, which relates chiefly to the "normal clairvoyance" of poets' imagination, he cites long passages from the ancient poets descriptive of the little misadventures which, according to those authorities, befel Phaëton and Icarus, the deeds of Bellerophon on Pegasus, and others, which, from their having some reference to aerial locomotion, serve to indicate the prevalence of a wish for the power of flight at all periods of the history of mankind. The general notions of the means by which this desirable result might be attained, as late as the Middle Ages, at any rate, seem to have been more or less in accordance with those of the draughtsmen of the woodcut on p. 27 of this volume, where we find a representation of a "Witch riding on the Devil through the Air." The earlier plans proposed for ascending in the air by mechanical means were hardly more practicable than those in which the devil was concerned,—such as flying chariots, light vehicles with birds harnessed to them, and finally the attachment of wings to the human body, a notion as old as the story of Icarus, and which came down nearly to our own day. The idea of a balloon seems first to have occurred to Roger Bacon; but, as his proposed balloons were copper balls, any experiments he may have made could hardly have been successful. These copper balloons crop up again during the seventeenth century, but it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth that the experiments of the brothers Montgolfier demonstrated the possibility of aeronautic expeditions. The account of these first

¹ "*La Science et les Savants en 1865*." Deuxième année, premier semestre. Par Victor Meunier. 12mo. Paris: G. Baillière. 1865.

² "*Aufgaben aus der Physik, nebst einem Anhang, physikalische Tabellen enthaltend*." Von Dr. C. Fliedner. 8vo. Brunswick: Vieweg. 1865.

³ "*Astra Castra; Experiments and Adventures in the Atmosphere*." By Hatton Turnor. 4to. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

ascents forms the subject matter of Mr. Turnor's third chapter; and from this period his history of the doings of aeronauts is very copious; almost too much so, indeed, seeing that frequently many pages are occupied by reprints of newspaper reports. In fact Mr. Turnor seems to have determined to bring together every scrap that has been written in connexion with his subject; and although by this means he has undoubtedly increased the bulk of his book more than was absolutely necessary, there are certainly considerable advantages in this monographic mode of treatment. After the completion of his history of balloons and ballooning, including Mr. Glaisher's ascents of last year, Mr. Turnor proceeds to the consideration of the means of directing the course of balloons and other aerial vehicles, such as the "Aerial Machine" of Mr. Henson, which attracted so much attention about twenty years ago, and the numerous combinations of balloons with locomotive powers, which have been suggested at various times. Many of these are sufficiently curious, but none of them give much promise of success. Upon all branches of aerostation, our author has collected a great fund of information, most of which is interesting, and many of the anecdotes interspersed with it exceedingly amusing; but we cannot understand what has led him to conclude his appendix with a piece of rhapsodical pietistic writing having no apparent connexion with the subject of his book. The introduction of the translation of Enoch and the ascension of Christ into a book on aeronautics, is, to say the least of it, in bad taste. The illustrations are partly woodcuts and partly photozincographic copies of old plates: most of them are curious and interesting.

Mr. Kilgour has published a small pamphlet with the object of showing that nitrogen is only carbonic oxide in an allotropic state.⁴ He founds his opinion on the facts that the two bodies possess the same atomic weight and combining volume, and nearly the same specific gravity, and indicates certain other properties which are equally characteristic of both of them. However possible it may be that many of the supposed elements of modern chemistry will hereafter prove to be either compounds or peculiar forms of other bodies, chemists will certainly require more positive evidence than any adduced by our author, before admitting the identity of two apparently distinct substances.

The second edition of Mr. Fairbairn's work on the manufacture of iron⁵ has been improved by the introduction of numerous details upon matters connected with that department of industry which have come into notice chiefly within the last few years. It contains an elaborate description of Mr. Bessemer's process for the production of steel, which promises to effect an

important revolution in the iron manufacture. The author likewise has a chapter on the manufacture and properties of armour plates for casing ships of war; and the metallurgical portion has been improved by frequent references to Dr. Percy's researches on the metallurgy of iron. In its present form Mr. Fairbairn's work forms an excellent handbook of the iron manufacture.

The eighth part of Mr. Colburn's "Locomotive Engineering,"⁶ now before us, commences the detailed description of the structure of the locomotive engine and of the principles of its action. It is illustrated, like the preceding parts, with three large outline plates.

The first part of the second edition of Professor Quenstedt's "Manual of Palæontology,"⁷ which has recently appeared, is devoted to the consideration of the fossil vertebrata, and forms an admirable and very cheap summary of our knowledge of those objects. After a brief sketch of the history of palæontology, the author gives an equally condensed but hardly equally satisfactory sketch of the different formations recognised by geologists, and a table of the classes of animals, and then proceeds to the description of the characters of the fossils belonging to the vertebrate subkingdom, precluding each great group with a sufficient amount of information on its comparative anatomy to render his work a complete handbook in itself. The present part includes, besides the vertebrata, the commencement of the crustacea. The illustrations consist of numerous tolerably-executed woodcuts printed with the text, and twenty-four lithographed plates, which, although sometimes rather rough, will serve all the purposes of the student.

There is no department of Geology more interesting to the student or more attractive to the general reader than that which treats of the means by which the present features presented by the surface of the earth have been produced; at the same time there is none more environed with difficulties. In his book on "Scottish Scenery,"⁸ Mr. Geikie has laboured, and in general successfully, to indicate the succession of processes by which the wild and varied scenery of his native country has acquired its present aspect, at the same time furnishing an instructive lesson on the general agencies by which geological changes are brought about. He traces the operation of marine denudation in the production of an undulating plateau, from which the mountains and valleys have been subsequently carved out by the long continuance of subaerial agencies; he describes the probable condition of the country during the glacial period, and the effects of alternate movements of upheaval and depression, and

⁴ "Nitrogen shown to be Carbonic Oxide in an Allotropic State." By Henry Kilgour. 8vo. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1865.

⁵ "Iron: its History, Properties, and Processes of Manufacture." By William Fairbairn, C.E., LL.D., F.R.S., &c. New edition. 8vo. Edinburgh: Black. 1865.

⁶ "Locomotive Engineering and the Mechanism of Railways," &c. By Zerah Colburn. Part VIII. 4to. London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow: Collins.

⁷ "Handbuch der Petrefaktenkunde." Von Friedr. Aug. Quenstedt. Erste Lieferung. 8vo. Tübingen: Laupp. 1865.

⁸ "The Scenery of Scotland viewed in Connexion with its Physical Geology." By Archibald Geikie, F.R.S. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1865.

shows how, by the successive action of these various forces, the existing state of things has been produced. The most important ice-action is ascribed by Mr. Geikie to glaciers, in opposition to the views of Mr. Campbell, who attributes greater efficiency to the action of floating icebergs. This work will be read with much pleasure by visitors to Scotland, and will greatly enhance the interest of their residence among its hills and valleys, especially as it is illustrated with an excellent revised geological map of the country, and with numerous sketches of characteristic pieces of scenery by the author.

It has long been known that certain caverns in various mountain ranges of Europe contain ice throughout the summer, and thus some of them serve as natural ice-cellars for the inhabitants of their vicinity. But it has been reserved for Mr. G. F. Browne to enter upon the investigation of these curious caves with something of the same enthusiasm which impels the members of the Alpine Club to risk their necks continually in the effort to scale inaccessible icy peaks, and his ardour of exploration seems to have been rewarded by the sight of some exceedingly interesting spectacles. His book lately published on the "Ice-Caves of France and Switzerland" contains a description of several of these caverns, locally denominated *glacières*, which he succeeded in investigating, not without sufficient difficulty to give a zest to his proceedings; for although the examination of the ice-caves is not attended with any of those grand perils which environ those who venture upon an Alpine glacier, there is, nevertheless, some chance of gliding away—no one knows whither—upon the slippery, sloping floor; and as most of them are situated in out-of-the-way districts, the hardships which the traveller has to undergo in the matter of hotel accommodation, are obstacles, although perhaps ridiculous ones, in his way. The ice-caves examined by Mr. Browne are for the most part situated in the chain of the Jura: they consist of caverns of various sizes and forms, situated at a depth of from 50 to 200 feet beneath the surface, and communicating with the outer world by one or more passages, which are sometimes perpendicular shafts, and always present a very steep incline. The cavern itself frequently gives origin to branches extending far into the rock, or consists of several chambers at different elevations, through which the smooth ice-floor flows at various inclinations, sometimes producing the effect of a great waterfall, arrested by sudden frost in its subterranean channel. Stalagmitic columns, of great size and beauty, are also to be found in these caves, the spectacle presented by some of which, as described by our author, appears to be exceedingly beautiful. Mr. Browne found that the ice of these caverns exhibited a curious structure, being formed of prisms laid side by side perpendicular to the surface of the ice, a character which does not occur elsewhere in

ice. Mr. Browne adopts Deluc's theory of the formation and preservation of the ice in these caves, modified, however, by some observations of his own; he also gives a note of similar caverns in other districts not visited by him, and his personal experiences are described in so charming and racy a style that we fancy many of his readers will feel a desire to follow in his footsteps.

Professor Cotta's "Geology and History," translated by Mr. Noel, furnishes an excellent popular exposition of the present state of our knowledge on the subject of the antiquity of man. The author starts from the principle that no definite line can be drawn in nature between the domains of geology and history, and indicates that this is especially shown by the recent discoveries of the remains of pile-dwellings in Switzerland and elsewhere. He gives an interesting account of the evidence extant as to the condition and mode of life of the pile-dwellers, and describes the changes which have taken place in the scenes in which they resided since their singular habitations were finally deserted, probably not much before the Roman period. The other evidence in favour of the great antiquity of man, such as that furnished by the Danish peat-bogs and *kjökken-møddingar*, by the remains of ancient tribes found in France and elsewhere, by the co-existence of human remains in caverns with bones of extinct animals, and by the borings of Leonard Horner in the Nile Valley, are discussed by the author, who accepts, as the result of all these investigations, the necessity for carrying back the origin of the human genus to a distance of many thousand years. In the concluding portion of his memoir he discusses the Darwinian theory, which he considers to be rather supported than disproved by our available palæontological data, maintaining that if we can discover unmetamorphosed portions of the lowest metamorphic rocks, we shall probably find that the organic remains contained in them stand on a lower grade of development than those occurring in the lowest known fossiliferous rocks. In fact, he holds that from the Silurians upwards we have only about one half of the records before us, but the greater part of the rest have been unfortunately hopelessly destroyed. He therefore accepts the theory of evolution, and admits its application to man as well as to the rest of the animal creation. Mr. Noel's translation appears to be carefully executed, but we notice some misprints, due no doubt to an imperfect acquaintance with some details connected with the subject. Thus, many of the zoological names are misspelt, as for instance at p. 43, where the Great Auk figures as the "Penguin," with the Latin name "*Aleo impennis*." Again, at pp. 65 and 67, we find "*Lima*," instead of "*Lingula*," and on p. 44 we have 1200 years instead of 12,000 as the time required for the production of sixty feet of Nile mud.

* "Ice-Caves of France and Switzerland: a Narrative of Subterranean Exploration." By the Rev. G. F. Browne. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1865.

† "Geology and History: a Popular Exposition of all that is known of the Earth and its Inhabitants in Pre-historic Times." By Bernhard von Cotta. 12mo. London: Trübner. 1865.

In a pamphlet on this same subject,¹¹ Sir William Denison takes the opposite view, and endeavours to prove from the statistics of the increase of population that the Bible narrative gives quite sufficient time for the production of the human inhabitants of the earth. His main inference from the returns of population is "that population increases in a geometrical ratio, doubling its numbers in periods varying in different countries," and he takes the normal period under no disturbing influences at 25 years. Then assuming the population of the globe at 1073 millions, the number of years since Noah's flood at 4212, and the number of survivors of that catastrophe at 8, he finds the period of doubling to be 156 years. It is evident that the whole of this argument, as also the author's opposition to the views of Bunsen and others, rests upon the assumption of a uniform, or at all events uniformly continuous increase in the human population of the earth, whereas it seems rather to be subject to local oscillations dependent chiefly on states of civilization.

Professor Gastaldi of Turin has collected numerous notices of the discovery in Italy of remains of prehistoric man, and his memoir on this interesting subject has been translated by Mr. Chambers, and published by the Anthropological Society.¹² Objects belonging to the stone and bronze ages have been found in several parts of northern and central Italy; in some places evident traces of pile-dwellings are met with in a peculiar marly soil, richly impregnated with organic matter, and also on the borders of certain lakes, and some caverns have furnished bones and flint implements, the latter, at Chiampo, intermixed with bones of a large bear. At Finale a cavern was examined which contained human bones hacked and calcined, possibly indicating cannibalism among these early inhabitants of North Italy.

Dr. Daubeney, in his "Essay on the Trees of the Ancients,"¹³ finds another argument in favour of the antiquity of man, in the fact that almost all our fruit-trees appear to have been generally known from the very earliest historical periods. From the author's statement it appears that the number of species described by Pliny, Dioscorides, and Theophrastus, or referred to by other writers of antiquity, which can be positively identified with those of modern botanists, is very small, owing to the vagueness with which the ancient writers characterized the plants observed by them; so that, as a

general rule, we can only arrive at the genus to which a given plant probably belongs. Dr. Daubeney has availed himself of the materials already collected by Dr. Sibthorp, and of those published in various works both in France and Germany; but it must be confessed that, in too many cases, the discussion of all the extant evidence leads to no very definite conclusion.

The architecture of animals, the nature and mode of construction of the dwelling-places which they prepare either for their own shelter or for the protection of their young, may be regarded as one of the most curious and generally interesting branches of zoology, and in devoting his bulky volume, entitled "Homes without Hands,"¹⁴ to the elaboration of this subject, the Rev. J. G. Wood has certainly shown his judgment. He has also brought together a large amount of information, and communicated it in a readable form, so that, although his work can hardly lay claim to a scientific position, we may predict for it a wide-spread popularity. At the same time we find too evident traces of the hand of the book-maker in its pages, in the shape of diffuse writing, and the introduction of irrelevant statements and remarks, and a very considerable number of animals are referred to which have no business to appear in such a volume at all, such as the wood-boring beetles, the parasitic ichneumons, and above all the serpulæ, corals, and polyzoa! If the latter be admissible, we can see no reason for the exclusion of the whole of the shell-bearing mollusca.

At a time when many lives are being destroyed in England by diarrhœa, and when there are grave fears of the destructive advent of cholera itself, the publication of Dr. Chapman's pamphlet is very opportune.¹⁵ Having satisfied himself of the successful application of his new method of vaso-motor therapeutics to the treatment of diarrhœa and cholera, he has reprinted, with some important additions, from the "Medical Times and Gazette," an account of what he holds to be the proximate cause of these diseases, and the true method of their cure. The causes of diarrhœa he conceives to be—*heat, motion, nervous irritation, and mental emotion.*

Under the head of *diarrhœa originated by heat*, come the ordinary summer diarrhœa, and the premonitory diarrhœa of cholera; these maladies being essentially the same both in nature and origin, and the treatment of one the treatment of the other. The mode of causation of the diarrhœa of cholera he traces in the following order:—Owing to the stimulant effects of excessive external heat, and especially to the action of the different rays of the sun on the

¹¹ "An Attempt to Approximate to the Antiquity of Man by Induction from well-established Facts." By Sir Wm. Denison, K.C.B. 8vo. Madras: Higginbotham. 1865.

¹² "Lake Habitations and Prehistoric Remains in the Turbaries and Marl-beds of Northern and Central Italy." By Bartolomeo Gastaldi. Translated and edited by Charles Harcourt Chambers. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1865.

¹³ "Essay on the Trees and Shrubs of the Ancients: being the Substance of Four Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, &c." By O. Daubeney, M.D., F.R.S. 8vo. Oxford and London: Parker. 1865.

¹⁴ "Homes without Hands: being a Description of the Habitations of Animals, classed according to their Principle of Construction." By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., &c. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1865.

¹⁵ "Diarrhœa and Cholera: their Origin, Proximate Cause, and Cure, through the Agency of the Nervous System, by means of Ice." By John Chapman, M.D., &c. London: Trübner and Co. 1865.

back, there is produced a hyperæmia of those spinal nervous centres which directly govern the alimentary canal; the immediate consequences being,—(a) That a larger supply of nervous influence is sent to the blood-vessels through the vaso-motor nerves, whereby contraction of them takes place, and the supply of blood to the intestinal walls is partly cut off. "The bowels thus lose their wonted robustness, and so become, like a delicate lady with very little blood in her system, 'highly nervous,' and susceptible of being excited and thrown into excessive or convulsive activity by a stimulus which in their healthy condition would but slightly affect them." (b) That a copious exudation of mucus takes place in the intestinal canal, in like manner as it takes place when heat is artificially applied to the dorso-lumbar regions of the spinal cord, or as bronchial mucus is freely secreted in the first or dry stage of bronchitis when heat is applied between the scapulæ. (c) That with the hyperæmic state of the nervous centres there is an excessive exaltation of their excito-motor or reflex functions, so that they transmit a more than normal stimulating influence to the muscular fibres of the intestine.

"The association of these three conditions, viz., enfeeblement of the muscular wall of the intestine, preternatural exudation from its mucous membrane, and excessive muscular activity—all dependent, as I have shown them to be, upon hyperæmia of the nervous centres, constitutes the premonitory diarrhœa of cholera, and indeed, all those choleraic forms of intestinal flux known as the summer diarrhœa of temperate climates. I may add, that while the hypothesis here propounded accounts for all the phenomena of the maladies in question, it receives striking confirmation, not only from the experience which I have already had in treating cases by means of ice along the spine, but also from the fact that I have induced diarrhœa by applying heat to the dorso-lumbar region."

Of the *diarrhœa induced by motion*, that which frequently accompanies sea-sickness is an illustration. The abnormal impressions from the pelvic and abdominal viscera produce irritation of the spinal nervous centres, which is in turn followed by an unwonted afflux of blood, and consequent increase of their reflex functions; so that the condition of things is in reality closely analogous to that which in choleraic diarrhœa is induced by heat, and the effects upon the bowels are of the same kind, though less in intensity. In like manner when diarrhœa is induced by *nervous irritation*, or by *mental emotion*—of which latter mode of causation Dr. Chapman gives several instructive examples—though the *primary* cause is different, the *proximate* cause is the same—viz., hyperæmia of the spinal and sympathetic nervous centres which preside over the bowels, and especially of the superior and inferior mesenteric plexuses.

Such being the pathological condition of diarrhœa, it follows that the logical treatment of it is to exercise a sedative influence over the above-mentioned nervous centres by lessening the amount of blood in them. And, as a matter of fact, this can be done, as Dr. Chapman has

discovered, by the application of ice, in suitably-constructed bags, along the appropriate segments of the spinal cord, when, the cause being removed, the morbid intestinal actions will commonly soon cease.

"I freely recognise," Dr. Chapman adds, "that this method of treatment requires a long-continued trial before it can be regarded as an established curative agency of the high scientific order in which I confidently hope it will ultimately rank, and as yet my own experience in thus treating diarrhœa is comparatively slight. I have, however, as stated in my pamphlet on Sea-sickness, ascertained by experience that the diarrhœa which sometimes accompanies that malady is arrested by means of ice: this fact has been proved in several cases. I have also treated several cases of summer diarrhœa in like manner, and with like success; and the infantile diarrhœa occasioned by dentition can, as I have also experienced, be subdued with wonderful rapidity in the same way. In these cases this particular symptom of spinal irritation, diarrhœa, is not only subdued, but the restlessness, fretfulness, and general irritability of the little sufferer are simultaneously overcome. Soon after the ice is applied along the back the child usually goes fast asleep with the ice on, and when it awakes is refreshed and calm, the diarrhœa having quite ceased meanwhile."

As the author has in preparation a full exposition of his views concerning the origin, proximate cause, and rational treatment of cholera, he has contented himself on this occasion with a brief summary of the doctrines which he holds with regard to it. He maintains that the *primary* cause of cholera is, as a general rule, the excessive heat of hot climates and of temperate climates in summer; that its *proximate* cause is of precisely the same nature as, though more intense than, that of choleraic diarrhœa—viz., *an extreme hyperæmia of the spinal and sympathetic nervous centres*; that the general arterial contractions throughout the system, which are secondary results of this hyperæmia, induce the muscular debility, tremors, vertigo, coldness, and lividness of the body, as also the nausea, vomiting, cold sweats, and "rice-water stools;" that cholera is neither contagious nor infectious in any sense whatever, except through the depressing influence of fear; and lastly, and most important of all, that cholera may be completely averted, and when developed, cured, by the persistent application of the spinal ice-bag along the whole of the spine. Dr. Chapman gives full and exact directions with regard to the application of the ice-bag, and the cautions to be observed; and describes the *auxiliary remedies* which may be advantageously combined with its application in severe cases. Among these remedies are *not* to be included opium and alcoholic stimulants, which, so far from being of any benefit, are likely to prolong and intensify the disease, and to ensure the death of many who would otherwise recover.

"All influences—whether intellectual, moral, or physical—which tend to exalt the activity or susceptibility of the nervous system, increase its liability to derangement, and notably predispose it to those perverted actions called 'functional diseases,' of which, as I maintain, diarrhœa and cholera are

examples. It seems to me probable that among the physical agencies in question, opium, alcohol, coffee, and tea stand conspicuous; that the large amount of opium consumed in Eastern countries, and especially in India, creates in the nervous system a condition peculiarly favourable for the generation of cholera by the solar heat; that this condition, though in a lesser degree, is also induced by the free consumption of alcoholic fluids; and that the increase of cholera in Europe and America within the present century may be referred not only to the increased activity of the nervous system as expressed in the intense excitements, anxieties, and struggles incident to the present phase of civilization, but also to the free indulgence by the people in nervous stimulants of various kinds, including opium chewing, alcoholic drinks of all kinds, and, especially during the present century, to the daily consumption in large quantities of coffee and tea."

He concludes with the account of a severe case of cholera that was successfully treated by means of ice, though under peculiar difficulties.

"No witness," he adds, "of the effects of the ice in subduing the arterial spasms, on which the coldness and dark discoloration of the skin, especially of the face and hands, depended; in subduing the muscular contractions, which caused the pinched and sunken aspect of the countenance; in stopping those vigorous vermicular motions of the bowels which the patient described as like the wavy movement to and fro of a live object against the inner wall of the abdomen, and which resulted in the perilously rapid expulsion of their contents; in stopping the vomiting; and, above all, in dispelling, as if by magic, the remarkable anxiety which was evinced, and in quickly soothing the patient into refreshing sleep,—could fail to become convinced that at length we have gained possession of a weapon with which we may fight successfully the battle of life, even with that awful destroyer the mere report of whose invasion is the terror of nations."

A concise summary of all that is really known concerning chloroform and its effects, the conditions of its safe administration, and the means to be adopted when it does produce ill consequences, has for some time been felt as a want in medical literature. There has been much vague theorizing as to the nature of its action, and the manner in which it sometimes proves fatal; but it is truly remarkable how little has been done in the way of exact study of the effects of an agent which, though it has been of incalculable benefit to mankind, has already counted many victims. This want Mr. Sansom has, not without considerable success, endeavoured to supply.* He has aimed to combine the experience and teaching of different individuals into something like a consistent whole, and has added the results of his own observations and experience. By microscopical examination of the capillaries of the frog's foot, when chloroform had been administered to the animal by the mouth, he has found the effects of it, as of other anæsthetics, upon the circulation, to be, in the order of their sequence—first, an increase of

the flow of blood through the arterial system; secondly, a decided contraction of the arteries, the current maintaining its original force; thirdly, a sluggishness of the flow of blood in the capillaries, the corpuscles showing a tendency to aggregate and to choke many of the capillaries; and fourthly, dilatation of the artery, with an increasing sluggishness of the flow of blood that may pass to actual stasis. A state of anæsthesia does not then, as has been commonly thought, imply hyperæmia of the brain; but the quantity of blood in the vessels is diminished, as it is also now known to be in natural sleep. This has been actually seen in the case of a patient in America, who had suffered a fracture of the skull that exposed the brain: when he was fully under the influence of chloroform, the brain was remarkably pale, but its surface became florid and injected as the anæsthesia passed off. Impressed with these and other facts, Mr. Sansom argues somewhat confidently against those who believe that chloroform directly affects the nervous element through some elective affinity, maintaining that it acts directly upon the blood, and that it produces narcosis indirectly by virtue of a property which it shares with all other narcotics, of diminishing the power of the organic constituents of the blood to unite with oxygen and to give off carbonic acid. Herein we fear that the author exhibits either some deficiency of knowledge, or defect of logic: deficient knowledge, if he is ignorant of the intrinsic property, which nervous element has in common with other individual organic elements, of primarily modifying, according to its own states, the local circulation; or want of logical insight, if, knowing this, he conceives the observed disturbance of the circulation to disprove the direct action of the narcotic upon the nervous element, or to prove its direct action upon the blood. It must not be supposed, however, that the book is much tainted with the vice of vague theory; its merits are those of a practical manual, and it contains a good summary of all that is known of chloroform, and of the rules which experience has proved should guide its use. With due skill and caution on the part of him who administers the anæsthetic, with a scrupulous attention to its perfect purity, and with the use of an apparatus by which the proper dilution of the vapour may be secured and the quantity given exactly measured, there can be no doubt that the dangers of chloroform are but small.

When we consider the immense energy and perseverance which must be applied in order to obtain due attention to, much more to obtain acceptance of, a new therapeutical means, we cannot but congratulate Mr. Urquhart on the encouraging success which he has already had both with the medical profession and with the public. It is now some years since Sir John Fife, having satisfied his own mind of the efficacy of the Turkish Bath in the treatment of disease, induced the committee of the Newcastle Infirmary to construct such a bath for the hospital. A continued experience since that time has strengthened his convictions of

* "Chloroform: its Action and Administration." By Arthur Ernest Sansom, M.B. London, &c. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1865.

the value of the bath; from what he has witnessed of its effects in health for training, in convalescence for enabling the valetudinarian to commence exercise, and in disease as a remedy or palliation, "I am not afraid," he says, "to stake my professional character by declaring my belief in its efficacy." Accordingly, he has collected, from the writings and speeches of Mr. Urquhart, an account of the principles of its action, a description of the best mode of its construction, and practical instructions as to its employment, and has edited the whole as a "Manual of the Turkish Bath."¹⁷ Its beneficial effects appear to be most remarkable in diseases of the liver and the kidney; the dropsy attending the latter certainly sometimes disappearing as if by magic under its regular use. In all diseases of a rheumatic nature, however, the bath is likely to produce improvement; in most cutaneous diseases it is an effectual remedy or an important auxiliary of treatment; and Sir John Fife has found it to be most valuable in bronchial and laryngeal affections. The book contains also the testimony of other physicians to the benefit which they have witnessed from the therapeutical use of heat by means of the bath. Mr. Urquhart, with that enthusiastic faith which is so needful in a reformer, appears to believe that no disease, not hydrophobia, nor cholera, nor consumption, nor cancer, could long withstand the proper use of the Turkish Bath at a sufficiently high temperature; and certainly this strong faith is nowise surprising in one who believes himself to have been more than once rescued from the very jaws of death by its means. Though it cannot quite be admitted that the use of heat, however carefully graduated in its application, and however high the temperature may be raised, will do all that Mr. Urquhart claims for it, and is in every case as harmless as he seems disposed to think, and though assent must be withheld from some of the startling physiological principles which he boldly enunciates, yet everyone must heartily sympathize with that unparalleled energy and unfaltering perseverance which has succeeded in forcing the acceptance of a great boon in spite of strong prejudice and general opposition. What is most needed now, however, is that the medical profession, having accepted the bath as a valuable remedial agent, should no longer vaguely extol it, but determine, by exact investigation of its effects, those diseases in which it may be properly used.

Much as diseases of the skin have been studied of late, and largely as they have been written about, there is far from being agreement among different writers as to their nature and proper classification. Mr. Wilson, in a book which he announces as "The Student's Book,"¹⁸ adopts a classification which

he calls clinical, and which is founded on the salient and striking characters of each disease. Although this classification presents such anomalies as one group of disease founded on a physiological, another on an etiological, and another on a pathological basis, and cannot, therefore, be called philosophical, it has practical advantages which make it, perhaps, most suitable for the student. Moreover, the author gives in an appendix the scientific classification of Professor Hebra. The descriptions of diseases are, for the most part, clear, concise, and graphic; the rules of treatment plain and practical; and the wide views of the constitutional origin of local eruptions which the author inculcates, are likely to be of service to the student. With regard, however, to the nature of the so-called parasitic disease of the skin, Mr. Wilson is either a very long way behind the knowledge of the day, or a very long way in advance of it. He maintains that the so-called vegetable parasites, the Microsporon, Tricophyton, and Achorion, are no parasites at all, and that their so-called sporules, sporidia, and mycelium, are nothing else but the altered elementary components of the cell-tissue of the rete mucosum. The young epidermal cells are supposed by him to suffer an arrest of development at their foetal stage, and thereupon to undergo that exuberant increase, or proliferation, which is characteristic of immature organic matter; and he does not forbear to speak somewhat sneeringly of what he calls the medical parasiticides of France, who go the length of pulling out every individual diseased hair. Now when we consider on the one hand, that the foremost scientific men of every country do not entertain any manner of doubt of the nature of these parasites, and observe on the other hand how summarily the author disposes of their well-considered views, we can scarcely recommend the student to be content with the knowledge of the parasitic diseases of the skin that is to be got from Mr. Wilson's brief and defective account. At any rate, he must not suppose that opinions are sound because they are dogmatically expressed. Mr. Wilson conceives it to be a physiological impossibility for the sporule of the vegetable parasites to penetrate the horny cuticle; and yet he has seen several examples of vicarious effusions of blood containing true blood corpuscles from unbroken skin in hysterical young women; and he once saw "an infant bleed to death by the palms of the hand and fingers, without any existing abrasion of surface."

A paper read before the Midland Medical Society, and already printed in a medical journal,¹⁹ has now been published by its author as a book. At first sight this book is most remarkable for a very narrow strip of text that

¹⁷ "Manual of the Turkish Bath. Heat, a mode of Cure, and a Source of Strength, for Men and Animals." From writings of Mr. Urquhart. Edited by Sir John Fife, M.D. London: Churchill and Sons. 1865.

¹⁸ "The Student's Book of Cutaneous Medicine,

and Diseases of the Skin." By Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1865.

¹⁹ "Tension of the Eyeball: Glaucoma, &c.; their Operations, also Clinical Illustrations of Five Methods of Treatment." By J. Voese Solomon, F.R.G.S., &c. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1865.

is almost lost in vast deserts of margin; the proportion of text to margin being actually about one to four. By this excessive liberality of margin, by the further help of thick paper, and by the addition of a publisher's long list of advertisements, a presentable book has, not without ingenuity, been made. The subject of it is one which has of late excited great attention and earnest discussion; and Mr. Solomon's contribution to its elucidation is not the least valuable that has appeared. He proves satisfactorily that it is by no means necessary to perform iridectomy in every case of glaucoma, but that the disease may often be cured by other less formidable means—as by constitutional treatment, and especially by intra-ocular division of the ciliary muscle. We are sorry, however, to see that much of Mr. Solomon's energy is wasted in a tedious dispute about priority; the broad issues of which are, so far as we can detect any, first, that some one who claims the division of the ciliary muscle as his discovery has no right to do so, inasmuch as it was practised more or less effectually by the oculists of the past; and secondly, that if the merit of a discovery is due to any one, it is due to Mr. Solomon himself, because he has done the operation most effectually, and has called it *intra-ocular myotomy*. Were it not an excellent thing if any one who finds his originality questioned should, instead of wasting his energies in discussions that rarely lead to any satisfactory result, set himself earnestly to work to make a new discovery? Thereby he would do no small service to science, and would not fail at the same time to give incontestable proof of his capacity to have made the disputed discovery, and the probability that he did make it.

To give an account of those morbid processes by which ovarian cysts are formed, as he has observed them, and a summary of the results of the labours of others in the same field, as these are scattered through foreign and English journals, is the expressed view of Dr. Ritchie's book.²⁰ We are sorry to be obliged to add that a lame performance falls short of an excellent conception. As much as two-thirds of the two hundred pages consists of papers published by the author's father more than twenty years ago, and which, though valuable at the time, are of little interest now, except as family documents. It is true that it may regarded as a pious task to rescue from seeming oblivion opinions of his father the revival of which, as the author thinks, is bringing honour to more recent investigators, but it is unfortunate that great errors are unnecessarily dragged into the light at the same time; it may be well that the world should not forget that more than twenty years ago Dr. Ritchie clearly maintained the fact that active changes are going on in the ovary independently of menstruation, but it is scarcely well that the world should not be allowed to forget that he at the same time maintained

by an elaborate display of argument that the normal seat of conception is not the ovary, but the uterus. A short chapter following the reprint of his father's papers, and consisting of a historical sketch of recent observations in ovarian pathology, scarcely fulfils the promise of a summary of the labours of English and foreign observers; and a concluding chapter containing a sketch of the modes of cyst-formation in the ovary, with an indication of the conclusions towards which the author tends, "after honestly working at the subject for many months," might have found its proper place in the pages of some journal.

A series of the most useful tables, industriously compiled for the purpose of comparing the internal economy of the various hospitals of England and Wales, has been published by Dr. Buckle.²¹ It appears that there are nearly two millions of patients yearly treated in the hospitals and dispensaries of England and Wales, at a cost of about half a million sterling; but the difference in the cost of the patients in the different institutions is so great as to produce an unavoidable conviction that there must be either great waste and extravagance in some, or great defect in others. If Bartholomew's Hospital requires on an average one nurse to every six patients, it is not easy to understand how the North Staffordshire Infirmary at Etruria can successfully manage with one nurse to thirty-seven patients. The full diet of Bartholomew again consists of half-a-pound of meat every day, whilst the full diet of the Lynn Hospital contains only six ounces of meat on alternate days. The yearly cost of a bed in one hospital is sometimes as much as double that which it is in another: in the Royal Infirmary of Liverpool, where there are 240 beds, the average cost per bed, exclusive of out-patients, is 18*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*; in the General Hospital at Birmingham, where there is the same number of beds, the corresponding cost is 26*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per bed; in the Queen's Hospital, Birmingham, with 180 beds, the average cost of a bed is 44*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* In the London hospitals, the average cost per bed ranges from 20*l.* 9*s.*, at the Westminster Hospital, to 54*l.* 8*s.*, at the Metropolitan Free Hospital. This wide variation in the average cost of patients, or in other words, in the use made of the funds, would point, Dr. Buckle thinks, to

"the necessity of a general inspector appointed by Government or some central body, to act as a check upon the local committees, and to endeavour, by annual comparison with other institutions similarly situated, to economize or obtain the greatest good out of the least possible expenditure of money; or, at all events, to secure a proper and uniform set of records being kept in each charity."

Dr. Buckle gives a second table of the operations performed at the various hospitals during the year 1863, with the results of them

²⁰ "Contributions to assist the Study of Ovarian Physiology and Pathology." By C. G. Ritchie, M.D., &c. London: John Churchill and Sons. 1865.

²¹ "Vital and Economical Statistics of the Hospitals and Infirmeries of England and Wales, for the year 1863." By Fleetwood Buckle, M.D., &c. London: Churchill and Sons. 1865.

and the mortality after them, and a third table showing the diseases and injuries of 188,630 patients treated in the different hospitals during the same year. His labours have been most usefully bestowed, and we sincerely hope that one result of them will be to arouse the attention of the authorities of our hospitals to the need of a more effectual supervision of the management.

Having given much attention to a slight but troublesome disease, Mr. Smith appears to have estimated its importance according to the labour which he has bestowed rather than according to the gravity of the affection, otherwise he would scarce have written a book with so little matter in it." He advocates the application of the *potassa fusa* for the destruction of enlarged tonsils; and he finds that complete destruction of the tonsils produces so little impediment to the voice that a vocalist may follow his profession after the loss of his tonsils.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

PERHAPS the most valuable, if not the most original, historical productions that we have to examine for the present quarter will be found in the series of "Chronicles and Records" published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls;—an issue of the raw material of history which we have frequently commended, and doubt not shall find future occasion for commending anew. The first work on our list is an additional volume of the "Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I.," edited from a Lambeth MS. by the Rev. William Stubbs, Vicar of Navestock, and Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ This volume consists of an excellent introductory essay by the editor of the "Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury;" of the requisite auxiliary apparatus, a calendar, a catalogue, an appendix and index, and useful explanatory notes in the margin of the pages. The period occupied by the Correspondence extends from A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1199. Of the five great disputes which made up the history of the Church of England during the reign of Richard I., the Canterbury Appeal, the principal subject of the volume before us, is perhaps the most significant. A record of this appeal is contained in the collection of letters

on the dispute which arose from the attempts of Archbishops Baldwin and Hubert to found a great church and college of secular canons, to the indignation of the monks of Canterbury, who detected in this project a design to supplant them in their metropolitan character, and to substitute a corporation, not attached, like their own order, to the Court of Rome, but amenable to the influence of the king and the primate. The "Collection of Letters" was formed between the year 1201, when the suit was finally decided, and the year 1205, when the new and more famous one, which turned on the election of Stephen Langton, began. The original editor appears to have borne the name of Reginald, and was probably the person who, as sub-prior, was elected by the younger portion of the monks to supply the place of Archbishop Hubert in 1205. In the struggle recorded in these letters principles of great importance were involved, and men of the highest, or all but the highest, position were actors. Monachism, coeval with English Christianity, having brought its missionary work to a close, began to degenerate. It claims at last became exorbitant: its attitude anti-national. In the Introduction the leading *dramatis personæ* are particularized: Baldwin, "a man who lived but little for the world, and that to make it better;" Peter of Blois, Gervase the historian, Nigel the poet, the imperious Cœnr de Lion, in his glittering robes; Hubert Walter, at once bishop, lawyer, soldier, and statesman; Richard of London, with his organizing head; the ambitious Hugh of Puiset; his quiet namesake of Lincoln; and the scheming Reginald of Bath. In short, the personal element and the historical circumstances are so clearly exhibited, that those who are unable or disinclined to read the original Latin letters, may turn with pleasure to the instructive pages which introduce and elucidate them.

The next work that meets us is rather an archæological curiosity than an historical document.² The first volume of "The History and Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter of Gloucester" has already been published. The second, the one now before us, has neither preface nor index. Apparently, it contains a succession of deeds embodying the property rights, fishing privileges, &c., of the monastery. Any one tolerably familiar with Latin might be induced to read them all, if he were handsomely paid for his work beforehand.

The third volume in our series is more promising. Though, like the foregoing, not an initial volume, it has the advantage of being prefaced by a judicious editor, the Rev. H. R. Luard.³ It comprises two chronicles—"The Annals of the Monastery of Winchester," and

¹ "On the Treatment of Enlarged Tonsils at any Period of Life, without the Operation of Excision." By William J. Smith, M.B. London: Hardwicke. 1866.

² "Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I." Vol. II. "Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, from A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1199." Edited from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, by William Stubbs, M.A., &c. &c. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1865.

³ "Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ." Vol. II. Edited by William Henry Hart, of the Public Record Office, &c. &c. Published by the authority, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1865.

⁴ "Annales Monastici." Vol. II. "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia." A.D. 519—1277. "Annales Monasterii de Waverleia." A.D. 1—1291. Edited by

"The Annals of the Monastery of Waverley." The probable author of the former, or of the earlier portion of it, is Richard of Devizes, who wrote "The Life of Richard I." during his residence at Winchester. Throughout this earlier Chronicle "Winchester and its Cathedral" are the centre of everything, from the first paragraph, where the burial of Cerdic at Winchester is mentioned, down to the time of the donation of Godwin's wife Githa in 1053. The latter portion of the Chronicle, from 1267 to 1277, contains a careful report of the transactions of the year following the Battle of Evesham. Of the "Annals of Waverley," which begin with the Incarnation and are carried down to nearly the end of the thirteenth century, the first portion draws principally on Bede, Eusebius, Martinus, and St. Jerome. Of the second portion, the sources are the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," Henry of Huntingdon, Robert de Monte, Ralph de Diceto. For nine years the Chronicle is identical with the Winchester Annals. The latter portion, it appears, was written by anonymous contemporary writers. Among the points treated at length by the Waverley Chronicle is Stephen Langton's banishment by John, and that unhappy king's attempts at reconciliation previously to his final submission. The events of the last days of Simon de Montfort, who is a favourite with the annalist, and the events which preceded and followed the Battle of Evesham, are also reported with some valuable detail. Both Chronicles are regarded by Mr. Luard as authorities for the times which they illustrate. It may interest Dr. Cumming, and other persons of millennial expectations, to know that the Last Judgment having been fixed for 17th September, 1249, Henry III. and a number of other wise men sat up all night, in a tremendous fright, to see it come off. We are not told whether its postponement was a relief or disappointment to them.

Another valuable instalment of this national library will be found in the fasciculus of Annals attributed, not in every instance correctly, to William Rishanger, the Monk of St. Albans, and edited by one of the ablest of the staff selected by the Master of the Rolls. In an intelligent critical introduction, Mr. Riley places before us such information as is to be had respecting the individuality and identity of the author. William Rishanger, Rissanger, or Rysangre, is conjectured to have been born at a small village, which now bears the name of Rishangles, and is situate about four miles from the market town of Eye, in Kent. The

earliest notice of Rishanger is to be found in a work by John Bale, who makes him the successor of Matthew Paris, in the "shadowy office" of chronographer royal to Henry III.—a representation which the editor shows to be preposterous. Of the seven documents comprised in Mr. Riley's volume the earlier part of "The Chronicle" may, he thinks, be ascribed with a fair degree of certainty to Rishanger, but the latter part cannot be pronounced his with an equal degree of assurance. The *Gesta Edwardi Primi*, the fourth in order of arrangement, is undoubtedly from the pen of Rishanger. The editor characterizes it as a poor and weak performance. It gives some account of Edward's expedition to Flanders, the ravages committed by Wallace in the North of England, the king's marriage, his "extortionate proclivities," and the punishment inflicted on his corrupt justiciars. The *Annals of the Kingdom of Scotland* is a more important document. It contains a report of the pleadings of the candidates for the Scottish crown not given in Rymer. Though attributed by Bale to Rishanger, there seems little doubt that it is really the composition of Jean Erturi of Caen, a notary of that time. The *Annals of England and Scotland*, the third in the list of documents, is claimed by Mr. Riley for the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Opus*; to be printed in the succeeding volume of the *Chronicles of St. Alban's*. Of the three fragmentary pieces which follow the *Gesta*, the authorship is left undetermined. In the first of them authorities are found for several statements in "Walsingham's History," which are probably nowhere else to be traced; in the second, the exactions of the king and the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury are set forth, and some details, mostly of a local interest, are recited. The third commences with an elegy on the death of Prince Alfonso, Edward's eldest son, and concludes with some extracts from the formal proceedings of Philip of France against the Knights Templars, a proof that it was not composed till after the year 1307. The two most conspicuous characters in this collection of chronicles are Edward I. and William Wallace. Of Edward, the author of the *Gesta* (Rishanger) says,—*"Inter omnes principes orbis terrarum Christianos sapientiæ et prudentiæ virtute creditor præeminisse."* Very different is the estimate he gives of the far-famed Scottish chief, Edward's antagonist and victim, in the *Chronica*, p. 226; in which this flower of chivalry is said to have rivalled Herod in cruelty and Nero in his frantic outbreaks, flogging and torturing naked men and women, eviscerating infants in their cradles, and burning boys in schools and churches. The patriot Scot meets with no pity from the remorseless Rishanger, who pronounces his sentence *crudelissima sed dignissima*. In addition to the ample index which we find at the end of the volume, Mr. Riley has inserted a short and serviceable glossary of the barbarous Latin words which occur in these chronicles. We protest, however against the inclusion of the word in-

Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, &c. &c. Published by the authority, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1865.

* "*Chronica Monasterii S. Albani: Wilhelmi Rishanger, quondam monachi S. Albani, et quorundam anonymorum Chronica et Annales, regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo.*" Edited by Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., &c. A.D. 1259—1307. Published by the authority, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1865.

fortunium in his list. It occurs once at least in the *Bacchides*, and twice in the first act of the *Amphitruo* of Plautus.

The fifth and last contribution to the history of England, preserved in the State Paper Department, is Mr. Bruce's calendar, domestic series, of the reign of Charles I.* The volume, with its preface and extremely copious index, comprising upwards of 700 pages, yet illustrates the events and incidents of one year only. The editor, in an interesting preface, sketches the leading characteristics of the time. He describes the policy of Archbishop Laud as centred in the eradication of Puritanism, uniformity of ceremonial, and universal submission to king and clergy as divinely appointed authorities in Church and State. In his account of the Ship Money transaction, Mr. Bruce indicates the discovery of a connecting circumstance in its history. The obnoxious tribute was alleged by the king's advisers to have been levied in ancient times, but if so it was levied in cases of great national emergency, as for example a threatened invasion. Now what was the real or pretended emergency that justified such an outfit in Charles the First's days? While distinctly allowing that we cannot yet fully answer this question, the accomplished editor suggests that a proximate and provisional answer may be found in the proposed conference between Nicolaldi, the Spanish resident, Portland, Cottington, and Windebank. The authority for this statement is in part a letter from Windebank, a secretary of state, to Hopton, the English ambassador in Spain. From this letter it appears that Charles considered it his interest to oppose the increasing greatness of the United Provinces, and assist the King of Spain to stop the current of the Hollanders' conquests. To effect this object it was proposed that His Majesty of Great Britain should presently arm twenty ships of war, of which five were to be wholly at the charge of the King of Spain, and that the pretext of this arming should be to secure the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. As the negotiation proceeded but slowly, it occurred to Noy that an emergency being supposed, the ports might, on ancient precedent, be called on to supply the requisite aid. The pretext (security from pirates, &c.) suggested in the proposed treaty was thereupon alleged as an emergency, and twenty ships, the exact number mentioned in the treaty, were fitted out. The progress of the negotiation and the development of events are well sketched by Mr. Bruce, to whose pages we refer all who are curious to know more on this point. Among the papers calendared in this volume we have a valuable series of Lord Lindsey's letters, whose experience only tended to prove that the emergency which was presumed to have called forth the fleet which accompanied

him "did not exist, and therefore that there was no justification for the levy of ship money." These letters are followed by a number of important papers illustrative of the characters of the several sheriffs. Notices are interspersed of Denzil Holles, Sir John Stanhope, and other recusants, with letters from the younger Vane, Land, Montagu, Sir Henry Wotton, and Francis à Sancta Clara; and mention of George Wither's Hymns, Sandys's Paraphrases, and of a treatise on the Ecclesiastical Supremacy by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, is made in its pages. Nor must we omit to specify the grant to Archibald Lumsden for the sole supply of the requisites for playing the ancient game of pall-mall within his grounds in St. James's Fields, and the payment to him of the prescribed sums of money from such as resorted thither.

A modern work of somewhat kindred character to the "Chronicles and Calendars" of the past, may receive a passing commendation in this place.⁶ The "Annual Register" for the year 1864 furnishes a rapid and compact narrative of home and foreign history, a chronicle of remarkable occurrences, an appendix of public documents, among others a report of the clerical subscription commission, of finance-accounts, promotions and appointments. In the retrospect of literature, the principal historical and biographical works are noticed, as well as the novels, which most of us read and abuse while reading, and favourite poems, like "Enoch Arden," and Lord Derby's "Homer." In the obituary of eminent persons we observe the names of Lucy Aikin, John Clare, Lord Carlisle, Dr. Cureton, Hawthorne, Ferrier, Speke, Senior, Torrens, Miss Adelaide Ann Procter, and Walter Savage Landor.

The documentary character still distinguishes our library for the quarter. Before us lies a new volume of the "Papers" of one of the great actors of the European drama in the generation which is rapidly becoming extinct.⁷ The supplementary volumes of "Despatches and Correspondence of the Duke of Wellington," edited by his son, already number twelve. The present volume concludes the series, though some documents, which came too late to be inserted in chronological order, are announced, with a copious index, for publication as an additional supplement, in the next volume. The letters and memoranda contained in the present instalment deal with such topics as the settlement of claims on France, the financial state of that country, the negotiations respecting the Spanish colonies in America, the evacuation of France by the allied armies, and the plot and attempt to assassinate the Duke of Wellington. The period

* "Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I., 1635. Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office." Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1865.

⁶ "The Annual Register; a Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the Year 1864." New Series. London: Evingtons. Longman and Co. 1865.

⁷ "Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington, K.G." Edited by his Son, the Duke of Wellington, K.G. Volume XII. London: John Murray. 1865.

occupied by these transactions is included between 21st July, 1817, and the end of December, 1818. A letter or two, written in the following year, with a statistical paper of notes on the expenses of the army in France, complete the volume. The editor promises us a continuation of the "Wellington Papers," in the form of a new series of Correspondence, from January, 1819, to the termination of the great duke's administration, in October, 1830.

Another renowned English captain, the Duke of Marlborough, figures among the eminent soldiers whose biographies Major-General Mitchell has drawn up with a sufficiently attractive, though necessarily partial execution.* The author somewhat dogmatically rules, that the charges of corruption and avarice brought against this distinguished commander require no refutation. The treachery imputed to Marlborough in reference to the Brest expedition he pronounces unproved and improbable, and he justifies his secession from the service of James II., regarding that step as in every sense disinterested and honourable. The sketch of the life of Frederick the Great, the last in the list, will perhaps induce some into whose hands the volume may fall to compare a soldier's account of certain incidents in that monarch's career with that given by Mr. Carlyle in his portly volumes. While acknowledging the many gifts and great qualities of the king, Mitchell indicates his numerous weaknesses and defects of character. In particular, he accuses Frederick of a want of personal courage. He maintains that he not only ran away at Molwitz, but sent orders to retreat at the battle of Lowositz (or Lobositz); "an order which the Duke of Bevern, who in the meantime had made a movement which gained the victory, took good care not to have received." The loss of the battle of Collin, or Kolin, he directly imputes to Frederick's ill-judged interference, an interference which his last and greatest biographer so ingeniously explains and vindicates. Of the other eminent soldiers whom our soldier-author has described and appreciated, we may mention the blind Ziska, the high-minded but fanatical and sanguinary leader of the Hussites; Scanderbeg the Albanian prince, for twenty-four years the terror of the Osmanli and the support of Christian Greece; Bayard, Alba, the Constable of Bourbon, Suwaroff, Prince Eugene, the first of Austrian generals, and Charles XII., whom Major-General Mitchell pronounces to have been certainly killed by a grape-shot, not by a pistol-ball, and therefore not to have been assassinated, as some have supposed. This conclusion is based on an examination of a paper representation of the aperture made by a ball in the royal hat. It would have been more satisfactory had the author examined the hat itself. The concluding sections of his book are entitled "Historical Sketch of the French Army," and "The British

Army in the World of 1850." The author was strongly interested in the movement for reform of the army. He advocates instruction for the soldier, better pay, and gymnastic training. He was strenuously opposed to the pipeclay or martinet principle, and Conservative as he was, he condemned the system of promotion by purchase, as calculated to discourage merit and professional knowledge. This distinguished officer and able writer died in the year 1859. Among the admirers of his "Life of Wellington" and "Fall of Napoleon" were Varnhagen von Ense and the late Sir Robert Peel.

The story of Marshal Saxe, related in outline by Major-General Mitchell, is told with ample detail by M. Saint-René Taillandier,* who, availing himself of the previous labours of Dr. Karl von Weber, the "Memoirs of the Duke de Luynes," and the journals, souvenirs, &c., of Barbier, Valfons, and d'Argenson, has constructed an agreeable and animated narrative of the fortunes of the daring and brilliant offspring of that physically strong king of Poland whom Mr. Carlyle delights to designate the Man of Sin. Marshal Saxe was born at Dresden in 1696; his mother, Aurora of Königsmark, was as distinguished for her wit and beauty as his father was for his anti-Malthusian accomplishments. An active and spirited youth, Maurice, as the boy was called, became at twelve years of age a sub-officer under the famous Count de Schulenburg, took part in the long march from Lützen to Hanover in the severe winter of 1709, and in the following year was present at the sieges of Douay, Béthune and Aire. In 1711 he served at the siege of Stralsund, where Charles XII. was attacked at once by the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Poland. Some years after, when the young soldier returned from foreign travel, he received permission to join Prince Eugene, then besieging Belgrade. In 1720 he entered the French service as *maréchal de camp*. We next find him at Mitau, when he was elected Duke of Courland, an election, however, which the Poles and Russians refused to ratify. Early married to the Countess Victoria of Leoben and early divorced, he was now, matrimonially speaking, unattached. Anna Iwanowna, whose cheeks Carlyle complementarily compares to Westphalia ham, would have gladly made him her husband, and placed him on the throne of Russia, but the fortunate youth, "not liking Westphalia ham in that particular form," declined the honour and received his dismissal. In 1733 Maurice led the advanced guard of the French in the war of the Polish succession. In 1741 he held a similar distinguished position in the invasion of Bohemia, and successfully directed the attack on Prague. Four years after he was placed at the head of the army intended by Louis XV. for the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands. "The capture of Ghent, Brussels, and Maestricht, the battles of Lafeldt, Roucoux, and Fontenoy, were all splendid deeds of arms." It was not the Duc de Richelieu, as Voltaire was pleased to say, who won the last-

* "Biographies of Eminent Soldiers of the last Four Centuries." By Major-General John Mitchell, Author of the "Life of Wellington," "Fall of Napoleon," &c. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author, by Leonhard Schmitz, LL.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

* "Maurice de Saxe: Étude Historique d'après des Documents inédits." Par Saint-René Taillandier. Paris. 1865.

mentioned battle, but Marshal Saxe, who was suffering from dropsy when he fought it, and fainted from exhaustion after its close. This was his last exploit. The rest of his life was passed in the society of men of letters and artists. Scientific pursuits and projects of ideal sovereignty occupied much of his time. He dreamt of a government in the island of Tobago; he became a candidate for the crown of Corsica; he formed a plan for the re-establishment of the kingdom of David in South America; and finally, dying at Chambord in 1750, bade an eternal farewell to all these visions of empire, exclaiming, "Life is but a dream, and I have had a fine one." His French biographer and Major-General Mitchell have a very high opinion of his merits. The General thinks his military talents superior to those of Frederick II., and affirms that he saw farther into the science and was endowed with more genius for tactical invention than that far-famed king. Carlyle, with whom the Marshal is no favourite, yet testifies to his perfect intrepidity, his inarticulate good sense, wild natural ingenuity, and rapid whirls of contrivance; but while assimilating Frederick to a sun, he likens Saxe to an immense tar-barrel or atmospheric meteor, taken for a sun. The Marshal's "multifarious voracities" are undeniable, and we suppose orthodox Christianity will agree with Carlyle's view of the brilliant Tar-barrel's probable prospects of futurity, according to which "the Devil (I am afraid it was he, though clad in roseate effulgence and melodious exceedingly,) carried him home on those kind terms as from a universe all of opera." Our vision of judgment not extending so far as this, we give no opinion on the subject. Neither can we decide which of the two critics is right, Carlyle or Mitchell, in the widely different estimates they offer of the *Réveries* of the resplendent marshal; the man of arms assuring us that the treatise evinces "a far deeper insight into the science of tactics than any other work written on the subject," that "every page is full of energy, and every sentence a deep lash inflicted on the mere martinet and blind adorer of the pipeclay system;" while the man of letters is equally certain that it is "a strange military Farrago, dictated, I should think, under opium." M. Taillandier, with all his new lights and abundant space, does not help us to solve the question, though he mentions the *Manual* more than once. We cannot conclude this notice without calling attention to one proud distinction that Mr. Carlyle's military Don Juan may claim from his brimstone bed. Marshal Saxe was the only general that ever achieved a victory proper over a British army. "Except at Fontenoy, no British army was ever defeated in what the French term *une bataille rangée*. May it ever be so," continues Major-General Mitchell, "and may Marshal Saxe, as he was the first, be the last of our conquerors."

A biographical sketch of an armed missionary of Protestantism, Gustavus Adolphus, by the present Archbishop of Dublin,¹⁰ is written

with real knowledge of the subject, with a diffuse grace though occasional clumsiness, and an earnestness of purpose such as we might expect to find in its accomplished author. Though he, perhaps, overestimates the force of individual genius, and underrates the permanent and imperial influence of collective humanity, he is nowhere led by his hero-worship to make a faultless monster of the great warrior whom, in his belief, "God raised up for the suffering members of the Reformed Faith in Germany," and but for whose prowess the great religious movement in the first half of the seventeenth century "would have been crushed in Germany, and probably in all northern Europe with the exception of England." He admits the ambition of the soldier king, and concedes that if there was something of Luther in him, there was also something of Alexander in him. The remarkable man thus characterized fell on the field of Lützen, near Leipzig, A.D. 1632, some hours before the termination of the battle. In narrating his fall, Archbishop Trench corrects the inaccuracies which intrude into Michelet's account of that event. The evidence adduced to show that the king fell in a *mêlée*, and was not assassinated, he accepts as decisive. To the lecture on the "Life of Gustavus Adolphus" (delivered several times) succeeds one (never delivered) on the "Social Aspects of the Thirty Years' War," in which, while the Catholics are pronounced to be the chief offenders, the Protestant princes, theologians, and people are by no means regarded as guiltless. The materials for these two lectures have been drawn from various sources, among others, from a work by G. Freitag, "Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit."

Descending to a later period, we find in Mr. Trevelyan's "Cawnpore," an almost epic narrative of the awful tragedy that befell there. The author, who in general writes with equal power and skill, affirms that he has made it his aim to preserve a scrupulous fidelity, even to the slightest touches, to the original sources of his information, in particular the depositions of sixty-three witnesses, "Nanukchund's Narrative," "Captain Thomson's Story of Cawnpore," and the government accounts of the mutiny. The tale is admirably told. The candour of Mr. Trevelyan is as conspicuous as his literary ability. If he execrates the atrocities of the Sepoys, he does not forget to condemn the cruelties of which our own countrymen were guilty or to stigmatize our conscious or unconscious lying. In our author's view, the effective cause of the mutiny was the ambition of a spoiled, flattered, idle, and insolent soldiery; the proximate cause was the fancied insult which had been offered to their national religion. The memory, he says, of the greased cartridges (five parts tallow, five parts stearine, and one part wax) will "never perish as long as England has history and India has tradition." On this point

Chenevix Trench, Archbishop of Dublin. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

¹⁰ "Cawnpore." By G. O. Trevelyan, Author of the "Competition Wallah." London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

¹⁰ "Gustavus Adolphus;" "Social Aspects of the Thirty Years' War." Two Lectures. By Richard

he thinks, and we conceive rightly, that there can be no room for doubt. Both authoritative opinion and documentary evidence can be adduced to show that the use of this Tartarean compound was to the prejudiced Sepoy intellect what the mutilation of the *Hermes* busts was to the superstitious Hellenic mind in the days of Alcibiades. The pages preparing us for the great catastrophe (which Mr. Trevelyan attributes to the Nana's readiness to head the mutineers, and the error of Major-General Wheeler) are full of striking detail and intelligent expository comment. For non-Indians the opening chapter, "The Station," is a valuable picture. The story of the Nana, whose claims we treated with a fatal contempt, and his agent Azimolah, is related with a graphic clearness; and the progress and close of the sad tragedy, in tears, blood, pity, and vengeance, are excellently told, though not always with the necessary condensation. Indeed, the narrative is in some places positively prolix, and we could wish that Mr. Trevelyan had abstained, sometimes at least, from Biblical application and Homeric illustrative reference. In his severe condemnation of the vindictive sentiment of Anglo-Indians, our author quotes a poetical effusion from the "Englishman," published in 1857, which we recommend as a contribution to the hymnology of damnation, premising that "the humanity-pretenders" esteemed unworthy of the secondary felicity held out to Teeka Singh and Mungal Pandey, were men like Lord Canning, Sir John Grant, and Mr. Charles Buxton:

"Barring Humanity-pretenders,
To hell of none are we the willing senders:
But if to Sepoys mercy must be given,
Locate them, Lord, in the back-slums of heaven."

We do not know whether Mr. Neil had any particular motive for re-writing the lives of notable persons, which for the most part have so often been written before.¹² In his "Epoch Men," we have Charlemagne, Gregory VII., Roger Bacon, Dante, Chaucer, Copernicus, Clive, and Watt, portrayed, and not ill-pourtrayed by one who adopts the axiom of that profound philosopher, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton—"History is rarely more than the biography of great men." It is a pity that Mr. Neil writes in a heavy and pretentious style, as it renders his book less acceptable than it would otherwise have been to those who may be led to consult its not uninteresting pages. What is the use of talking about "an intexturing and combination of personal qualifications and providential causation," or expatiating on the sublime results of the "far-stretching explorations into the vast indefinitudes of space"? Why does he tell us that no part of time can be *secationalized*, if he doesn't want to frighten us, or why does he insist that there is that within us which "effloresces through the centuries," unless he intends to terrify us with the prospect of an eternal small-pox or perpetual measles in our immortal part?

¹² "Epoch Men and the Results of their Lives." By Samuel Neil, Author of "Shakespeare, a Biography," &c. Edinburgh: William Nimmo. 1863.

It is in a very different style that Captain Lionel Trotter has drawn up his attractive volume of "Studies in Biography."¹³ Easy, flowing, simple, and unaffected, the language is such as an English gentleman may well employ, in describing the fortunes, or depicting the characters of his heroes. The studies, so called, are reprints of articles published in the "Dublin Review," and other high-class serials, which the author, admiring himself, republishes in a collective form, with the natural wish, as he says, that others also should have a chance of admiring them—if they can. These essays appear in most, if not all instances, to have been occasional compositions, called forth by the law or principle which impels so many of us to write assenting or dissenting reports of the more ambitious efforts of other literary aspirants. Thus, the "Study of Mahomet" was written after the publication of Muir's work on the prophet; that of Frederick II., after the publication of Kington's Life of the great German Emperor; that of Becket, after Canon Robertson had published his biography of that fighting churchman. This circumstance, however, by no means implies the absence of independent research, and in the case of the charitable estimate of Sheridan, Captain Trotter distinctly shows that he has read other works besides the "wretchedly composed" volumes of the "Octogenarian," whose new materials he has turned to account in his revised abridgment of the story of that brilliant statesman. We are as well satisfied, in most instances, with the impartial and moderate spirit in which these studies are conceived, as with the style in which they are written. In some cases, as in that of Mahomet and Savonarola, we seem to want some completing detail indeed; but limitation of space excuses the omission. One study—that of Pitt—is almost exhaustive, except that the question of finance is touched too lightly. This paper is very well done, and with much that its author says in Pitt's favour, we agree. His estimate, however, requires occasional qualification. As a war minister, we cannot admire Pitt. A bold, brilliant, and inventive financier, his fiscal procedure is sometimes open to censure, or defensible only on the "Hobson's choice" principle, the hard-pushed statesman's last resource, not the deliberate operation of the sober-minded minister of finance. Those of Captain Trotter's readers who think his estimate of Pitt too laudatory, will perhaps find some compensation in his extremely dyslogistic review of the life and conduct of Lord Bacon. Of course this "Study" had its *raison d'être* in Mr. Hepworth Dixon's rhetorical and immature vindication of the great Chancellor. We have no intention of adjudicating on the vexed question of Bacon's good or evil repute, but we may point out that as regards the Essex charge, Mr. Spedding, to whose "Life of Bacon" we find no allusion in Captain Trotter's book, is in general agreement with Mr. Dixon. Right or wrong, Captain Trotter is quite entitled to a

¹³ "Studies in Biography." By Lionel James Trotter, late Captain 2nd Bengal Fusiliers. London: Edward Moxon. 1865.

place between Lord Macaulay and Professor Draper, as an uncompromising denouncer of Bacon's immoralities. His epigram on the "broad-browed Verulam," which may be compared with the immortal verse of Pope, deserves quotation:—"In him the intellect of a Solomon was yoked to the spirit of a slave and the conscience of a housemaid." Captain Trotter is rather hard on the housemaid, though!

In Josiah Wedgwood we are happy to find a man whose excellent moral principles harmonized with his fine inventive genius. It is not long since Mr. Gladstone, in laying the first stone of the institute at Burslem, recognised, in an able and eloquent address, the character, ability, and attainments of the great Josiah. And now Mr. Jewitt, in an ingenious, and, we may almost say, scientific memoir, reiterates and illustrates the panegyric of Her Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer.¹⁴ The *science* of the author is shown in the preliminary chapter on the early potteries of Staffordshire, from the Celtic period down to the Wedgwood era. The mysteries of potter's clay in all its varieties, the divisions of the Ceramic art, the numerous vessels for use or ornament, are all exhibited in Mr. Jewitt's literary and pictorial repository. The biographical portion, succeeding to this instructive prelude of about seventy pages, begins with an account of Burslem, the mother of the potteries, and birthplace of Wedgwood, the father of potters, as it was a hundred and fifty years ago. The name of Josiah's family seems to have been borrowed from the parish of Wedgwood, in the very centre of the potteries. The name itself can be traced back to the fourteenth century. Towards the end of the fifteenth, John Wedgwood, of Blackwood or Dunwood, is recognisable, and in 1614, Thomas, ancestor of Josiah, is shown to have been born, or at any rate baptized. Josiah himself, eldest son of Thomas Wedgwood Potter, and his wife Mary Leigh, made his first appearance in July, 1730. The boy grew up a pattern for emulation, but of his habits or occupation, his progress at the wheel or mould during the term of his apprenticeship, little is known. Whether, as Mr. Gladstone fancies, an attack of small pox, probably about his sixteenth year, was the occasion of his subsequent excellence, may be doubted. Mr. Jewitt is of opinion that the boy's natural genius and energy would have driven him to meditate on the laws and secrets of his art, without this providential incitement. Meditations of this kind the youth unquestionably had, and those who care to trace them in their results, will find their curiosity gratified by a perusal of Mr. Jewitt's artistic exposition. The biographical portion of his book contains pleasing glimpses of life and manners discernible through the didactic foreground. The description of Etruria, a village

in Staffordshire, built by Wedgwood, the seat of the famous Etrurian works, where the artist "produced vases comparable with the best period of ancient Etruscan art," is read with a sentiment of delightful surprise. The fiction which made the son of the famous Bentley an associate with Wedgwood, is shown to be a fiction. The account of the discovery by Thomas and Ralph Wedgwood of the *Fulguri-Polygraph*, founded on the capacity of electricity to produce motion in the act of acquiring an equilibrium, and giving the rapidity of lightning to correspondence; the anecdote of the Portland vase; of the connexion of Flaxman, the sculptor, with Wedgwood, and of the generous protection accorded to Coleridge by his sons, with several other passages, impart additional attraction to this instructive, if not always very lively work. Josiah died on the third of January, 1795. His eldest daughter married Dr. Robert Darwin, of Shrewsbury, son of the botanical Darwin, and was the mother of Charles Darwin, author of the "Origin of Species." The Wedgwoods, we may remark, seem to have had a natural affinity for poets, artists, and literary genius; Ralph, the inventor of the electric telegraph, corresponding with P. B. Shelley on the formation of a universal language, being the second of the distinguished poets of our time to whom some attraction was experienced.

Other illustrious men, lords of peace, or masters of war, pass before admiring eyes in a characteristic and workmanly little book, entitled "Etoniana," and embodying the history and traditions of that ancient foundation.¹⁵ We learn from its pages nearly all we care to learn of the masters of Eton, and especially of "Cocky Keate," to whom we confess we have an invincible repugnance. We learn also enough of the old institutions and usages of Eton—of its merits and of its abuses. There is a chapter on the Montem, abolished in 1847, one on boating, one on cricket, one on amateur theatricals and Eton literature. II. Walpole, Gray, Bryant, George III., C. J. Fox, Porson, Marquis Wellesley, and his renowned kinsman, the great Duke, all figure in this academical tableau. Here we may see the hero of Waterloo in the character of a shy, retiring boy, in whom neither master nor schoolfellows detected the germs of future greatness; Porson, with his voracious reading and inaccurate prosody, who, because he could not write Latin verses, was never remarkable as an Etonian; and James Macdonald of Sleat, the Marcellus of his day, who learned to versify at Eton till he could write lines that Horace might have approved; Sidney Walker, who knew Homer, Horace, and Virgil by heart, and could turn the "Court Guide" into Greek verse; H. Nelson, Coleridge, Moultrie, Præd, and others, who reflect honour on this princely English school, which we trust will never

¹⁴ "The Wedgwoods; being a Life of Josiah Wedgwood, with Notices of his Works and their productions, Memoirs of the Wedgwoods and other Families, and a History of the Early Potteries of Staffordshire." By Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., &c. With Portrait and numerous Illustrations. London: Virtue Brothers & Co. 1865.

¹⁵ "Etoniana, Ancient and Modern; being Notes of the History and Traditions of Eton College." Republished from "Blackwood's Magazine." With additions. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

cease to cultivate Greek and Latin literature, or be the great playing ground of future statesmen and field-marsals. Besides its flying sketches of notable men, the book has both a graver and a more humorous side. It is not only an informing record of the Etonian past; it has many an anecdote, and some fun in it. Perhaps the richest story in the book is that of Keate and his splendid misapplication of the inevitable birch. The tale goes that a list of the candidates for confirmation was once sent into this lord of the nether world, in the shape of the familiar "flogging bill," and that in spite of their protestations, the regenerated expectants of "manifold gifts of grace," instead of receiving "the laying on of hands," on the rubrically-appointed head, had the honour of admitting that fatherly benediction to a precisely opposite and more unworthy locality. The joke is a capital one; but while we allow its superiority, we are strongly disposed to think that if the grim humourist had been removable at our pleasure, we should have sent him, from the distant spires and antique towers of Eton, to exercise his grotesque wit and sway his infamous sceptre elsewhere.

Taking leave of "Etoniana,"—a little book which has a good right to its place in the world,—let us glance for a moment at the pride and pomp belonging to kings and cardinals. When the powerful Richelieu died in 1642, he had a successor scarcely less famous in Cardinal Mazarin, the Concini, as Michelet says, of the new Mary of Medicis, Anne of Austria. Of the Italian minister's trial year, M. Victor Cousin has furnished us with a very full account.* He has a very high opinion of the talents of his hero, who, after this critical twelvemonth, rose gradually to the appointed height of his glory, terminating long and sanguinary discord by a peaceful triumph, rallying all classes, all religions, all interests, around emancipated royalty, covering France with glory by the victories of Condé and the brilliant generalship of Turenne, guaranteeing to that country by the treaty of Westphalia her barriers of Artois, Alsace, and Roussillon, and giving her Gravelines, Landrecy, Thionville, and Montmedy by that of the Pyrenees. It was not, however, in a prosperous or victorious hour that Mazarin commenced his ministerial dictatorship. His commencement, above all, was inglorious. A clever and amiable young man, he was first a soldier in a foot regiment, then a private secretary, then secretary of a pontifical legation, occasionally assuming the purely honorary title of a Minister of the Holy See. After a hurried picture of the early life of Mazarin, his biographer sketches with a slow and steady hand incidents of the years 1629-1630, and shows us by the side of Louis XIII. and his first minister, the subordinate characters Hemery, Servier, Montmorenci, Crequi, Schomberg, and others. In writing this historical review, M. Cousin has consulted the ordinary biographies of Mazarin, both of early and recent publication, the correspond-

ence of the Cardinal with various French agents, family letters received from Rome, those of François Barberini, Père Joseph, and other eminent personages, and the papers of Richelieu and Mazarin himself, which the French minister for foreign affairs has rendered accessible to him. The author of this minute study professes to strike out from his pages the conjectural element, and to give, sometimes with, sometimes without curtailment, the documents of contemporary origin, which he considers necessary to lay before the reader, in order to control his own statements or test the correctness of his own decisions. His narrative ends with Mazarin's appearance on the plain of Casal, and his proclamation of the peace which saved Italy from the war that menaced her, and introduced the pacific politician on the historical stage.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty of Vincennes with the Duke of Lorraine, Mazarin died (February, 1661). From that moment Louis XIV. took the reins of government into his own hands. The system of centralization which he established is described by Dr. Krohn as one which paralyzed political consciousness, annihilated the national will, degraded the nobility, and enslaved the church. But the general decomposition which characterized the social state was succeeded by a compensating movement of a constructive kind: the growing development of the middle-classes, with corresponding interests, ideas, commercial and scientific activity, and an energetic popular life. This development had its true beginning in the period of the Regency—that is, the period which followed the death of the Grand Monarque in 1715, and was terminated by the official majority of his great grandson in 1723. Dr. Krohn's "Last Years of the Life of Louis XIV." are designed as a preliminary study to the History of the Regency, and relate the principal events or describe the leading personages of the period. Thus, as the subject of one chapter we have Madame de Maintenon, of another Philip of Orleans, of a third the war in Italy, and of a fourth the occurrences in Spain. The desolation of the royal family, the testament of Louis XIV., the future regent, and the end of the despotism, are the chief topics of the four concluding chapters.

Just a century after the collapse of the absolutism of Louis another great despotic régime broke down in France. The history of its rise and progress, as recorded by a brilliant writer, M. Thiers, is the object of a deliberate and systematic attack by M. Jules Barni, a professor at Geneva, who protests against the version of Napoleon's career entitled "The History of the Consulate and the Empire," as deficient in morality, in logic, and in critical appreciation.† Regarding it as a dangerous legend, and detesting Cæsarism or Napoleonism as only

* "La Jeunesse de Mazarin." Par M. Victor Cousin. Paris. 1865.

† "Die letzten Lebensjahre Ludwig's des Vierzehnten. Geschichtliche Studie," &c. Von Dr. Wilhelm Krohn. London: David Nutt. 1865.

‡ "Napoleon et son Historien, M. Thiers." Par Jules Barni, &c. London: David Nutt. 1865.

a good hater can, M. Barni investigates, in this reproduction of a course of twelve lectures delivered in Geneva, the value of the views and statements which are advanced by the historian whom he undertakes to demolish. In pursuance of his purpose, he maintains against Thiers that Napoleon was not the continuator of the Revolution, but a counter-revolutionist; that the eighteenth *Brumaire*, far from being the salvation of France, was a misfortune as well as a crime; that the Consulate was as culpable as the Empire; that Napoleon's political conversion, after his return from Elba, is a fiction, and that his exile to St. Helena was a just punishment for the *coup d'état* of December. He condemns his conduct in deserting the army of Egypt, not as an act of cowardice, but as a violation of duty for unpatriotic and ambitious purposes. He allows him but a secondary share in the famous codification of French law, which he asserts was a revolutionary conception inaugurated by the convention, or rather by the constitutional and legislative assemblies; he attributes the loss of the battle of Waterloo (tollowing General Charras and Quinet, and showing that Thiers, though from a different point of view, is virtually of the same opinion) to Napoleon himself; for even if Grouchy was the material cause of the disaster, the failure, morally considered, was the result of the emperor's mischievous policy. It is curious to note the variations of judgment in the three inquirers just mentioned. According to Thiers, Grouchy's misconduct occasioned the loss of the battle; according to Charras, Grouchy was undoubtedly to blame, but, nevertheless, if he had done all that he might have done, he could not have secured the victory; according to Quinet, Grouchy might have saved the army, but Grouchy's errors were independent of those of Napoleon, who was accordingly really answerable for the defeat at Waterloo. Having destroyed the *biographical legend*, M. Barni ends with destroying the *craniological legend*. Napoleon, far from having "ce front prodigieux, ce crâne fait à moule du globe impérial," as Victor Hugo sings, or "la tête la plus vaste dont la science anatomique ait constaté l'existence," as M. Thiers says in prose, our author contends, on the authority of M. Piesse, that Napoleon's head was chiefly remarkable for the smallness of the skull. The vehement protest contained in this uncompromising demolition of the legendary Napoleon, and the research which its pages evince, may procure for it many readers in this country, but not, we fear, in the land where the people still worship the memory of the captive of St. Helena.

Among the sworn enemies of Napoleonism, in its first and most terrific manifestation, the German poet, Ernst Moritz Arndt, held a conspicuous place. Arndt was born in 1769, the birth-year of Napoleon I., of respectable but poor parents, at Schoritz (in Pomerania). On the completion of his seventeenth year he entered on his academical career at

Stralsund, where he appears to have led but a cheerless and solitary life. Next we find him travelling, then marrying, and in 1806 assuming the duties of a Professor at Greifswald, where he continued, till Marshal Soult, two years after, struck his name off the list of the university officials. About this time, too, we find him publishing addresses to the German people, to incite them to a sustained resistance against Napoleon, and throwing off various lyrical and dramatic poems. Arndt wrote also on education, history, poetry, and on the mission of woman and her sphere of action. In 1810 he returned to Greifswald; but finding himself in a minority among its Napoleon-worshipping inhabitants, he once more departed from it, proceeding to Berlin, and thence travelling into Russia. During a subsequent residence at Leipsic, patriotic pamphlets and martial songs were his principal compositions. He married Maria, the sister of Dr. Friedrich Schleiermacher, his first wife having died in giving birth to a son in 1801. After this he seems to have passed a quiet, happy life, lecturing at Bonn, and writing endless *brochures* on history and politics, with poems, translations, and stories. In 1848 the arena of public life opened to him, and he sat, as deputy for Solingen, in the Parliament in Frankfurt. The death of Arndt, who is best known in England by his song, "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland," took place in January, 1860, when he was about 90 years of age. His "Biography," by E. Langenberg, from which we have derived this sketch, will put the reader in possession of the facts, thoughts, and feelings, so far as he need care to know them, that made up the outward and inward life of the patriotic poet. It contains also ample information about the writings of Arndt.

Arndt is not, we think, included in the catalogue of the correspondents of Tieck, whose letters have recently been given to the world by Karl von Holtei, one of that privileged company.¹⁹ In this selection there are but few letters from Tieck himself. On the other hand, those from Schlegel, Schleiermacher, Varnhagen and his gifted wife, Sulpice Boisserée, Alexander von Humboldt, K. Otfried Müller, and a long list of illustrious men and women, may be considered as a compensation. In the fourth volume of the Selection there is a letter from Adolph Wagner to Tieck, which contains a rapid and truthful estimate of Ben Jonson's dramatic genius; and a letter from Raume, p. 92, vol. iii., &c., is amusing. The writer complains that Tieck destroys all the characters in his works—Tannhäuser, Ekbert, Walter, Christian, all come to a bad end; whereas, the poet, like God, should have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but let them all live. He is also annoyed with Tieck, for the indulgence he shows to the false pietists, while he deals out a very hard measure to the genuine saint. He admits, with great *naïveté*, that as the "old man" decays, the fairest

¹⁹ "Ernst Moritz Arndt. Sein Leben und seine Schriften." Von E. Langenberg, &c. Bonn: Weber. 1865.

²⁰ "Briefe an Ludwig Tieck." Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Karl von Holtei. Four Volumes. Breslau: Trewendt. 1864.

gifts of the Divine Being pass away, just as when Pagans leave off worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, and worship their Maker, those fascinating luminaries lose all their interest; but this, he thinks, is the devil's doing. He ends his letter with tender greetings, and a textual consolation (1 Cor. xv.), which forms part of the English burial service, and is a little too long for citation. In the same volume are also a couple of letters from Dr. D. Strauss, in one of which he speaks of an old friend who had gone to America, and turned preacher, and who, on the eve of his own wedding, was present at a grand devotional demonstration, when he had a foretaste, as he says with unconscious humour, of the blessings of that kingdom in which they neither marry nor are given in marriage! J. P. Richter, Andersen, Carove, Carus, Creutzer, the American Ticknor, and English J. Payne Collier, corresponded with Tieck. We fear to say that these four epistolary volumes will be found as interesting as our readers may conjecture from our list of notabilities, but of course it is quite understood that a judgment founded on a partial examination of upwards of 1400 pages must be conditional and precarious.

To the second volume of the collected writings of the Italian patriot, Joseph Mazzini, whose name will be inscribed by future historians in the roll of those illustrious men who have wrought so victoriously for the unity and restoration of their country, we can do little more than draw the attention of our readers.²¹ It contains a series of critical and literary essays, written in the decade 1829-39. The first of any importance is one on European literature. This is followed by four papers on the Historical Drama, and the Dramatic art. There is also a review of Italian literature since 1830; a passage from an article on Paolo Sarpi; an article on the poems of Victor Hugo, and another on those of Lamartine, which are well worth reading. These essays were not originally written in *English*, though Mazzini writes in our language with a perspicuity and a prophet-like eloquence which but few command, but in *Italian*. The translator would do well to consult a classical friend in cases of Greek or Latin proper names for the future. We shall not then read of Petus Thraseus or of the struggle symbolized in Oro and Trifone, personages far more difficult to identify in Italian dress than our old French acquaintances, Pythagore and Tite-Live.

Disposed to take a more favourable view of Cicero's character than Drumann or Mommsen, M. Gaston Boissier has produced an interesting volume entitled "Cicero and his Friends,"²² in which he relates the private and public life of the great orator, explains the relations existing between him and Cæsar; has special chapters on Atticus, Coelius, Brutus, and Octavius. The

work betrays a decided, though moderate anti-Cæsarism, and the author does not bear so hard upon Brutus as some recent historians have done. He thinks he was narrow but honest, and unfitted for action. As to Cicero, he contends that if he was sometimes weak and hesitating, he always ended in defending the cause of justice and right, and when it was vanquished did all that remained for its champions to do, honoured it by his death.

The celebrated inscription of Ancyra recording the actions of Augustus, to which M. Boissier refers in his delineation of Octavius, has been edited with great care by the accomplished and learned German historian, Th. Mommsen.²³ Since the explorations of Perrot and Guillaume in Galatia and Bithynia in 1861, both the Greek and Latin copies of the inscription have gained in completeness. The "Monumentum Ancyranum" is followed by the "Monumentum Apolloniense," which after all that Perrot has done for its restoration, appears to have only a slight confirmatory value. For the theological student the *Titulus Tiberinus*, discovered at Tivoli in 1764, has acquired a peculiar interest. This inscription indicates that a triumph was granted to a pro-consul in the reign of Augustus, who *twice* administered the government of Syria and Phœnicia. It is well known that the Evangelist St. Luke places the birth of Christ in the period when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria, and that Josephus refers this governorship to the years 759-760 u.c., ten years after the death of Herod, in whose days Christ is declared by the same St. Luke to have been born. But if Cyrenius was *twice* governor of Syria, Christ may very well have been born during his administration, the years 751-752 u.c. forming part of the interval in which history has not recorded the names of the Syrian præsidés, and in which the office is more likely to have been held by Cyrenius than any other known pro-consul. This was pointed out by Zumpt some years ago, but Mommsen discusses the question with an appropriate independence. Of course, that Cyrenius was the missing governor is conjectural; but there is a good deal to be said for the conjecture. It must also be remembered that this hypothetical discovery leaves the other difficulties in the Evangelical narrative pretty much what they were.

BELLES LETTRES.

NOVELS first of all, for they are most read, before poetry, or history, or science. And first of all novels, the Sensational. For the last three or four years, each new work of Miss Braddon's has been hailed by the press in language which would have been laudatory if applied to a new "Hamlet." The *Times* has lately held her up as a guide to the philosopher, and a model for the moralist. The consequence of all this is

²¹ "Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini." Vol. II. Critical and Literary. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

²² "Cicero et ses Amis. Etude sur la Société Romaine du temps de César." Par Gaston Boissier. Paris: Hachette. 1865.

²³ "Res Gestæ Divi Augusti. Ex Monumentis Ancyranis et Apolloniensibus." Edidit Th. Mommsen. Accedunt Tabulæ Tres. Berlin: Weidmann. 1865.

that we now enjoy a kind of Braddon literature. It is very wide, and ranges in one direction from "The Woman in White" to the "London Journal," and in another from "Aurora Floyd" to Holywell-street.

The last new specimen—the latest development, we would rather call it—is now before us.¹ The words are those of Guy Livingstone, but the plot is that of Miss Braddon. It mixes in equal proportions the animalism in which Mr. Lawrence appears so to delight with the philosophy and the big capitals of Sir Bulwer Lytton. The text is—

"Balnea, vina, Venus, corrumpunt corpora nostra,
Sed faciunt vitam, balnea, vina, Venus,"

more especially Venus. But the sermon is, "Oh, fie! fie!" "Pleasant but wrong," screams our preacher. This is very delicious. It is in itself a new kind of sensation. The creature is pleased, and the Christian is appeased. Here, too, we find the new creed about woman. The New Woman, as we read of her in recent novels, possesses not only the velvet, but the claws of the tiger. She is no longer the Angel, but the Devil in the House. "Who is she?" is again the cry, when any crime is committed. Man proposes, woman disposes, is the new proverb. The Fathers, after all, were right when they said Adam was more tempted by Eve than by the Devil. Such is the pleasant doctrine developed in "Strathmore."

Here, too, we find the New Man. We all know him since the days of Guy Livingstone, with the cruel look, and the stern, pitiless smile. He rules everybody, especially the women, with that pitiless smile. But Lord Cecil Strathmore has a peculiarity which we have never before observed in a hero. He makes loves with his nose. Thus the author says: "Lord Cecil stooped over her, spending breathless kisses on her lips, and passing his hands through the golden-scented hair which floated on her shoulders. Every single shining thread might have been a sorcery-twisted with, that bound him powerless, so utterly he bowed before her power, so utterly he was blinded to all that lay beyond the delicious languor and the sensuous joys which steeped his present in their rich delight" (vol. i. pp. 265-266). The hero's friend, too, is aware of his lordship's weakness, for he writes: "Pity me! forgive me! you who know her accursed sorceress beguilings, her subtle tempting that lies in the languor of a glance, in the passing fragrance of her hair" (vol. ii. p. 40). And the hero not only makes love with his nose, but thinks other people do. Thus he describes his idea of the Marquis of Vavasour's courtship: "The woman had him alone in a verandah, where she lay fanning herself amidst a pile of flowers, with the air scented with pastilles, and everything planned to take him in a moment of weakness" (vol. i. p. 95). The author himself would seem to be equally impressed with the love-making and love-receiving powers of the nose; for he writes: "It was not either in jest or flattery that Strathmore spoke such words.

The roses had the perfume for him, with which they had wooed Manual in the Isles of Delight" (vol. i. p. 236). After reading these and other similar passages we begin to understand the reason of Socrates' dislike to perfumes. The author's style, too, is peculiar. His rule seems to be to use a French word whenever an English one will do. There is not much humour, but a great deal of cynicism and light badinage. To be just, let us add that "Strathmore" possesses mystery enough for a sensation story, passion enough for a melo-drama, epigrams enough for a comedy, and cleverness enough for a whole circulating library of ordinary novels. Lastly, it possesses a great knowledge of the World, but not so much a knowledge of the World as of the Flesh and the Devil.

It is a positive relief to turn from such high lights, false glare, and false sentiment, to the quiet Devonshire seaport in "Miss Russell's Hobby."² Here we have no lords, no ladies, no French, but very commonplace people—Betty with her Devonshire dialect, and a fixed idea "that the Apostles were all alike." Miss Russell, too, with her fixed ideas, "keystones of her castles in the air," and Miss Anna Russell with her "tract-sowing," and Mr. Mitchell, "who left everything to his wife's management except his geraniums," and who used "to count the spots on them as a draper would his prints." All these good people are a trifle dull, but dullness is preferable to clever wickedness and attractive vice. The book is evidently written by a lady, and is eminently fit for ladies. It is probably, too, a first attempt. The authoress belongs to Miss Austen's school, or rather that section of it represented by Mrs. Gaskell. Miss Austen herself has pointed out the difficulties that attend her special style. Nice observation, minute touches, delicate rendering of light and shade, fine strokes of satire, all contribute to make her portraits so lifelike. The authoress of "Miss Russell's Hobby" has undoubted capacities, but she has yet her art to learn. Pains have been taken, but still more pains are required. The greatest deficiency is in the characters of her men. They are not men, but women's men. She has a tendency to describe actions rather than represent them, and to tell us people are brilliant. To take a writer's word for her hero's wit requires an amount of faith which in a sceptical age is not often found amongst reviewers. The authoress, too, plays the part of a good-natured Medea, for without any cauldron she manages to bestow the gift of youth on her hero. Though years pass by, he does not become bald, or even suffer from grey hairs. This certainly gives the book a great charm for the middle-aged. So much for the defects. Its quiet tone, and its unassuming style, however, make us easily forgive them. As no novel is now quite complete without a shipwreck, we will quote one on which the fortunes of more than one person depend.

"Crowds were there, watching a few determined men who silently prepared to unmoor a boat. Be-

¹ "Strathmore." A Romance. By Ouida. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

² "Miss Russell's Hobby." A Novel. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

tween the gusts was heard that ominous sound—a gun. It was immediately answered from the shore. ‘Ay, ay, let ‘em know we hear ‘em, if we can do nought else, poor souls!’ said the weather-beaten man who stood glass in hand. Anxious faces grouped about him. ‘Can you make out any more, Crowther?’ ‘Ay! I’d lose my last fardin’ if that isn’t the *Wareham Trader*. Bless you! I know her by her jibboom; and look ‘ee, d’ye see, her topmast is clean gone. I wouldn’t wonder if her helm is gone, for, to my seeming, she’s tossed about no way. She’ll drift into their rocks to a dead certainty, and then the Lord deliver them!’ A small, thin man, whose face was stern with anxiety, pushed his way among them. He was buttoned up tightly, and came to the steps. ‘Give me a seat, Jack,’ he said. ‘Sir, what good in that? No; let’s risk no more lives than is necessary. What good can you do?’ ‘The good of a clear head. I’ll go. If he dies, the world’s gone for me. Go I must.’ . . . Janet watched him. A few low words were exchanged between the sailors, and then, with dark faces, but brave hearts, they guided the boat over the breakers. There was a suppressed, stifled cheer, which dropped into a ‘God bring you home again,’ from husky voices, and then all eyes turned again to the Point. There, half hid in the thick cloud of vapour, a grey object was seen, which, to Janet’s eyes, looked very unlike a ship, but which the seamen pronounced to be the brig in which Jack had sailed. A low murmur passed through the crowd. She was certainly drifting ashore. At this, a heart-rending scream was heard. It came from a woman, who stood with clasped hands striving to see. She was the wife of the skipper.”—pp. 149-150.

There is a shipwreck, we may add, in “Strathmore.” It is of course a very much grander affair than this. The billows curl twice as high, and make ten times as much noise, whilst the hero almost walks upon them. But on the whole we do not think it quite so natural.

For many years past we have been puzzled to account for the phenomenon of the uniform bad printing and the invariable dulness of Mr. Newby’s novels. The type is difficult to read, and the text is not worth reading. The type hurts your eyes, whilst the story is not worth the candle by which you read it. Sometimes we have thought that Mr. Newby writes all the stories himself, which might account for their dulness; or else that the authors themselves set up the types, which might account for the wretched printing. There is a peculiarity, too, about these novels which we have noticed in no others. The advertisements are characteristic—they cannot be called literary. At first sight they seem like a reprint of some bit of hoarding. They look as if all those fly-leaves which are showered about at Exhibition times had been carefully collected and pasted in. They are, however, doubtless meant as a commentary on the text. When the breathless reader is enamoured with the beauty of the heroine, he has only to turn to the last pages, and he will see where she obtained the brilliance of her complexion, and the whiteness of her teeth, at half-a-crown a box. When he comes upon a death-scene—there are generally two or three in a Newby novel—an advertisement will assuage his grief and dry his eyes with the cheapness of his mourning; and when, in the third volume, the happy couple are at last married, he

may find out, without moving from his arm-chair, where they will probably procure their clocks, and their household furniture. The advertisements, we are bound to say, are the least objectionable part of the Newby novel. For instance, here is a story by Mrs. Bunbury,* which is dulness itself. And we must tell Mrs. Bunbury, and all other ladies, that dulness in a novel is as great a fault as ugliness in a woman—men will shun both in consequence. The evil genius is a Miss Thomas, “with a step as soft as a cat, or even of a mouse.” This woman with the cat-like step has a nephew, who rejoices in the name of Cadwallader Llewellyn Williams, and who has the further peculiarity of possessing a pair of whiskers “which stare at people.” A young heiress, also in love, is placed in the calculating woman’s charge, and any one who likes may work out the problem by which the calculating woman, in the second volume, brings the money of the heiress into the pocket of the nephew. But it is not in the mysteries of plot or the evolution of character that Mrs. Bunbury shines. Descriptions of nature and moral reflections are her strong points. The first might have been written by a maid-of-all-work, and the latter by Tupper. Thus she speaks of “large trees garnished with ivy” (vol. i. p. 56), as if they were hams; and paints the beauty of a “rain-distilling sky” (vol. i. p. 89), which also bears the same kitchen mark. The moral reflections are of all kinds, and, as Parr says of his pills, suitable for all climates. For death, as Sterne puts it, she has a complete set of fine sayings. Thus in one place she observes, “It is seldom that death comes to us just at the time we have prognosticated.” She might just as well have said, “It is seldom that a Derby prophet’s tip comes just as the prophet foretold.” Sometimes she is more mysterious, as when she utters such a dark saying as “pronouns are the axioms of love” (vol. i. p. 101). This, like a great deal else in her book, we don’t understand. Of it, however, as a whole, we can very confidently say that any one wishing to know how a novel should not be written had best read “*Florence Manvers*.”

Another novel from the same publisher asks for criticism.† For a moment we thought we discovered a family likeness to “*Florence Manvers*,” when we read of “*Blanche Stewart* with a look demure as a church mouse” (p. 18). The story, however, is founded on very different principles of art. Here we have no axioms. Philosophy is not Mr. Frank Trollope’s strong point; humanity is rather his study. He moulds the chin of his hero, and delicately chisels his heroine’s features. He makes brows lower and eyes flash, and does an immense deal of tragic business in a little time. Lest our strictures upon him should seem too severe, we will allow him to speak for himself—

“‘You’re wrong! quite wrong!’ cried the snarling Sir John Barleycorn; ‘ugh! ugh!’ a short

* “*Florence Manvers*.” In Three Volumes. By Selina Bunbury. London. T. C. Newby. 1865.

† “*A Right-Minded Woman*.” A Novel. In Three Volumes. By Frank Trollope. London: T. C. Newby. 1865.

cough impeding his speech, 'you're wrong, I tell you, Master Overwise. I's played the play a hundred times on May-day, and never before did I ever see the bower women come afore the garland bearers.' The pedagogue eyed Sir John Barleycorn with the most sovereign contempt; but the old grumbler went on, nothing daunted, but somewhat out of breath with his cough, caused by the hard trotting of his donkey. 'I tell you, Master Overwise, you are wrong, for I have seen little Snip, the tailor, play the master of the revels better than any I ever did see. He was a merry fellow, too, afore he died.' 'Well, peace to his memory,' said the schoolmaster, somewhat impatiently. 'I've heard that he was like his own buckram—stiff.' 'No such thing, no such thing; but where is the Queen of the May?' 'She has not condescended to honour us with a sight of her royal face; but do not be impatient, Sir John. I will invoke her, and she will descend to bless the eyes of her loving subjects. Stand aside, ye masters and mistresses of the borough of Thorpeton, while I pour forth, in eloquent verse, the overflowing of a loving and loyal heart—

'There's none on earth to whom we owe such duty,
As our loved queen of such beaific beauty.'

'Hallo! hallo!' exclaimed Sir John, 'what do you mean by beaific; that's Hebrew, or some other popish lingo; and I'll be bound it's something indecent, and not fit to be spoken to a lady.' 'Indecent!' cried the offended poet, 'why, it's Latin, man.' 'I thought as much; it's just the lingo the lawyers and doctors talk, and not fit for women's ears.' 'Stupid dolt!' thought the schoolmaster, and then said aloud—'but thou art in error this time, most sapient sapientissimus, for beaific is only a contraction for beatific, which would make the line a foot too long.' 'A foot too long! Why didn't you cut off the other foot? and then we should have been spared the nonsense.' Master Overwise, however, did not condescend to take any further notice, except by another withering look of contempt upon the wheezing old man, and then went on with his invocation—

'With eyes quite as bright,
And as full of light
As either sun or moon,
Or the belt of Orion.'

'O'Ryan, O'Ryan, who the devil's O'Ryan?' shouted Sir John. 'Stop not my invocation, old man—

'By all that's dear to love, beauty and thee,
We invoke thee to crown our festivity.'

'Ugh! ugh! I have played——'—Vol. i. pp. 258-262.

Here the scene is interrupted by the presence of Rebecca Stumps, whose eyes appear "to look up and down at the same moment with something beyond a squint, and whose long chin is covered with a most masculine down."

Now this, be it remembered, is an attempt to describe May Day in James II.'s time, and to give a picture of its wit and mirth. If any theme could inspire a man it would be this. It has been idealized by our poets, and is now vulgarized by Mr. Frank Trollope. His, however, is a very fair specimen of the Newby novel—a novel which we generally take up with hesitation and nearly always lay down with disgust.

Dr. Collier's "Pictures of the Periods," may not unfairly be classed with the novels. It is an attempt to popularize English history, or, in this case, to be more precise, English archaeology, after the fashion of *Charicles* and *Gallus*. Such performances have often been compared to the mixtures of powder and jam with which children are dosed. They much more resemble, as far as results are concerned, the bread and lard which careful housewives give to cats. The grease is all eaten, and the wholesome bread left. The great objection to this method of teaching history is that it is fiction. There is no way of checking the writer. When an historian takes a new view of any period of history, we can determine the question by the evidence of facts. There is a common ground between the critic and the historian, on which both take their stand. But in books like the present, where not a single reference is given, it is not easy to test the author. If you accuse him of distorting history, he replies, I am writing fiction, and the case falls to the ground. Scott, probably, has done more harm to the cause of truth by his historical novels, than all the most prejudiced historians put together. As long as his stories are read, the cavaliers will always be more popular than the puritans. And this bias is unavoidable. The judicial impartiality, which is so commendable in an historian, would be the ruin of a novelist. Truth is the object of an historian; to give pleasure, that of a novelist. But we do not think that our English history and our English antiquities are so dull as to require the aid of fiction. Their popularity may be seen in the number of historians, competent and incompetent, who load our shelves with books. If, however, fiction is permissible, it must be of the highest kind. Shakespeare and Scott may take liberties with history which cannot be permitted to Dr. Collier. A real gift for story-telling, humour, insight into human nature, dramatic power, and poetry, make us for a time forget that the situations never occurred, and that the speakers never lived. Genius here, as elsewhere, makes its own laws, but talent is bound by those of criticism. The six tales which compose the present volume, are evidently written by a clever man, with a large vocabulary, and a style like Harrison Ainsworth's. The surface of things, the armour and dress of men and women, he describes picturesquely enough, but the springs of action and the motives of conduct, he is quite powerless to realize. His constant attempts at picturesqueness often betray him into sad absurdities of language. Thus, to take examples from one tale alone, he writes:—"The effort brought a gush of blood from his wound, and he sunk back dead upon the reddened mass of trampled straw, which last sunrise had seen a field of ripening rye." ("Satin and Sad Colour," p. 193). "Walls have ears, and trees have eyes," says the old proverb, but the notion that straw can see is certainly new to us. Again: "He

* "Pictures of the Periods." A Sketch-Book of Old English Life. By William Francis Collier. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo. 1865.

was delayed for a time by a rush of white-gowned choristers, who came like clamorous sea-gulls round him" (pp. 202, 203), is a little Ossianic in its character, whilst the following is in the style of a sensational novelist: "The trigger clicked—the furrowed wheel of steel revolved, showering sparks upon the priming from the smitten fire-stone in the lock—the charge exploded; but, instead of driving out the heavy ball, it blew stock and barrel into a thousand flying splinters of brass and walnut-wood. The wheel of the lock struck Averil's temple, and sunk into his brain. He fell dead across the open coffer, while drops from his cloven skull oozed in among the coins, gilding them with a redness not their own." (p. 224.) If, however, the interior of the book does not quite please us, the exterior is certainly nearly perfect. The simplicity, good taste, and feeling of the design, make the cover quite a model for bookbinders. Mr. Ruskin, with his curious views about paternal government, has lately proposed that it should publish handsome editions of all really genuine books for the nation. If, however, Mr. Nimmo will only continue to give us such paper, such type, and such binding as we find in the present volume, Mr. Ruskin will have no need to ask help from Government. If, too, publishers only knew how much authors and scholars valued handsome bindings and good "getting up," and how much the public is attracted by them, they would certainly pay more attention to these details than they generally do.

Mr. Ruskin^a has lately been stoned by the critics. They have flung enough stones at him to build his monument, and enough mud to cement it together. Doubtless, his book is very provoking to some minds. In his logic he draws too large conclusions from too small premises, and in his political economy draws them from none at all. Then he is transcendental, carries himself on his own shoulders, jumps down his own throat, eats the wind, and drinks the clouds. Sometimes, however, it is the duty of the critic to leave the faults alone, and dwell only on what is valuable and explain what is likely to be misunderstood. And this book especially demands such criticism. Everybody has enjoyed their joke at it, but nobody brought a grain of sympathy. Even the passage printed in red ink, which has produced such peals of laughter, is really not quite meaningless. Just as in the *Libro d'Oro*, and the *Libri Vitæ* of the Catholic Church, men's noble actions and deeds of charity were chronicled in letters of gold and silver, to typify their nobleness, so, we suppose, did Mr. Ruskin by his rubric intend to typify the sins that are scarlet. Nonsense there is enough in the book, but Mr. Ruskin's nonsense is sometimes more valuable than his critics' sense.

Its great value, however, is in the tone of its feeling, pitched often far too high, and most difficult to be understood by a certain class of minds; and yet it is not at all difficult to be understood by those who have suffered from

the flippancy and hardness of the day. When Mr. Ruskin speaks of our national taste, or rather distaste, of art, and says that if "we heard that all the Titians in Europe were made sand-bags to-morrow on the Austrian forts, it would not trouble us so much as the chance of a brace or two of game less in our own bags in a day's shooting" (page 84), he is only stating in an exaggerated form what many at times of exasperation have felt. We ourselves know a country squire, who hangs a magnificent Reynolds in a dark corner of his gun-room. Remonstrance with him is useless: he prefers the copies of Frith which panel his drawing-room walls. Again, what Mr. Ruskin says about our apathy concerning science (pp. 32–34) has some truth. We ourselves have been nearly taken up as a poacher for watching the habits of birds, and hunted down like a thief by keepers for venturing upon some grouse-moors in search of the site of a British fort. Still such cases are exceptional. Besides, it is to be hoped that even the most unenlightened British squire may some day learn the difference between Reynolds and Frith. Mr. Ruskin's fault is that he too often magnifies the exception into the rule. Besides, it is not good to dwell on what is base. Let us rather rejoice at the little light which is dawning, than repine at the great darkness which is so feebly yet so surely melting. Still, Mr. Ruskin's strictures upon the national hard-heartedness and the national lust for money are needed. Any one who has lived for the last four years, that is to say, during the space of the American civil war, in one of our large manufacturing towns, and has heard, as we have heard, Southern brutalities applauded by men and slavery upheld by women, will not say that Mr. Ruskin has overcoloured one line or overcharged one sentence. Utopianism is at times good for us, if it be only to lift us out of our usual atmosphere of prudence and pence. And we can sympathize with, though we feel how purely utopian for the present they are, his visions of a kingdom where only the great and good shall be kings, and where the sword shall be beaten into the ploughshare, and men shall cease to stab one another, and revel in a scientific murder, which is now dignified by the name of war (pp. 108, 118). Others, beside Mr. Ruskin, have set themselves to bring about the millennium of peace,—peace which is so often more chivalrous than war,—but they have all paid the penalty of being too far in advance of their day; and Mr. Ruskin's eloquent sentences will, equally with the plain words of Cobden, fall upon deaf ears. However, he is not wholly impracticable, wholly utopian, and we feel real pleasure in quoting a passage where delicate fancy serves to brighten and illustrate one at least of the duties which every English lady can perform:—

"Have you ever considered what a deep under-meaning there lies, or at least may be read, if we choose, in our custom of strewing flowers before those whom we think most happy? Do you suppose it is merely to deceive them into the hope that happiness is always to fall thus in showers at their feet? that wherever they pass they will tread on

^a "Sesame and Lilies." By John Ruskin, M.A. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

herbs of sweet scent, and that the rough ground will be made smooth for them by depth of roses? So surely as they believe that, they will have instead to walk on bitter herbs and thorns; and the only softness to their feet will be of snow. But it is not thus intended they should believe; there is a better meaning in that old custom. The path of a good woman is indeed strewn with flowers; but they rise behind her steps, not before them. 'Her feet have touched the meadows, and left the daisies rosy.' You think that only a lover's fancy: false and vain. How if it could be true? You think this also perhaps only a poet's fancy—

Even the light harebell raised its head
Elastic from her airy tread.

But it is little to say of a woman that she only does not destroy where she passes. She should revive; the harebells should bloom, not stoop as she passes. You think I am going into wild hyperbole? Pardon me, not a whit—I mean what I say, in calm English, spoken in resolute truth. You have heard it said (and I believe there is more than fancy even in that saying, but let it pass for a fanciful one) that flowers only flourish rightly in the garden of some one who loves them. I know you would like that to be true; you would think it a pleasant magic if you could flush your flowers into brighter bloom by a kind look upon them; nay more, if your look had the power not only to cheer but to guard them—if you could bid the black blight turn away, and the knotted caterpillars spare—if you could bid the dew fall upon them in the drought, and say to the south wind in frost—'Come, thou south, and breathe upon my garden, that the spices of it may flow out.' This you would think a great thing. And do you think it not a greater thing that all this (and how much more than this?) you can do, for fairer flowers than these—flowers that could bless you for having blessed them, and will love you for having loved them:—flowers that have eyes like yours, and thoughts like yours; which, once loved, you love for ever? Is this only a little power? Far among the moorlands and the rocks,—far in the darkness of the terrible streets—these feeble florets are lying, with all their fresh leaves torn, and their stems broken—will you never go down to them, nor set them in order in their little fragrant beds, nor fence them in their shuddering from the fierce wind? Will you not go down among them; among those sweet living things, whose new courage, sprung from the earth with the deep colour of heaven upon it, is starting up in strength of goodly spire; and whose purity, washed from the dust, is opening, bud by bud, into the flower of promise."—pp. 189-194.

After this protest we shall hardly be accused of a wish to deal harshly with Mr. Ruskin or the school to which he belongs, yet here is a book which most certainly provokes criticism.⁷ Mr. Japp is one of those damned good-natured friends, who are always doing mischief. He writes in the treacly, sticky style; and if Carlyle, Tennyson, and Ruskin have never tasted sugar-candy, they can have plenty of it from him. When Mr. Japp is not treacly, he is in a state of eruption with epithets like "noble-hearted," "god-fearing," and all the rest of it, which the two Kingsleys have done their

best to make ridiculous. There are just now a certain class of semi-pious words, which we would avoid as carefully as puns. His theology is about up to the standard of an intelligent Bible-reader, and his grammar somewhat below. He constantly treats us to such offensive phrases as "a Tennyson," "a Carlyle," (preface, p. xii,) "a Retzsch," (p. 173,) "a Burns," "a Wordsworth," (p. 37,) and hopelessly confuses "will" and "shall" (p. 171). Further, he talks of how "self-renunciation pulses with the movement of the blood" (p. 25), and how "pebbles pulse a lake," and calls milk, in the genuine penny-a-liner style, "lactal wealth" (p. 12). In his playfulness, he terms Novalis "a strange literary witch" (p. 157), and writes of Mr. Tennyson "emptying his waste basket on the devoted heads of critics" (p. 169); "how Shakespeare knew better than Voltaire, and folk of that kidney" (p. 116), and calls the former "gentle Will, a puzzling fellow," and in the next page proceeds to make some remarks which show that he has never read, or else never understood, a word of "Will's" sonnets. He not only coins for us new words, as "text-let" (p. 109), but such odoriferous images as "writers should wait, like nature, till the dung of life, has nurtured the tree of will into beautiful blossom" (p. 123), and such novel smiles as "a man, as straight as a rush" (p. 64). If we proceed in this style, we shall soon hear of a giant as strong as a reed. Too much learning, it has been thought, makes people mad, but too much reading evidently makes them ridiculous. His intellectual standard may, however, be judged by the fact of his appealing to "an independent minister of note" as an authority (p. 195). After this, we are not surprised by a perfect plague of pulpit cant. Thus he talks about "my readers" (p. 17), just in the same way that an unctuous preacher "dear-readers" his congregation, writes about thoughts "being borne in upon his mind" (p. 249), and warns Mr. Macdonald with "solemn brotherly advice" (p. 119). Orthodoxy he curiously discovers in our instincts, and more easily in "In Memoriam" (p. 109). And it gives him the highest pleasure to think that Tennyson's "Maud" is a more Christian poem than "Hamlet" (p. 136). Evidently to such a man Tate's and Brady's version of the Psalms will be a work of art.

But in what we have ventured to call the treacly and sticky style, Mr. Japp shows his highest skill. Thus he says of "In Memoriam," "its conclusion melts into a psalm,—a psalm sung with some of our later accompaniments, such as David knew not of" (p. 128). To exalt Mr. Tennyson over David strikes us as rather profane, but it is certainly very flattering, which is more important to Mr. Japp. So again, of Mr. Ruskin we are told that he is "endowed by nature with rare gifts, and has also been blessed by Providence with ample means" (p. 191). Here it will be noticed that a little butter has been added to the treacle. To praise in one sentence a man's spiritual and worldly endowments appears to us the finest stroke of art which we have ever met in that school which professes to teach us how to make the best of both worlds.

⁷ "Three Great Teachers of our own Time: Being an attempt to deduce the Spirit and Purpose animating Carlyle, Tennyson, and Ruskin." By Alexander H. Japp. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

Such are a few of the details of Mr. Japp's book. Of its general scope we can only say that it is entirely wrong from beginning to end. In no single sense can any one of the three, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Ruskin, be said to be the teachers of the day. Quite in another direction must the true teacher be sought; quite in another school the thoughts that are governing men's minds, and moulding the destinies of the future. It would be absurd to deny that they all three are not men of genius, and have not exercised a certain influence on the time; but we do deny the permanency of that influence. Mr. Carlyle's views have lately landed him into strange ground — into excusing tyranny, playing the devil's advocate, and upholding slavery. Mr. Tennyson's philosophy, as summed up in "The Two Voices," is the philosophy of a dying creed, whilst "In Memoriam" is an unavailing attempt to reconcile the fictions of historical Christianity with the truths of science. How far Mr. Ruskin understands the day may be seen in the political economy of "Unto This Last," and his senseless outbursts against commerce.

After all, Mr. Japp means well. In his mild way he is very harmless, and perhaps does not deserve such severe condemnation as we have given him. The best parts of his book, however, are the quotations.

The poetry this quarter is rather less in quantity, and worse in quality, than usual. Dean Alford warbles for us in a volume^a made up of that kind which, as Horace long ago said, is tolerated by neither gods nor men, but apparently only by women. His is the perfect type of the poetry of the commonplace. We know the sort well. It is religious in the spirit, but very prosy in the letter. It generally contains an "Ode to a Baby lately born," and another to one lately dead, and a note on the author's grandmother. *Bradshaw* on the whole is more poetical, and decidedly more useful.

Dean Alford, however, has his mission. Read him, and then you know, once for all, what all those little thin purple, blue and green octavos of "Lyrics of the Heart," and "Leaves of my Childhood," are about. His book is a compendium of them all. It is the *Gradus* of platitudes, and the *florilegium* of faded metaphors. It contains alike the sighs of love-lorn curates, and the gushings of spinsters. He is Bavius and Mævia combined. "Midnight Thoughts," "On the Birth of my First Child," "To a Moon-beam by our Fireside," are the subjects which his Muse loves to adorn.

Evidently Wordsworth has been Dean Alford's model. And the Dean's verses have all the simplicity of his great master, without any of his thought. They are in places quite Præraphælite. Thus the lines, "A few Hours after the Birth of my First Child," are in the first part so scientifically realistic, so lovingly filled in with the minutest details of midwifery, that they might have been written by an accoucheur.

They are partly a commentary on *deivov tò rixteiv*, and partly the service for the churching of women in blank verse. But gradually the philosopher, the accoucheur, and the churchman disappear, the father prevails, and the conclusion does more than justice to the parental feelings. The Dean usurps the functions of the Prophet, and to "Welcome Little Stranger" adds some interesting prophecies.

The Dean's rhymes, too, are often Præraphælite. Thus "east" pairs off with "blest" (p. 232); "search" matches to "torch" (p. 236), and "increasing" makes a kind of Irish Præraphælite rhyme with "chasing" (p. 263). We venture, however, to say that the Dean carries his Præraphælitism a little too far, when he makes a child asks his mother on a fine spring day—

"Mama, will the weather be as fine in heaven?"—p. 241.

This, we think, although a most natural question for an English child, smacks a little too much of our insular climate. To forecast heaven with a barometer is hardly what we should expect from a Dean. Again, we think the Dean should not call stars "lamping potentates" (p. 74), nor speak of "blosmy hawthorn" (p. 141), nor talk of "the river's silver swathes" (p. 217), as probably nobody will know what he means.

A local colouring, however, which is very pleasing, pervades some of his pieces. It is commonly supposed that one of the many duties of a Dean is hospitality, and the following stanza consequently seems to us very natural:—

"The pretty lambs welcome their life,
In the fresh morning of the year;
Taking no forethought of the knife,
They play and do not fear."—p. 213.

We admire, too, the way in which the Dean deals with the great "nude" question. With equal delicacy and equal taste he clothes everything. With him the earth, even in the winter, generally considered the most naked time of the year, is "clad for her bridal glad" (p. 237), and the hills with him wear good thick "robes of purple and gold" (p. 100), and even the Morning is thoughtfully "kerchiefed in wind and rain" (p. 212), two elements whose only connexion with clothes has hitherto been to spoil them. As for the spring—but the poet himself shall speak—

"Come, come, thou dallying Spring,
Over the hills that rise to the West,
Show us the gleam of thy sky-blue vest."—p. 238.

We can only parallel this with the beautiful expression of an American writer—

"Night drew her sable mantle around her, and pinned it with a star."

Further, we need scarcely say that the Dean's volume contains, "Fragments of a Proposed Drama" (p. 152), and "Fragments of a Long-pondered Poem" (p. 805), "The End of a Charade" (p. 311), and "A Letter to a Friend" (p. 319). No little monograph of rhymed silliness is ever complete without these; they are as sure to turn up as the "Portrait of a Gentle-

^a "The Poetical Works of Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury." Fourth Edition, containing many New Pieces now first collected. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

man" in the Academy, or a grey horse in a lady's novel.

One peculiarity there is, however, about the Dean's book—that he takes the public into his confidence about his future state. Generally speaking, Bavius and Mævia only confide to us their present joys and sorrows. From various passages in his book the Alford family would seem likely to enjoy that position which was denied the sons of Zebedee. The Dean, too, is not ashamed to describe his own personal apothecosis—

"When I am spirit clear,
More pure than is the ocean-moon."—p. 214.

For all this sort of thing we are of course prepared in tombstone poetry, when it is written by the parish clerk or the churchwarden. But we do think that good feeling and good taste should prevent a dignitary of the Church of England from publicly exalting himself, his family, and his personal friends to that Kingdom of Glory where, if he believes the Book which he so often unconsciously makes ridiculous, many are called, but few chosen; in which a special clause, too, is directed against the rich, amongst whom Deans, we suppose, may be classed.

Mr. Tennyson suffers the same fate as a popular opera—a hundred barrel-organs vulgarize the one, and a hundred poetasters parody the other. We most of us know some sucking bard, who, in his republican moments, dashes off a copy of "Locksley Hall," and who, when in love or when bilious, takes to imitating "In Memoriam." Ladies, too, suffer from this weakness. They have their models, whom they copy with a fidelity which by their admirers will be called reverence, by critics a monomania. For instance, here is Mrs. Prideaux, who thus begins her "Claudia"—

"The unrelenting summer sun of Rome
Poured from the zenith—not a line of shade
Edged the white streets,—when Brán, a British prince,

The son of Llyr, the sire of Caradoc,
Sat wrapped in sadness at Narcissus' gate:
Narcissus freedman and chief favourite
Of Claudius Cæsar.

"For when Llyr, the king
Of the fierce tribe that held the Cymric coast
North of the tawny channel which receives
The rivers of the West, had passed away,
His son, the patient, many-thoughted Brán,
Searching his spirit, could not find the skill
To rule their turbulence in times of war.
Though brave like all his sires, the noble prince
Was minded otherwise. He could not hear
The trumpets of ambition; they were drowned
By a still voice which drew him from the midst
Of evil men, to stand above the world
And wait the dawning of a better day.
Wherefore, withdrawing from the sovereignty,
He left it in the hands of Caradoc,
His younger son: the elder prince had fallen
In Llyr's last battle with the Roman power
Led on by Aulus Plautius. For himself,
He passed, a willing exile, from the court
Of grey Trefrân; and crossed the tawny sea,

"Claudia." By Mrs. Frederick Prideaux. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

The Summer-country, and the Deep-valed Land;
And paused not, save for needful rest and food,
Till in the centre of the granite horn,
That pierces far into the unknown seas,
He found the solitude his soul desired,
And grew alive again."—pp. 1, 2.

Now this in its way is really fine; and had Mr. Matthew Arnold and Mr. Tennyson never written, we should have certainly ranked Mrs. Prideaux very high amongst modern poets. As it is, however, the lines only suggest others far finer. Captain Cory¹⁰ certainly cannot be accused of imitation. His fault is that of being rather too original. In everything the gallant captain seems to see the image of war. Though love is his theme, yet "Arma virumque cano" is his motto. The style betrays the soldier. Thus, in his "Prefatory Remarks," he gracefully says, "An interval of unwonted leisure, made by circumstance a time of almost enforced inaction, occurring in the mid career of a very restless life, has permitted thought to bring my mind to bay." Again, in the very first lines in his "Poem to Egeria," he writes—

"The Spring has broken Winter's ward,
And glades are green again."—p. 1.

We are sorry, however, to learn that he suffers so from the south wind; the east wind, we know, in spite of Mr. Kingsley's eulogy, is apt to inflict bronchitis and sore throats. The south we always imagined was the wind that lovers and poets admired. The gallant captain, however, says—

"But it chokes me oft, when it brings to mind
That it used to blow,—as now!"—p. 1.

But originality is the mark of the book, except where some plagiarism occurs, as in the very first stanza, where we read how "the mysterious stars kept callous watch" (p. 9). Campbell, we think, has said something of this sort before.

Mr. Locker's poems¹¹ are like most albums—they contain a few good things, and a great many very poor ones. "Sunt plura mala," as Martial said of his epigrams. He has an ugly knack of punning, which does him much injustice. Such lines as—

"The trees have cut their ancient sticks,"—p. 6,

"My bank of early viol-ets,
Is now a bank of savings,"—p. 7,

are bad enough; but to have recourse to another language, as in—

"O Cara mine, what lines of care are these?"—
(p. 161)

suggests not a sense of humour, but its dearth. We have, too, another charge against him. Mr. Locker is a joker of jokes. The jester's cap sits very well upon his head, but the gown of the moralist hardly suits him. Thus, there

¹⁰ "The Reconquest." A Love Story. In Two Cantos. By Arthur Cory, Captain H.M. Indian Army. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

¹¹ "Selections from the Works of Frederick Locker." With Illustrations, by Richard Doyle. London: Moxon and Co. 1865.

is something very jarring about the conclusion of a little piece, "To my Grandmother." He has been laughing very pleasantly about her, as represented in a picture by Romney, when she was seventeen, and then suddenly says he should like to meet her in heaven—

"I'm fain to meet you there—
If as witching as you were,
Grandmama."—p. 19.

What with Dean Alford applying an atmospheric test to heaven, and Mr. Locker making the personal beauty of his grandmother one of its chief attractions, the orthodox will be rather shocked. Mr. Locker, however, does not always write with his left hand. He is fertile in the resources of rhythm, and can find plenty of rhymes to "tempora mutantur," and "Piccadilly," and, we dare say, to the famous "porringer," and "Timbuctoo," those great crucial tests to rhymesters. He is always happy when he sings of Geraldine in particular, and young ladies in general. If, as he says, life is a bubble, he sees the rainbow in it. He hits playfully, rather than hard; and his philosophy resembles his satire. Young ladies show their ankles, but wives wear balmorals, and widows return to the ways of girlhood. The world fears God, but it fears Mrs. Grundy a great deal more. These are the themes on which he loves to write with more or less vigour.

From America we receive a sensible book upon Shakespeare.¹² After the vagaries of Miss Delia Bacon in the New, and the follies of the Tercentenary Orgie in the Old World, such a work is as welcome as it is unexpected. Mr. White brings what is so much wanted, good sound common sense. Many may differ from him, but nobody will find him extravagant. We wish that he had more often given us his authorities, and that when he did give them he would omit the name of Mr. Fullom. Of all the ridiculous books published upon Shakespeare, Mr. Fullom's book is pre-eminently the most ridiculous. To quote him is to throw discredit on your own judgment. Among Shakespearean students in England such a reference as at p. 166 will do Mr. White's work more harm than all his well-digested learning and well-considered remarks will be able to erase. To all those, however, who wish to learn what is known about Shakespeare's life, put well and in a brief compass, together with the history of our English drama, we would say, read Mr. White's book. He is no mere idolater of Shakespeare, and he has no wish to overlook his faults. He accepts the hard facts of his life, and makes no attempt to explain them away. The position of the poet's father is stated without any gloss. The deer-stealing, the marriage, even the supposed cause of his death, are noted down in all their ugly literalness. Consequently there is in Mr. White's book a human interest about Shakespeare

which is entirely lost in those biographies where he is treated as an immaculate being. To those who take the latter view the following extract is worth pondering over:—

"Whether or no Anne Hathaway had a fair face and a winning way which spontaneously captivated William Shakespeare, or whether he yielded to arts to which his inexperience made him an easy victim, we cannot surely tell. But we do know that she, though not vestally inclined, as we shall see, remained unmarried till 1582, and that then the woman of twenty-six took to husband the boy of eighteen. They were married upon once asking of the banns; and the bond given to the Bishop of Worcester for his security in licensing this departure from custom was given in that year, on the 28th day of November. About those days there was great need that Anne Hathaway should provide herself with a husband of some sort, and that speedily; for in less than five months after she obtained one she was delivered of a daughter. The parish register shows that Susanna, the daughter of William and Anne Shakespeare, was baptised May 26th, 1588. There have been attempts to turn aside the obvious bearings of these facts upon the character of Anne Hathaway. But it is a stubborn and unwise idolatry which resists such evidence as this—an idolatry which would exempt Shakespeare, and not only him, but all with whom he became connected, from human passion and human frailty. That temperament is cruel, and that morality pharisaic, which treats all cases of this kind with inexorable and indiscriminating severity, and that judgment outrageously unjust which visits all the sin upon the weaker and already suffering party."—pp. 47-49.

It is in this strain of even-handed justice that Mr. White writes throughout his book. He extenuates nothing, and he sets, down naught in malice. One broad lesson he has at all events learnt from Shakespeare, and he well applies it to Shakespeare's own life, that "best men are oft moulded out of faults."

Mr. Young, in his "Sea Fishing as a Sport,"¹³ flings a wide net, and catches alike fisherman and fishmonger, housewife and epicure. He discourses to the first two about the habits of fish, and to the last two about their merits. The only fault we have to find with the book is from a literary and not a practical point of view. Thus he tells us (pp. 151, 152) that the Romans used to bring the oysters from beds near Richborough, but forgets altogether to quote the witty and apposite passages from Juvenal of the senator who,

"Circæis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu."

And we think, too, that under turbot, some mention might be made of that historical fish which figures so humorously in the same fourth satire.

The Early English Text Society give us *Lancelot of the Laik*,¹⁴ re-edited from a man-

¹² "Memoirs of the Life of William Shakespeare: with an Essay towards the Expression of his Genius; and an Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Drama." By Richard Grant White. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co. 1865.

¹³ "Sea-Fishing as a Sport: Being an Account of the various kinds of Sea-Fish; How, When, and Where to Catch them, in their various Seasons and Localities." By Lampton J. H. Young. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1865.

¹⁴ "Lancelot of the Laik" A Scottish Metrical Romance. Re-edited from a Manuscript in the

uscript in the Cambridge University Library. We cannot, of course, form any opinion as to the accuracy of the reprint. The glossary, however, is carefully done, but it should have been much fuller, and its usefulness would have been greatly extended by distinguishing those words which are used in Shakespeare, or which may still be found as provincialisms.

We may here briefly notice two works, which, from some cause or another, have only just reached us. The Muses first. From the Blue Mountains in Australia Mr. Horne sends forth "Prometheus"¹⁸—that Prometheus who cried to the earth, and sea, and sun—

Ἰδεσθὲ μοῖα πρὸς θεῶν πάσῃ θεός.

We fear that Mr. Horne is too classical to become popular. A few students, however, are sure to welcome his drama, and the poet must find his reward in the fitness of his readers. The other work appeals to a much larger audience.¹⁹ Mr. Rimmel teaches us the history of perfumes, and how the dead were adorned and how the living are disfigured by cosmetics. The book is written by one who thoroughly understands the subjects he treats. This is as

Cambridge University Library, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. London: Published for the Early English Text Society, by Trübner and Co. 1865.

¹⁸ "Prometheus the Fire-Bringer." By Richard Henry Horne. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1864.

¹⁹ "The Book of Perfumes." By Eugene Rimmel. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

it should be. The only danger in such cases as these is lest the author may be betrayed into mere fine writing on the one hand, or into puffing his own goods on the other. Mr. Rimmel has sometimes fallen into the former, but he carefully avoids the latter mistake. A few slips of the pen, too, here and there, rather interfere with the beauty of the book, and our pleasure in reading it. Thus, at page 5, we have Hippolites for Hippolitus. At page 101 the reference to Juvenal is wrong: it should be the second and not the first satire. Indeed, the references throughout the book are very vague. The way, too, in which Mr. Rimmel, in the earlier part of his work, writes the scientific names of plants, will hardly satisfy botanists. This blunder is curious, for in the latter part the names are all correctly given. In these and some other particulars the book requires careful revision. On the whole, however, we can say that it is as amusing as it is instructive.

Lastly, we have to acknowledge three volumes of Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co.'s novels by standard authors.²⁰ The series is in every way good, and we trust may do something towards checking the torrent of sensationalism by which we are just now inundated. The central figure in Mr. Crane's frontispiece to "Farina" is excellent, and full of promise. The others are too conventional, and are not nature, but Gilbert.

²⁰ "Farina." A Legend of Cologne. By George Meredith. "A Simple Woman," by the Author of "Nutmeg Maids." "Normanton," by A. J. Barrowcliffe. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

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ART. I.—JOHN STUART MILL ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF SIR WM. HAMILTON.

An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, and of the Principal Philosophical Questions discussed in his Writings.
By JOHN STUART MILL. London: Longmans. 1865.

THE work bearing the above title is an octavo volume, consisting of twenty-eight chapters, and five hundred and sixty pages. This is no great amount of print; but the amount of matter contained in it is prodigious, and the quality of that matter such as to require a full stretch of attention. Mr. Mill gives his readers no superfluous sentences, scarcely even a superfluous word, above what is necessary to express his meaning briefly and clearly. Of such a book no complete abstract can be given in the space to which we are confined.

To students of philosophy—doubtless but a minority among the general circle of English readers—this work comes recommended by the strongest claims both of interest and instruction. It presents in direct antithesis two most conspicuous representatives of the modern speculative mind of England—Sir W. Hamilton and Mr. John Stuart Mill.

Sir W. Hamilton has exercised powerful influence over the stream of thought during the present generation. The lectures on Logic and Metaphysics delivered by him at Edinburgh, for twenty years, determined the view taken of those subjects by a large number of aspiring young students, and determined that view for many of them permanently and irrevocably.* Several eminent teachers and writers

of the present day are proud of considering themselves his disciples, enunciate his doctrines in greater or less proportion, and seldom contradict him without letting it be seen that they depart unwillingly from such a leader. Various new phrases and psychological illustrations have obtained footing in treatises of philosophy, chiefly from his authority. We do not number ourselves among his followers; but we think his influence on philosophy was in many ways beneficial. He kept up the idea of philosophy as a subject to be studied from its own points of view: a dignity which in earlier times it enjoyed, perhaps, to mischievous excess, but from which in recent times it has far too much receded—especially in England. He performed the great service of labouring strenuously to piece together the past traditions of philosophy, to re-discover those which had been allowed to drop into oblivion, and to make out the genealogy of opinions as far as negligent predecessors had still left the possibility of doing so.

The forty-six lectures on Metaphysics, and the thirty-five lectures on Logic, published by Messrs. Mansel and Veitch, constitute the biennial course actually delivered by Sir W. Hamilton in the Professorial Chair. They ought therefore to be looked at chiefly with reference to the minds of youthful hearers, as preservatives against that mischief forcibly described by Rousseau—"L'inhabitude de penser dans la jeunesse en ôte la capacité pendant le reste de la vie."

Now, in a subject so abstract, obscure, and generally unpalatable, as Logic and Metaphy-

thereon the ineffaceable impress of his genius and learning, be, at the same time and by the same means, exercised over the intellects and feelings of his pupils an influence which, for depth, feeling and elevation, was certainly never surpassed by that of any philosophical instructor. Among his pupils there are not a few who, having lived for a season under the constraining power of his intellect, and been led to reflect on those great questions regarding the character, origin, and bounds of human knowledge, which his teaching stirred and quickened, bear the memory of their beloved and revered instructor inseparably blended with what is highest in their present intellectual life, as well as in their practical aims and aspirations."

* Mr. Mansel and Mr. Veitch, the editors of Sir W. Hamilton's Lectures on Metaphysics, posthumously published, say in their preface (p. xiii).—

"For twenty years—from 1836 to 1856—the courses of logic and metaphysics were the means through which Sir William Hamilton sought to discipline and imbue with his philosophical opinions the numerous youth who gathered from Scotland and other countries to his class-room; and while, by these prelections, the author supplemented, developed, and moulded the national philosophy, leaving

sics, the difficulty which the teacher finds in inspiring interest is extreme. That Sir W. Hamilton overcame such difficulty with remarkable success, is the affirmation of his two editors; and our impression, as readers of his lectures, disposes us to credit them. That Sir W. Hamilton should have done this effectively is in itself sufficient to stamp him as a meritorious professor—as a worthy successor to the chair of Dugald Stewart, whose unrivalled perfection in that department is attested by every one. Many a man who ultimately adopted speculative opinions opposed to Dugald Stewart, received his first impulse and guidance in the path of speculation from the lasting impression made by Stewart's lectures.

But though we look at these lectures, as they ought to be looked at, chiefly with a view to the special purpose for which they were destined, we are far from insinuating that they have no other merits, or that they are useless for readers who have already a metaphysical creed of their own. We have found them both instructive and interesting: they go over a large portion of the field of speculative philosophy, partly from the point of view (not always the same) belonging to the author, partly from that of numerous predecessors whom he cites. We recognise also in Sir W. Hamilton an amount of intellectual independence which seldom accompanies such vast erudition. He recites many different opinions, but he judges them all for himself; and, what is of still greater moment, he constantly gives the reasons for his judgments. To us these reasons are always of more or less value, whether we admit them to be valid or not. Many philosophers present their own doctrine as if it were so much ascertained and acknowledged truth, either intimating, or leading you to suppose, that though erroneous beliefs to the contrary formerly prevailed, these have now become discredited with every one. We do not censure this way of proceeding, but we prefer the manner of Sir W. Hamilton. He always keeps before us divergence and discrepancy of view as the normal condition of reasoned truth or philosophy; the characteristic postulate of which is, that every affirmative and every negative shall have its appropriate reasons clearly and fully enunciated.

In this point of view, the appendix annexed to the lectures is also valuable; and the four copious appendixes or dissertations following the edition of Reid's works, are more valuable still. How far Sir W. Hamilton has there furnished good proof of his own doctrines on External Perception, and on the Primary Qualities of Matter, we shall not now determine; but to those who dissent from him, as well as to those who agree with him, his reasonings on these subjects are highly instructive: while the full citations from so many other writers contribute materially not only to elucidate the points directly approached, but also to enlarge our knowledge of philosophy generally. We set particular value upon this preservation of the traditions of philosophy, and upon this maintenance of a known perpetual succession among the speculative minds of humanity, with proper

comparisons and contrasts. We have found among the names quoted by Sir W. Hamilton, and, thanks to his care, several authors hardly at all known to us, and opinions cited from them not less instructive than curious. He deserves the more gratitude, because he departs herein from received usage since Bacon and Descartes. The example set by these great men was admirable, so far as it went to throw off the authority of predecessors; but pernicious so far as it banished those predecessors out of knowledge, like mere magazines of immaturity and error. Throughout the eighteenth century, all study of the earlier modes of philosophizing was, for the most part, neglected. Of such neglect, remarkable instances are pointed out by Sir W. Hamilton.

While speaking about the general merits and philosophical position of Sir William Hamilton, we have hitherto said nothing about those of Mr. Mill. But before we proceed to analyse the separate chapters of his volume, we must devote a few words to the fulfilment of another obligation.

Mr. John Stuart Mill has not been the first to bestow honour on the surname which he bears. His father, Mr. James Mill, had already ennobled the name. An ampler title to distinction in history and philosophy can seldom be produced than that which Mr. James Mill left behind him. We know no work which surpasses his "History of British India" in the main excellences attainable by historical writers: industrious accumulation, continued for many years, of original authorities—careful and conscientious criticism of their statements—and a large command of psychological analysis, enabling the author to interpret phenomena of society, both extremely complicated, and far removed from his own personal experience. Again, Mr. James Mill's "Elements of Political Economy" were, at the time when they appeared, the most logical and condensed exposition of the entire science then existing. Lastly, his latest avowed production, the "Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind," is a model of perspicuous exposition of complex states of consciousness, carried farther than by any other author before him; and illustrating the fulness which such exposition may be made to attain, by one who has faith in the comprehensive principle of association, and has learnt the secret of tracing out its innumerable windings. It is, moreover, the first work in which the great fact of Indissoluble Association is brought into its due theoretical prominence. These are high merits, of which lasting evidence is before the public; but there were other merits in Mr. James Mill, less publicly authenticated, yet not less real. His unpremeditated oral exposition was hardly less effective than his prepared work with the pen; his colloquial fertility on philosophical subjects, his power of discussing himself, and of stimulating others to discuss, his ready responsive inspirations through all the shifts and windings of a sort of Platonic dialogue—all these accomplishments were, to those who knew him, even more impressive than what he composed for the press. Conversation with him was not merely instructive,

but provocative to the dormant intelligence. Of all persons whom we have known, Mr. James Mill was the one who stood least remote from the lofty Platonic idea of Dialectic—*Τὸ διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι λόγον*—(the giving and receiving of reasons) competent alike to examine others, or to be examined by them, on philosophy. When to this we add a strenuous character, earnest convictions, and single-minded devotion to truth, with an utter disdain of mere paradox—it may be conceived that such a man exercised powerful intellectual ascendancy over younger minds. Several of those who enjoyed his society—men now at or past the maturity of life, and some of them in distinguished positions—remember and attest with gratitude such ascendancy in their own cases: among them the writer of the present article, who owes to the historian of British India an amount of intellectual stimulus and guidance such as he can never forget.

When a father, such as we have described, declining to send his son either to school or college, constituted himself school-master from the beginning, and performed that duty with laborious solicitude—when, besides full infusion of modern knowledge, the forcing process applied by the Platonic Socrates to the youthful Theætétus, was administered by Mr. James Mill, continuously and from an earlier age, to a youthful mind not less pregnant than that of Theætétus—it would be surprising if the son thus trained had not reached even a higher eminence than his father. The fruit borne by Mr. John Stuart Mill has been worthy of the culture bestowed, and the volume before us is at once his latest and his ripest product.

The "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy" is intended by Mr. Mill (so he tells us in the preface to the sixth published edition of his "System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive") as a sequel and complement to that system. We are happy to welcome so valuable an addition; but with or without that addition, the "System of Logic" appears to us to present the most important advance in speculative theory which the present century has witnessed. Either half of it, the Ratiocinative or the Inductive, would have surpassed any previous work on the same subject. The Inductive half discriminates and brings into clear view, for the first time, those virtues of method which have insensibly grown into habits among consummate scientific enquirers of the post-Baconian age, as well as the fallacies by which some of these authors have been misled—the Ratiocinative half, dealing with matters which had already been well handled by Dutrieu and other scholastic logicians, invests their dead though precise formalism with a real life and application to the actual process of finding and proving truth. But besides thus working each half up to perfection, Mr. Mill has performed the still more difficult task of overcoming the repugnance, apparently an inveterate repugnance, between them, so as chemically to combine the two into one homogeneous compound; thus presenting the problem of Reasoned Truth, Inference, Proof, and Disproof, as one connected whole. For ourselves, we still recollect the mist which was

cleared from our minds when we first read the "System of Logic," very soon after it was published. We were familiar with the Syllogistic Logic in Burgersdicius and Dutrieu; we were also familiar with examples of the best procedure in modern inductive science; but the two streams flowed altogether apart in our minds, like two parallel lines never joining nor approaching. The irreconcilability of the two was at once removed, when we had read and mastered the second and third chapters of the Second Book of the "System of Logic;" in which Mr. Mill explains the functions and value of the syllogism, and the real import of its major premiss. This explanation struck us at the time as one of the most profound and original efforts of metaphysical thought that we had ever perused, and we see no reason to retract that opinion now.* It appears all the more valuable when we contrast it with what is said by Mr. Mill's two contemporaries—Hamilton and Whately: the first of whom retains the ancient theory of Reasoning, as being only a methodised transition from a whole to its parts, and from the parts up to the whole—Induction being only this ascending part of the process, whereby, after having given a complete enumeration of all the compound parts, you conclude to the sum total described in one word as a whole;† while the second

* We are happy to find such high authorities as Dr. Whewell, Mr. Samuel Bailey, and Sir John Herschel concurring in this estimation of the new logical point of view thus opened by Mr. Mill. We will not call it a *discovery*, since Sir John Herschel thinks the expression unsuitable. See the recent sixth edition of the "System of Logic," vol. i. p. 229.

† See Sir William Hamilton's "Lectures on Logic" (Lect. xvii. p. 320-321; also Appendix to those Lectures, p. 361). He here distinguishes also formal induction from material induction, which latter he brings under the grasp of syllogism, by an hypothesis in substance similar to that of Whately. There is, however, in Lecture xix. (p. 380), a passage in a very different spirit, which one might almost imagine to have been written by Mr. Mill:—"In regard to simple syllogisms, it was an original dogma of the Platonic school, and an early dogma of the Peripatetic, that science, strictly so called, was only conversant with, and was exclusively contained in, universals; and the doctrine of Aristotle, which taught that all our general knowledge is only an induction from an observation of particulars, was too easily forgotten or perverted by his followers. It thus obtained almost the force of an acknowledged principle, that everything to be known must be known under some general form or notion. Hence the exaggerated importance attributed to definition and deduction; it not being considered that we only take out of a general notion what we had previously placed therein, and that the amplification of our knowledge is not to be sought for from above but from below—not from speculation about abstract generalities, but from the observation of concrete particulars. But however erroneous and irrational, the persuasion had its day and influence, and it perhaps determined, as one of its effects, the total neglect of one half, and that not the least important half, of the reasoning process."

These very just observations are suggested to Sir William Hamilton by a train of thought which has little natural tendency to suggest them, viz.: by the distinction upon which he so much insists, between the logic of comprehension and the logic of exten-

(Whately) agrees in subordinating Induction to Syllogism, but does so in a different way—by representing inductive reasoning as a syllogism, with its major premiss suppressed, from which major premiss it derived its authority. The explanation of Mr. Mill attacks the problem from the opposite side. It subordinates syllogism to induction, the technical to the real; it divests the major premiss of its illusory pretence to be itself the proving authority, or even any real and essential part of the proof—and acknowledges it merely as a valuable precautionary test and security for avoiding mistake in the process of proving. Taking Mr. Mill's "System of Logic" as a whole, it is one of the books by which we believe ourselves to have most profited. The principles of it are constantly present to our mind when engaged in investigations of evidence, whether scientific or historical.

Concerned as we are here with Mr. Mill only as a logician and philosopher, we feel precluded from adverting to his works on other topics—even to his "Elements of Political Economy," by which he is probably more widely known than by anything else. Of the many obligations which Political Economy owes to him, one only can be noticed consistent with the scope of the present article: the care which he has taken—he alone, or at least, he more explicitly and formally than any other expositor—to set forth the general position of that science in the aggregate field of scientific research; its relation to sociology as a whole, or to other fractions thereof, how far derivative or co-ordinate; what are its fundamental postulates or hypotheses, with what limits the logical methods of induction and deduction are applicable to it, and how far its conclusions may be relied on as approximations to truth. All these points will be found instructively handled in the Sixth Book of Mr. Mill's "System of Logic," as well as in his smaller and less known work, "Essays on Some Unsettled Questions in Political Economy." We find him, while methodizing and illustrating the data of the special science, uniformly keeping in view its relation to philosophy as a whole.

But there is yet another work in which the interests of philosophy, as a whole, come into the foreground and become the special object of vindication in their largest compass and most vital requirements. We mean Mr. Mill's "Essay on Liberty," one half of which takes for its thesis the *libertas philosophandi*. He maintains, emphatically, in this book the full dignity of reasoned truth against all the jealous exigencies of traditional dogma and self-justifying sentiment. He claims the most unreserved liberty of utterance for negative and affirmative on all questions—not merely for the

purpose of discriminating truth from falsehood, but also to keep up in individual minds the full sense and understanding of the matters controverted, in place of a mere partial and one-sided adhesion. At first sight, indeed, it might seem as if Mr. Mill was fighting with a shadow; for liberty of philosophizing is a postulate which, in general terms, every one concedes. But when you come to fathom the real feelings which underlie this concession, you discover that almost every man makes it under reserves which, though acting in silence, are not the less efficacious. Every one has some dogmas which he cannot bear to hear advocated, and others which he will not allow to be controverted in his presence. A writer has to consider not merely by what reasons any novelty of belief or disbelief may be justified, but also how much it will be safe for him to publish, having regard to the irritable sore places of the public judgment. In July, 1864, we were present at the annual meeting of the French Academy at Paris, where the prizes for essays sent in, pursuant to subjects announced for study beforehand, are awarded. We heard the titles of various compositions announced by the President (M. Villemain), with a brief critical estimate of each. Their comparative merits were appreciated, and the prize awarded to one of the competitors. Among the compositions sent to compete for the prize, one was a work by M. Taine, upon which the President bestowed the most remarkable encomiums, in every point of view: extent of knowledge, force of thought, style, arrangement, all were praised in a manner which we have rarely heard exceeded. Nevertheless, the prize was not awarded to this work, but to another which the President praised in a manner decidedly less marked and emphatic. What was here the *ratio decidendi*? The reason was, and the President declared it in the most explicit language, that the work of M. Taine was *deeply tainted with materialism*. "Sans doute," said the esteemed veteran of French literature in pronouncing his award, "sans doute les opinions sont libres, mais."—It is precisely against this *mais*—ushering in the special anathematised or consecrated conclusion which it is intended to except from the general liberty of enforcing or impugning—in matters of philosophical discussion, that Mr. Mill, in the "Essay on Liberty," declares war as champion of Reasoned Truth.

He handles this grand theme—*ἐλευθερία φιλοσοφείν*—involving as it does the best interests of philosophy, as an instructress to men's judgments, and a stimulus to their intelligence—with great depth of psychological analysis sustained by abundant historical illustration. And he in the same volume discusses most profitably another question akin to it—To what extent and by what principles the interference of others is justifiable, in restraining the liberty of taste and action for each individual? A question at once grave and neglected, but the discussion of which does not belong to our present article.

A new work from one who has already manifested such mastery of philosophy, both in principle and in detail, and a work exhibiting

sion, and by his anxiety to explain why the former had been exclusively cultivated and the latter neglected.

That which Sir William Hamilton calls here truly the doctrine of Aristotle (at least, in one place at the close of the *Analyt. Post.*) and which he states to have been forgotten by Aristotle's followers—was hardly less forgotten or neglected by Aristotle himself.

the analysis and appreciation of the philosophical views of an eminent contemporary, must raise the highest expectation. We think no reader will be disappointed who peruses Mr. Mill's "Examination," and we shall now endeavour to give some account of the manner in which he performs it. Upon topics so abstract and subtle as the contents of this volume, the antithesis between two rival theories is the best way, and often the only way, for bringing truth into clear view; and the "Examination" here before us is professedly controversy. But of controversy in its objectionable sense—of captious or acrimonious personality—not a trace will here be found. A dignified, judicial equanimity of tone is preserved from first to last. Moreover, though the title and direct purpose of the volume is negative and critical, yet the destructive criticism is pervaded by many copious veins of constructive exposition, embodying Mr. Mill's own views upon some of the most intricate problems of metaphysics.

Mr. Mill begins his work by analysing and explaining the doctrine called the Relativity of Human Knowledge:—

"The doctrine (chap. ii. p. 5) which is thought to belong in the most especial manner to Sir W. Hamilton, and which was the ground of his opposition to the transcendentalism of the later French and German metaphysicians, is that which he and others have called the Relativity of Human Knowledge. It is the subject of the most generally known and impressive of all his writings—the one which first revealed to the English metaphysical reader that a new power had arisen in philosophy. Together with its developments, it composes the Philosophy of the Conditioned, which he opposed to the French and German philosophies of the Absolute, and which is regarded by most of his admirers as the greatest of his titles to a permanent place in the history of metaphysical thought. But, 'the relativity of human knowledge,' like most other phrases into which the words *relative* or *relation* enter, is vague, and admits of a great variety of meanings, &c."

Mr. Mill then proceeds to distinguish these various meanings, and to determine in which of them the phrase is understood by Sir W. Hamilton.

One meaning is, that we only know anything by knowing it as distinguished from something else—that all consciousness is of difference. It is not, however, in this sense that the expression is ordinarily or intentionally used by Sir W. Hamilton, though he fully recognises the truth which, when thus used, it serves to express. In general, when he says that all our knowledge is relative, the relation he has in view is not between the thing known and other objects compared with it, but between the thing known and the mind knowing—(p. 6.)

The doctrine in this last meaning is held by different philosophers in two different forms. Some (e.g., Berkeley, Hume, Ferrier, &c.), usually called Idealists, maintain not merely that all we can possibly know of anything is the manner in which it affects the human faculties, but that there is nothing else to be known; that affections of human or of other minds are all that we can know to exist—that the difference between the ego and the non-ego is only a

formal distinction between two aspects of the same reality. Other philosophers (Brown, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte, with many others) believe that the ego and the non-ego denote two realities, each self-existent, and neither dependent on the other; that the *Noumenon*, or "thing *per se*," is in itself a different thing from the *Phenomenon*, and equally or more real, but that, though we know its existence, we have no means of knowing what it is. All that we can know is, relatively to ourselves, the modes in which it affects us, or the phenomena which it produces—(pp. 9—11.)

The doctrine of Relativity, as held by Kant and his many followers, is next distinguished from the same doctrine as held by Hartley, James Mill, Professor Bain, &c., compatible with either acceptance or rejection of the Berkeleyan theory. Kant maintains that the attributes which we ascribe to outward things, or which are inseparable from them in thought, contain additional elements, over and above sensations *plus* an unknowable cause—additional elements added by the mind itself, and therefore still only relative, but constituting the original furniture of the mind itself—inherent laws, partly of our sensitive, partly of our intellectual faculty. It is on this latter point that Hartley and those going along with him diverge. Admitting the same additional elements, these philosophers do not ascribe to the mind any innate forms to account for them, but hold that Place, Extension, Substance, Cause, and the rest, &c., are conceptions put together out of ideas of sensation, by the known laws of Association—(pp. 12—14.)

Partial Relativity is the opinion professed by most philosophers (and by most persons who do not philosophise). They hold that we know things partly as they are in themselves, partly as they are merely in relation to us.

This discrimination of the various schools of philosophers is highly instructive, and is given with the full perspicuity belonging to Mr. Mill's style. He proceeds to examine in what sense Sir W. Hamilton maintained the Relativity of Human Knowledge. He cites passages both from the "Discussions on Philosophy" and from the Lectures, in which that doctrine is both affirmed in its greatest amplitude, and enunciated in the most emphatic language—(pp. 17, 18, 22, 23.) But he also produces extracts from the most elaborate of Sir W. Hamilton's "Dissertations on Reid," in which a doctrine quite different and inconsistent is proclaimed—that our knowledge is only partially, not wholly, relative; that the secondary qualities of matter, indeed, are known to us only relatively, but that the primary qualities are known to us as they are in themselves, or as they exist objectively, and that they may be even evolved by demonstration *a priori*—(pp. 19—26, 30.) The inconsistency between the two doctrines, professed at different times and in different works by Sir W. Hamilton, is certainly manifest. Mr. Mill is of opinion that one of the two must be taken "in a non-natural sense," and that Sir W. Hamilton either did not hold, or had ceased to hold, the doctrine of the full relativity of knowledge (pp. 20—28)—

the hypothesis of a flat contradiction being in his view inadmissible. But we think it at least equally possible that Sir W. Hamilton held both the two opinions in their natural sense, and enforced both of them at *different times* by argument; his attention never having been called to the contradiction between them. That such forgetfulness was quite possible, will appear clearly in many parts of the present article. His argument in support of both is equally characterised by that peculiar energy of style which is frequent with him, and which no way resembles the qualifying refinements of one struggling to keep clear of a perceived contradiction.

From hence Mr. Mill (chap. iv.) proceeds to criticise at considerable length what he justly denominates the celebrated and striking review of Cousin's philosophy, which forms the first paper in Sir W. Hamilton's "Discussions on Philosophy." According to Mr. Mill—

"The question really at issue, is this: Have we or have we not an immediate intuition of God? The name of God is veiled under two extremely abstract phrases, 'The Infinite and the Absolute,' perhaps from a reverential feeling; such, at least, is the reason given by Sir W. Hamilton's disciple, Mr. Mansel, for preferring the more vague expressions; but it is one of the most unquestionable of all logical maxims, that the meaning of the abstract must be sought for in the concrete, and not conversely; and we shall see, both in the case of Sir William Hamilton and of Mr. Mansel, that the process cannot be reversed with impunity."—p. 32.

Upon this we must remark, that though the "logical maxim" here laid down by Mr. Mill may be generally sound, we think the application of it inconvenient in the present case. Discussions on points of philosophy are best conducted without either invoking or offending religious feeling. M. Cousin maintains that we have a direct intuition of the Infinite and the Absolute: Sir W. Hamilton denies that we have. Upon this point Mr. Mill sides entirely with Sir W. Hamilton, and considers "that the latter has rendered good service to philosophy by refuting M. Cousin," though much of the reasoning employed in such refutation seems to Mr. Mill unsound. But Sir W. Hamilton goes further, and affirms that we have no faculties capable of apprehending the Infinite and the Absolute—that both of them are inconceivable to us, and by consequence unknowable. Herein Mr. Mill is opposed to him, and controverts his doctrine in an elaborate argument.

Of this argument, able and ingenious, like all those in the present volume, our limits only enable us to give a brief appreciation. In so far as Mr. Mill controverts Sir W. Hamilton, we think him perfectly successful, though there are some points of his reasoning in which we do not fully concur.

In our opinion, as in his, the Absolute alone (in its sense as opposed to relative) can be declared necessarily unknowable, inconceivable, incogitable. Nothing which falls under the condition of relativity can be declared to be so. The structure of our minds renders us capable of knowing everything which is relative, though there are many such things which we have no

evidence, nor shall ever get evidence, to enable us to know. Now the Infinite falls within the conditions of relativity, as indeed Sir W. Hamilton himself admits, when he intimates (p. 58) that though it cannot be known, it is, must be, and ought to be, *believed* by us, according to the marked distinction which he draws between belief and knowledge. We agree with Mr. Mill in the opinion that it is thinkable, conceivable, knowable. Doubtless we do not conceive it adequately, but we conceive it sufficiently to discuss and reason upon it intelligibly to ourselves and others. That we conceive the Infinite inadequately, is not to be held as proof that we do not conceive it at all; for in regard to finite things also, we conceive the greater number of them only inadequately.

We cannot construe to the imagination a polygon with an infinite number of sides (i.e., with a number of sides greater than any given number), but neither can we construe to the imagination a polygon with a million of sides; nevertheless, we understand what is meant by the first description as well as by the second, and can reason upon both. There is, indeed, this difference between the two: That the terms used in describing the first proclaim at once in their direct meaning that we should in vain attempt to construe it to the imagination; whereas the terms used in describing the second do not intimate that fact. We know the fact only by trial, or by an estimate of our own mental force which is the result of many past trials. If the difference here noted were all which Sir W. Hamilton has in view when he declares the Infinite to be unknowable and incogitable, we should accede to his opinion; but we apprehend that he means much more, and he certainly requires more to justify the marked antithesis in which he places himself against M. Cousin and Hegel. Indeed, the facility with which he declares matters to be incogitable, which these two and other philosophers not only cogitate but maintain as truth, is to us truly surprising. The only question which appears to us important is, whether we can understand and reason upon the meaning of the terms and propositions addressed to us. If we can, the subjects propounded must be cogitable and conceivable, whether we admit the propositions affirmed concerning them or not; if we cannot, then these subjects are indeed incogitable by ourselves in the present state of our knowledge, but they may not be so to our opponent who employs the terms.

In criticising the arguments of Sir W. Hamilton against M. Cousin, Mr. Mill insists much on a distinction between (1) the Infinite, and (2) the Infinite in any one or more positive attributes, such as infinite wisdom, goodness, redness, hardness &c.* He thinks that Sir W. Hamilton has made out his case against the first, but not against the last; that the first is really "an unmeaning and senseless abstraction," a fasciculus of negations, unknowable

* The distinction is given by Stier and other logicians. 1. *Infinum simpliciter*. 2. *Infinum secundum quid, sive in certo genere*.

and inconceivable, but not the last. We think that Mr. Mill makes more of this distinction than the case warrants; that the first is not unmeaning, but an intelligible abstraction, only a higher reach of abstraction than the last; that it is knowable inadequately, in the same way as the last, though more inadequately, because of its higher abstraction.

As the Finite is intelligible, so also is its negation—the Infinite: we do not say (with M. Cousin) that the two are conjointly given in consciousness—but the two are understood and partially apprehended by the mind, conjointly and in contrast. Though the Infinite is doubtless negative as to degree, it is not wholly or exclusively negative, since it includes a necessary reference to some positive attribute, to which the degree belongs; the positive element is not eliminated, but merely left undetermined. The Infinite (like the Finite, τὸ περὶπαυμένον—τὸ ἀπείρον) is a genus; it comprehends under it the Infinitely Hard and the Infinitely Soft, the Infinitely Swift and the Infinitely Slow—the infinite, in short, of any or all positive attributes. It includes, doubtless, “a farrago of contradictions;” but so, also, does the Finite—and so, also, do the actual manifestations of the real, concrete universe, which manifestations constitute a portion of the Finite. Whoever attempts to give any philosophical account of the generation of the universe, tracing its phenomena as an aggregate, to some ultra-phenomenal origin—must include in his scheme a *fundamentum* for all those opposite and contradictory manifestations which experience discloses in the universe. There always have been, and still are, many philosophers who consider the Abstract and General to be prior both in nature and time to the Concrete and Particular; and who hold further that these two last are explained, when presented as determinate and successive manifestations of the two first, which they conceive as indeterminate and sempiternal. Now the Infinite (ens Infinitum or entia Infinita, according to the point of view in which we look at it) is a generic word, including all these supposed indeterminate antecedents; and including therefore, of course, many contradictory agencies. But this does not make it senseless or unmeaning; nor can we distinguish it from “the Infinite in some one or more given attributes,” by any other character than by greater reach of abstraction. We cannot admit the marked distinction which Mr. Mill contends for—that the one is unknowable and the other knowable.

It may be proper to add, that the mode of philosophising which we have just described is not ours. We do not agree in this way either of conceiving, or of solving, the problem of philosophy. But it is a mode so prevalent that Trendelenberg speaks of it, justly enough, as “the ancient Hysteron-Proteron of Abstraction.” The doctrine of these philosophers appears to us unfounded, but we cannot call it unmeaning.

In another point, also, we differ from Mr. Mill respecting that inferior abstraction which he calls “the Infinite in some particular attribute.” He speaks as if this could be known

not only as an abstraction, a conceivable, an ideal—but also as a concrete reality; as if “we could know a concrete reality as infinite or as absolute” (p. 45); as if there really existed in actual nature “concrete persons or things possessing infinitely or absolutely certain specific attributes”—(pp. 55—98.) To this doctrine we cannot subscribe. As we understand concrete reality, we find no evidence to believe that there exist in nature any real concrete persons or things, possessing to an infinite degree such attributes as they do possess: e.g., any men infinitely wise or infinitely strong, any horses infinitely swift, any stones infinitely hard. Such concrete real objects appear to us not admissible, because experience not only has not certified their existence in any single case, but goes as far to disprove their existence as it can do to disprove anything. “All the real objects in nature known to us by observation are finite, and possess only in a finite measure their respective attributes. Upon this is founded the process of Science, so comprehensively laid out by Mr. Mill in his “System of Logic”—Induction, Deduction from general facts attested by Induction, Verification by experience of the results obtained by Deduction. The attributes, whiteness or hardness, in the abstract, are doubtless infinite; that is, the term will designate, alike and equally, any degree of whiteness or hardness which you may think of, and any unknown degree even whiter and harder than what you think of. But when perceived as invested in a given mass of snow or granite before us, they are divested of that indeterminateness, and become restricted to a determinate measure and degree.

Having thus indicated the points on which we are compelled to dissent from Mr. Mill’s refutation of Sir W. Hamilton in the pleading against M. Cousin, we shall pass to the seventh chapter, in which occurs his first controversy with Mr. Mansel. This passage has excited more interest, and will probably be remembered by a larger number of readers, than any portion of the book. We shall give it in his own words (pp. 99—103) since the energetic phraseology is quite as remarkable as the thought:—

“There is but one way for Mr. Mansel out of this difficulty, and he adopts it. He must maintain not merely that an Absolute Being is unknowable in himself, but that the Relative attributes of an Absolute Being are unknowable also.* He must say that we do not know what Wisdom, Justice, Benevolence, Mercy, &c., are, as they exist in God. Accordingly, he does say so. ‘It is a fact (says Mr. Mansel) which experience forces upon us, and which it is useless, were it possible, to disguise, that the represen-

* This doctrine has been affirmed (so far as reason is concerned, apart from revelation) not merely by Mr. Mansel, but also by Pascal, one of the most religious philosophers of the seventeenth century, in the “Pensées”:—

“Parlons selon les lumières naturelles. S’il y a un Dieu, il est infiniment incompréhensible; puisque, n’ayant ni principes ni bornes, il n’a nul rapport à nous; nous sommes donc incapables de connaître ni ce qu’il est, ni s’il est.”—(See Arago, Biographie de Condorcet, p. lxxiv., prefixed to his edition of Condorcet’s works.)

tation of God after the model of the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving, is not sufficient to account for all the phenomena exhibited by the course of His natural Providence. The infliction of physical suffering, the permission of moral evil, the adversity of the good, the prosperity of the wicked, the crimes of the guilty involving the misery of the innocent, the tardy appearance and partial distribution of moral and religious knowledge in the world—these are facts which no doubt are reconcilable, we know not how, with the Infinite Goodness of God, but which certainly are not to be explained on the supposition that its sole and sufficient type is to be found in the finite goodness of man.*

"In other words (continues Mr. Mill, commenting) it is necessary to suppose that the infinite goodness ascribed to God is not the goodness which we know and love in our fellow-creatures, distinguished only as infinite in degree; but is different in kind, and another quality altogether. Accordingly Mr. Mansel combats as a heresy of his opponents, the opinion that infinite goodness differs only in degree from finite goodness.—Here, then, I take my stand upon the acknowledged principle of logic and of morality; that when we mean different things we have no right to call them by the same name, and to apply to them the same predicates, moral and intellectual. If instead of the glad tidings that there exists a Being in whom all the excellences which the highest human mind can conceive, exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a Being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, except that the highest human morality does not sanction them—convince me of this, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say, in plain terms, that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do; he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go."

This concluding declaration is memorable in many ways. Mr. Mill announces his resolution to determine for himself, and according to his own reason and conscience, what God he will worship, and what God he will not worship. For ourselves, we cordially sympathize with his resolution. But Mr. Mill must be aware that this is a point on which society is equally resolved that no individual shall determine for himself, if they can help it.* Each new-born child finds his religious creed ready prepared for him. In

* The indictment under which Socrates was condemned at Athens, as reported by Xenophon at the commencement of the *Memorabilia*, ran thus—"Socrates is guilty of crime, inasmuch as he does not believe in those Gods in whom the City believes, but introduces other novelties in regard to the Gods; he is guilty also, inasmuch as he corrupts the youth."

These words express clearly a sentiment entertained, not merely by the Athenian people, but generally by other societies also. They all agree in antipathy to free, individual, dissenting reason, though that antipathy manifests itself by acts, more harsh in one place, less harsh in another. The Hindoo who declares himself a convert to Christianity, becomes at the same time an outcast (*dharmatya*, *dharmatos*, *dharmatos*) among those whose Gods he has deserted. As a general fact, the man who dissents from his fel-

low's earliest days of unconscious infancy, the stamp of the national, gentile, phratric, God, or Gods, is imprinted upon him by his elders; and if the future man, in the exercise of his own independent reason, acquires such convictions as compel him to renounce those Gods, proclaiming openly that he does so—he must count upon such treatment as will go far to spoil the value of the present life to him, even before he passes to those ulterior liabilities which Mr. Mill indicates in the distance. We are not surprised that a declaration so unusual and so impressive should have been often cited in critical notices of this volume; that during the month preceding the last Westminster election, it was studiously brought forward by some opponents of Mr. Mill, and more or less regretted by his friends, as likely to offend many electors, and damage his chance of success; and that a conspicuous and noble-minded ecclesiastic, the Dean of Westminster, thought the occasion so grave as to come forward with his characteristic generosity for the purpose of shielding a distinguished man suspected of heresy.

The sublime self-assertion, addressed by Prometheus to Zeus, under whose sentence he was groaning, has never before been put into such plain English.* Mr. Mill's declaration reminds us also of Hippolytus, the chaste and pure youth, whose tragic fate is so beautifully described by Euripides. Hippolytus is exemplary in his devotions to the Goddess Artemis; but he dissents from all his countrymen, and determines for himself, in refusing to bestow the smallest mark of honour or worship upon Aphrodite, because he considers her to be a very bad Goddess.† In this refusal he

low's upon fundamentals of religion, purchases an undisturbed life only by being content with that "semi-liberty under silence and concealment," for which Cicero was thankful under the dictatorship of Julius Caesar. "Obsecro—abjiciamus ista, et semi-liberi saltem simus; quod assequemur et tacendo et latendo" (Epist. ad Attic. xiii. 31). Contrast with this the memorable declaration of Socrates, in the Platonic Apology, that silence and abstinence from cross-examination were intolerable to him; that life would not be worth having under such conditions.

* Æschyl. *Prometh.*, 996-1006—

πρὸς ταῦτα, ριπτέσθω μὲν αἰθαλοῦσσα φλόξ,
λευκοπτέρω δὲ νυφάδι καὶ βροντήμασιν
χθονίους κυκᾶτω πάντα καὶ ταρασσέτω
γνῶμῃ γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶνδ' ἐμ'—
ἐισελθέτω σε μήπορ', ὥς ἐγώ, Διὶς
γνώμῃν φοβήθεις, θηλύωνος γενήσῃμαι,
καὶ λιπαρήσῃ τὸν μέγα στυγούμενον
γυναικομίμοις ὑπτιάζομασιν χερσίν,
λύσσι μὲ δέσμων τῶνδ' τοῦ παντός δέω.

Also v. 1047, et seq. The memorable ode of Goethe, entitled *Prometheus*, embodies a similar vein of sentiment in the finest poetry.

† Euripid. *Hippol.*, 10—

(Aph.) ὁ γὰρ με Θησεὺς παῖς, Ἀμάζονος τόκος,
μόνος πολιτῶν ἤσδε γῆς Τροϊζηνίας
λέγει κακίστην δαιμόνιον πεφύκεναι
φίβου δ' ἀδελφῇ Ἀρτεμιν, —
τίμῃ, μεγίστην δαιμόνιον ἡγούμενος—
(Hipp.) τὴν σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πόλλ' ἐγὼ χάρειν λέγω—
(112.)

See also v. 1328-1402.

persists with inflexible principle (even after having received, from an anxious attendant, warning of the certain ruin which it will bring upon him), until the insulted Aphrodite involves him along with the unhappy Phædra and Theseus himself, in one common abyss of misery. In like manner, Mr. Mill's declaration stands in marked contrast with the more cautious proceeding of men like Herodotus. That historian, alike pious and prudent, is quite aware that all the Gods are envious and mischief-making, and expressly declares them to be so.* Yet, far from refusing to worship them on that account, he is assiduous in prayer and sacrifice—perhaps, indeed, all the more assiduous from what he believes about their attributes;† being persuaded (like the attendant who warned Hippolytus) that his only chance of mollifying their ungentle dispositions in regard to himself is, by honorific tribute in words and offerings.

When, however, after appreciating as we are bound to do, Mr. Mill's declaration of subjective sentiment, we pass to its logical bearing on the controversy between him and Mr. Mansel, we are obliged to confess that in this point of view it has little objective relevancy. The problem was, how to reconcile the actual evil and suffering in the universe (which is recited as a fact by Mr. Mansel, though in terms conveying a most inadequate idea of its real magnitude) with the goodness of God. Mr. Mill repudiates the explanatory hypothesis tendered by Mr. Mansel as a solution, but without suggesting any better hypothesis of his own. For ourselves, we are far from endorsing Mr. Mansel's solution as satisfactory; yet we can hardly be surprised if he considers it less unsatisfactory than no solution at all. And when we reflect how frequently and familiarly predicates applicable to man are applied to the Supreme Being, when they cannot possibly be understood about Him in the same sense—we see no ground for treating the proceeding as disingenuous, which Mr. Mill is disposed to do. Indeed, it cannot easily be avoided: and Mr. Mill himself furnishes us with some examples in the present volume. At page 491, he says:—

"It would be difficult to find a stronger argument in favour of Theism, than that the eye must have been made by one who sees, and the ear by one who hears."

In the words here employed, *seeing* and *hearing* are predicated of God.

Now when we predicate of men, that they see or hear, we affirm facts of extreme complexity, especially in the case of *seeing*; facts partly physical, partly mental, involving multifarious movements and agencies of nerves, muscles, and other parts of the organism, together with

direct sensational impressions, and mental reconstruction of the past, inseparably associated therewith; all which, so far as they are known, are perspicuously enumerated in the work of Professor Bain* on the "Senses and the Intellect." Again, Mr. Mill speaks (in p. 102 and elsewhere) of "the veracity of God." When we say of our neighbour that he is a veracious man, we ascribe to him a habit of speaking the truth; that is, of employing his physical apparatus of speech, and his mental power of recalling and recombining words lodged in the memory, for the purpose of asserting no other propositions except such as declare facts which he knows, or beliefs which he really entertains. But how either *seeing* or *hearing* or *veracity*, in these senses, can be predicated of God, we are at a loss to understand. And if they are to be predicated of God in a different sense, this admits the same license as Mr. Mansel contends for in respect to Goodness, when he feels that undeniable facts preclude him from predicating that epithet univocally respecting God and respecting man.†

On the whole, it seems to us, that though Mr. Mill will consent to worship only a God of perfect goodness, he has thrown no new light on the grave problem—frankly stated, though imperfectly solved, by Mr. Mansel—how such a conception of God is to be reconciled with the extent of evil and suffering actually pervading human life and animal life throughout the earth. We are compelled to say, respecting Mr. Mill's treatment of this subject—what we should not say respecting his treatment of any other—that he has left an old perplexing problem not less perplexing than he found it.

Reverting, not unwillingly, from theology to philosophy, we now pass on to Mr. Mill's ninth chapter (p. 128 seq.), of the Interpretation of Consciousness. There is assuredly no lesson more requiring to be taught than the proper mode of conducting such interpretation; for the number of different modes in which Consciousness has been interpreted is astonishing. Mr. Mill begins by citing from Sir W. Hamilton's lectures a passage of some length, upon which he bestows considerable praise, regarding it as—

"One of the proofs that, whatever may be the positive value of his (Sir W. Hamilton's) achievements in metaphysics, he had a greater capacity for the subject than many metaphysicians of high reputation; and particularly than his two distinguished predecessors in the same school of thought—Reid and Stewart."—p. 131.

This is one of the greatest compliments to

* See especially his chapter ii. on the Sensations of Sight, pp. 222, 241—247, in the second edition of this work.

† Descartes says, in his "Principia Philosophiæ," i. 51—"Et quidem substantia quæ nullâ planè re indigeat, unica tantum potest intelligi—nempe Deus. Alias vero omnes, non nisi ope concursus Dei existere posse perspicimus. Atque idèd nomen substantiæ non convenit Deo et illis *univocè*, ut dici solet in scholis; hoc est, nulla ejus nominis significatio potest distinctè intelligi, quæ Deo et creaturis sit communis."

* Herodot. i. 32. Ὁ Κρόσις, ἐπιστάμενον με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερὸν τε καὶ παραχρῆδες, ἐπειρωτῆς ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων πέρι; also iii. 40.

† See Eurip. Hipp. 696-140. The language of the attendant, after his affectionate remonstrance to Hippolytus had been disregarded, supplicating Aphrodite to pardon the recalcitrancy of that virtuous but obstinate youth, is characteristic and touching (114-120).

Sir W. Hamilton that the book contains, and as such we are glad to cite it.

On the subject of Consciousness, Mr. Mill has cited from Sir W. Hamilton other good observations besides the one last alluded to; but, unfortunately, these are often neutralised by opposite or inconsistent opinions also cited from other parts of his works. The number of such inconsistencies produced is indeed one remarkable feature in Sir W. Hamilton's philosophical character. He seems to follow out energetically (as Plato in his various dialogues) the vein of thought pervading his mind at each particular moment, without troubling himself to look back upon his own prior speculations. Even compared with the best views of Sir W. Hamilton, however, Mr. Mill's mode of handling the subject of Consciousness exhibits signal improvement. To some of his observations we shall call particular attention.

All philosophers agree that what Consciousness testifies is to be believed; but they differ much on the question—To what points Consciousness does testify? and even on the still deeper question—How shall we proceed to ascertain what *are* these attested points? What is the proper method of studying or interrogating Consciousness? Upon this Mr. Mill remarks (pp. 145—147):—

"Here emerges the distinction between two different methods of studying the problems of metaphysics; forming the radical difference between the two great schools into which metaphysicians are divided. One of these I shall call, for distinction, the *introspective* method; the other, the *psychological*. M. Cousin observes that Locke went wrong from the beginning, by placing before himself, as the question to be first resolved, the origin of our ideas. This (he says) was commencing at the wrong end. The proper course would have been to begin by determining what the ideas now are; to ascertain what it is that Consciousness now tells us; postponing till afterwards the attempt to frame a theory concerning the origin of any of the mental phenomena.

"I accept the question as M. Cousin states it; and I contend that no attempt to determine what are the direct revelations of Consciousness can be successful, or entitled to any regard, unless preceded by what M. Cousin says ought only to follow it—an enquiry into the origin of our acquired ideas. For we have it not in our power to ascertain, by any direct process, what Consciousness told us at the time when its revelations were in their pristine purity. It only offers itself to our inspection as it exists now, when those original revelations are overlaid and buried under a mountainous heap of acquired notions and perceptions.

"It seems to M. Cousin, that if we examine, with care and minuteness, our present states of Consciousness, distinguishing and defining every ingredient which we find to enter into them—every element that we seem to recognise as real, and cannot by merely concentrating our attention upon it analyse into anything simpler—we reach the ultimate and primary truths, which are the sources of all our knowledge, and which cannot be denied or doubted without denying or doubting the evidence of Consciousness itself—that is, the only evidence that there is for anything. I maintain this to be a misconception of the conditions imposed on enquirers by the difficulties of psychological investigation. To begin the enquiry at the point where M. Cousin

takes it up is, in fact, to beg the question. For he must be aware, if not of the fact, at least of the belief of his opponents, that the laws of the mind—the laws of Association, according to one class of thinkers, the Categories of the Understanding according to another—are capable of creating, out of those data of Consciousness which are uncontested, purely mental conceptions, which become so identified in thought with all our states of Consciousness that we seem, and cannot but seem, to receive them by direct intuition. For example, the belief in Matter, in the opinion of these thinkers is, or at least may be, thus produced:—

"The proof that any of the alleged Universal Beliefs, or Principles of Common Sense, are affirmations of Consciousness—supposes two things: that the beliefs exist, and that they cannot possibly have been acquired. The first is, in most cases, undisputed; but the second is a subject of enquiry which often taxes the utmost resources of psychologists. Locke was therefore right in believing that 'the origin of our ideas' is the main stress of the problem of mental science, and the subject which must be first considered in forming the theory of the Mind."

This citation from Mr. Mill's book is already almost too long, yet we could have wished to prolong it still more, from the importance of some of the succeeding paragraphs. It presents, in clear discrimination and contrast, two opposite points of view according to which the phenomena of mind are regarded by different philosophers, and the method of studying them determined: the *introspective* method, adopted by M. Cousin and others—the *psychological* or analytical method, pursued by Locke and by many other eminent men since Locke—"the known and approved method of physical science, adapted to the necessities of psychology"—(p. 148.)

There are passages of Sir W. Hamilton's writings in which he appears to feel that the *introspective* method alone is insufficient for the interpretation of Consciousness, and that the analytical method must be employed to reinforce it. But on this as on other points, he is not always consistent with himself. For in laying down the principle upon which the primary truths of Consciousness, the original data of intelligence, are to be ascertained and distinguished from generalizations out of experience and custom, he declares that the one single and certain mark is Necessity—they must be beliefs which we are under the necessity of believing—of which we cannot get rid by any mental effort. He decides this, of course, for himself, by the *introspective* method alone. He (with M. Cousin and other philosophers who take the same view) does not apply the analytical method to enquire whether his necessity of belief may not be a purely acquired necessity, and nowise congenital. It is, indeed, remarkable that these philosophers do not even seek to apply the *introspective* method as far as that method will really go. They are satisfied with introspection of their own present minds, without obtaining results of the like process, as applied to other minds, in different times and places. They declare various beliefs to be necessary to the human mind universally, merely because such is the actual fact with their own minds and with those immediately around them; sometimes even in

defiance of proof that there are (or have been) persons not sharing such beliefs, and occasionally even believing the contrary; therefore, when even the introspective method really disallows their affirmative instead of sustaining it. This is, in truth, an abuse of the introspective method; yet, even if that method were employed in its fullest extent—if the same incapability of believing otherwise could be shown as common to all mankind—it might still be only the effect of a strong association. The analytical method must still be called in to ascertain whether we are forced to suppose such incapability to be an original fact of consciousness, or whether it may not have been generated in the mind by circumstances, under the natural working of the laws of association. It is certain that these laws not only may, but must, give birth to artificial inconceivabilities in the mind—and that some of these may be equal in strength to such, if any, as are natural.

"The History of Science" (says Mr. Mill, following out the same train of reasoning which we read in the third Book of his '*System of Logic*') "teems with inconceivabilities which have been conquered; and with supposed necessary truths, which have first ceased to be thought necessary, then to be thought true, and have finally come to be deemed impossible."—p. 160.

After various observations, chiefly exhibiting the rashness of many censures bestowed by Sir W. Hamilton on Brown, Mr. Mill gives us three valuable chapters (xi., xii., xiii.), wherein he analyses the Belief in an External World, the Belief in Mind as a separate Substance or Noumenon, and the Primary Qualities of Matter. To each of these topics he applies what he calls the *psychological* method, as contrasted with the simply *introspective* method of Sir W. Hamilton (the Ego and Non-Ego affirmed to be given together in the primary deliverance of Consciousness) and so many other philosophers. He proves that these beliefs are noway intuitive, but acquired products; and that the known laws of Association are sufficient to explain how they are acquired; especially the Law of Inseparable Association, together with that of *Obliviscence*—a very useful, discriminating phrase, which we first find employed in this volume—(p. 259 et passim.) He defines Matter to be a *permanent possibility of Sensation*; he maintains that this is really all which (apart from philosophical theories) mankind in general mean by it; he shows that mere possibilities of sensation not only may, but must, according to the known Laws of Association, come to present "to our artificialized Consciousness" a character of objectivity—(pp. 198, 199.) The correlating subject, though present in fact and indispensable, is eliminated out of conscious notice, according to the Law of Obliviscence.

These chapters will well repay the most careful perusal. We can only find room for one passage (pp. 214, 215):—

"Throughout the whole of our sensitive life, except its first beginnings, we unquestionably refer our sensations to a *me* and a *not-me*. As soon as I have formed, on the one hand, the notion of Permanent Possibilities of Sensation, and on the other, of

that continued series of feelings which I call my life—both these notions are, by an irresistible association, recalled by every sensation I have. They represent two things, with both of which the sensation of the moment, be it what it may, stands in relation; and I cannot be conscious of the sensation without being conscious of it, as related to these two things. They have accordingly received relative names, expressive of the double relation in question. The thread of consciousness which I apprehend the relation as a part of, is called the *Subject*; the group of Permanent Possibilities of Sensation to which I refer it, and which is partially realised and actualised in it, is called the *Object* of the sensation. The sensation itself ought to have a correlative name, or rather ought to have two such names—one denoting the sensation as opposed to its Subject, the other denoting it as opposed to its Object; but it is a remarkable fact that this necessity has not been felt, and that the need of a correlative name to every relative one has been considered to be satisfied by the terms Object and Subject themselves. It is true that these two are related to one another, but only through the sensation. We have no conception of either Subject or Object, either Mind or Matter, except as something to which we refer our sensations, and whatever other feelings we are conscious of. *The very existence of them both, so far as cognisable by us, consists only in the relation they respectively bear to our states of feeling.* Their relation to each other is only the relation between those two relations. The immediate correlatives are, not the pair, *Object, Subject*, but the two pairs, *Object, Sensation objectively considered*—*Subject, Sensation subjectively considered*. The reason why this is overlooked might easily be shewn, and would furnish a good illustration of that important part of the Laws of Association, which may be termed the Laws of Obliviscence."

This chapter, on the Primary Qualities of Matter, controverts the opinion of Sir W. Hamilton, that extension, as consisting of coexistent *partes extra partes*, is immediately and necessarily apprehended by our consciousness. It cites, as well as confirms, the copious proof given by Professor Bain (in his work on the Senses and the Intellect) that our conception of extension is derived from our muscular sensibility: that our sensation of *muscular motion unimpeded* constitutes our notion of empty space, as our sensation of *muscular motion impeded* constitutes that of filled space: that our conception of extension, as an aggregate of coexistent parts, arises from the sense of sight, which comprehends a great number of parts in a succession so rapid as to be confounded with simultaneity—and which not only becomes the symbol of muscular and tactile succession, but even acquires such ascendancy as to supersede both of them in our consciousness. Confirmation is here given to this important doctrine, not merely by observations from Mr. Mill himself, but also from the very curious narrative, discovered and produced by Sir W. Hamilton, out of a work of the German philosopher, Platner. Platner instituted a careful examination of a man born blind, and ascertained that this man did not conceive extension as an aggregate of simultaneous parts, but as a series of sensations experienced or to be experienced in succession—(pp. 232, 233.) The case reported from Platner both corroborates the theory of Professor Bain,

and receives its proper interpretation from that theory; while it is altogether adverse to the doctrine of Sir W. Hamilton—as is also another case, which he cites from Maine de Biran:—

“It gives a very favourable idea of Sir W. Hamilton's sincerity and devotion to truth (remarks Mr. Mill, p. 247) that he should have drawn from obscurity, and made generally known, two cases so unfavourable to his own opinions.”

We think this remark perfectly just; and we would point out besides, in appreciating Sir W. Hamilton's merits, that his appetite for facts was useful to philosophy, as well as his appetite for speculation. But the person whose usefulness to philosophy we prefer to bring into the foreground, is Platner himself. He spent three weeks in patient examination of this blind man, and the tenor of his report proves that his sagacity in interpreting facts was equal to his patience in collecting them. The rarity of all such careful and premeditated observation of the facts of mind, appears to us one main reason why (what Mr. Mills calls) the *psychological* theory finds so little acceptance; and why those who maintain that what now seems a mental integer was once a multiplicity of separate mental fragments, can describe the antecedent steps of the change only as a *latens processus*, which the reader never fully understands, and often will not admit. Every man's mind is gradually built up from infancy to maturity; the process is always going on before our eyes, yet the stages of it—especially the earliest stages, the most pregnant with instruction—are never studied and put on record by observers trained in inductive logic, knowing beforehand what they ought to look for as the *sine quâ non* for proving or disproving any proposed theory. Such cases as that cited by Platner—cases of one marked congenital defect of sense, enabling us to apply the Method of Difference—are always within reach; but few Platners are found to scrutinise and record them. Historians of science describe to us the laborious and multiplied observations, and the elaborate precautions for ensuring accuracy of observation, which recent chemical and physical enquirers have found indispensable for the establishing of their results. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that mental philosophers, dealing with facts even more obscure, and careless about enlarging, varying, authenticating their records of particular facts, should have had little success in establishing any results at all.

But if even those who adopt the psychological theory, have been remiss in the observation of particular mental facts, those who deny the theory have been far more than remiss; they have been blind to obvious facts contradicting the principles which they lay down. Mr. Mill, in chap. xiv., deals with this denial, common to Mr. Mansel with Sir W. Hamilton. That philosophers so eminent as both of them should declare confidently—“what I cannot but think, must be *a priori*, or original to thought; it cannot be engendered by experience upon custom” (p. 264), appears to us as extraordinary as it does to Mr. Mill. Though no one ever surpassed Sir W. Hamilton in large acquaintance with the

actual diversities of human belief, and human incapacities of believing—yet he never seems to have thought of bringing this acquaintance into account, when he assured the students in his lecture-room that custom, experience, indissoluble association, were altogether insufficient to engender a felt necessity of believing. Such forgetfulness of well-known mental facts cannot be reproached to the advocates of the psychological theory.

In chap. xv., Mr. Mill examines Sir W. Hamilton's doctrine on unconscious mental modifications. He points out the confused manner in which Sir W. Hamilton has conceived *mental latency*, as well as the inconclusive character of the reasoning whereby he refutes the following doctrine of Dugald Stewart—That in the most rapid trains of association, each separate item must have been successively present to consciousness, though for a time too short to leave any memory. Sir W. Hamilton thinks that the separate items may pass, and often do pass, unconsciously; which opinion Mr. Mill also, though not approving his reasons, is inclined to adopt.

“I am myself inclined (p. 285) to admit unconscious mental modifications, in the only sense in which I can attach any very distinct meaning to them—namely, unconscious modifications of the nerves. It may well be believed that the apparently suppressed links in a chain of association, those which Sir W. Hamilton considers as latent, really are so: that they are not even momentarily felt, the chain of causation being continued only physically—by one organic state of the nerves succeeding another so rapidly, that the state of mental consciousness appropriate to each is not produced.”

Mr. Mill gives various illustrations in support of this doctrine. He at the same time calls attention to a valuable lecture of Sir W. Hamilton's, the thirty-second lecture on Metaphysics; especially to the instructive citation from Cardaillac contained therein, noting the important fact, which descriptions of the Law of Association often keep out of sight—that the suggestive agency of Association is carried on, not by single antecedents raising up single consequents, but by a mass of antecedents raising up simultaneously a mass of consequents, among which attention is very unequally distributed.*

We shall say little upon Mr. Mill's remarks on Sir W. Hamilton's Theory of Causation—(chap. xvi.) This theory appears to Mr. Mill absurd; while the theory of Mr. Mill (continued from Hume, Brown, and James Mill) on the same subject appears to Sir W. Hamilton insufficient and unsatisfactory—“professing to explain the phenomenon of causality, but previously to explanation, evacuating the phenomenon of all that desiderates explanation” (p. 295.) For ourselves, we embrace the theory of Mr. Mill:† yet we are aware that the remark just

* At the same time we cannot go along with Mr. Mill in the following affirmation (p. 301):—

“This natural probability is converted into certainty when we take into consideration that universal law of our experience which is termed the law of Causation, and which makes us *unable to conceive the*

cited from Sir W. Hamilton represents the dissatisfaction entertained towards it by many objectors. The unscientific and anti-scientific yearnings prevalent among mankind lead them to put questions which no sound theory of Causation will answer; and they are ready to visit and trust any oracle which professes to deliver a confident affirmative solution of such questions. Among all the terms employed by metaphysicians, none is used in a greater variety of meanings than the term Cause.

In Mr. Mill's next chapter, (xvi.) he comments on Sir W. Hamilton's doctrine of Concepts or General Notions. There are portions of this chapter with which we agree less than with most other parts of the volume; especially with his marked hostility to the term *Concept*, and the reasons given for it; which reasons appear to us not very consistent with what he has himself said in the "System of Logic," Book IV. ch. ii. § 1—3. The term *Concept* has no necessary connexion with the theory called Conceptualism. It is equally available to designate the idea called up by a general name, as understood either by Mr. Bailey or by James Mill. We think it useful as an equivalent to the German word *Begriff*, which sense Sir W. Hamilton has in view when he introduces it, though he does not always adhere to his profession. And when Mr. Mill says (p. 331)—

"I consider it nothing less than a misfortune, that the words *Concept*, *General Notion*, or any other phrase to express the supposed mental modification corresponding to a general name, should ever have been invented,"

we dissent from his opinion. To talk of "the Concept of an individual," however, as Mr. Mansel does (pp. 338, 339), is improper and inconsistent with the purpose for which the name is given.

We are more fully in harmony with Mr. Mill

beginning of anything without an antecedent condition or cause."

Such "inability to conceive" appears to us not in correspondence with facts. First, it cannot be properly either affirmed or denied, until agreement is obtained, what the word *cause* means. If three persons, A, B, and C, agree in affirming it—A adopting the meaning of Aristotle, B that of Sir William Hamilton, and C that of Mr. Mill—the agreement is purely verbal; or rather, all three concur in having a mental exigency pressing for satisfaction, but differ as to the hypothesis which satisfies it.

Next, if we reason upon Mr. Mill's theory as to Cause, certainly those who deny his theory can have no difficulty in conceiving events without any cause (in that sense); nor have those who adopt his theory any greater difficulty. These last believe that there are, throughout, constant and uniform conditions on which the occurrence of every event depends; but they can perfectly conceive events as occurring without any such uniform sequence. In truth, the belief in such causation, as pervading *all nature*, is an acquired result of scientific training. The greater part of mankind believe that some events occur in regular, others in irregular, succession. Moreover, a full half of the metaphysical world espouse the doctrine of free-will, and consider that all volitions occur without any cause at all.

in his two next chapters (xviii. et seq.) on Judgment and Reasoning; which are among the best chapters in the volume. He there combats and overthrows the theory of Reasoning laid down by Sir W. Hamilton; but we doubt the propriety of his calling this "the Conceptualist theory" (pp. 367, 368); since it has nothing to do with Conceptualism, in the special sense of antithesis to Realism and Nominalism,—but is, in fact, the theory of the Syllogism as given in the Analytics of Aristotle, and generally admitted since. Not merely Conceptualists, but (to use Mr. Mill's own language, p. 366) "nearly all the writers on logic, taught a theory of the science too small and narrow to contain their own facts." Such, indeed, was the theory constantly taught until the publication of Mr. Mill's "System of Logic;" the first two books of which corrected it, by arguments which are reinforced and amplified in these two chapters on Judgment and Reasoning, as well as in the two chapters next following—chaps. xx. and xxi.—("Is Logic the Science of the Forms of Thought—On the Fundamental Laws of Thought.") The contrast which is there presented, in many different ways, between the limited theory of logic taught by Sir W. Hamilton and Mr. Mansel, and the enlarged theory of Mr. Mill, is instructive in a high degree. We consider Mr. Mill as the real preserver of all that is valuable in Formal Logic from the unfortunate consequences of an erroneous estimate, brought upon it through the exaggerated pretensions of logicians. When Sir W. Hamilton contrasts it pointedly with physical science (of which he talks with a sort of supercilious condescension, in one of the worst passages of his writings, p. 401)—when all its apparent fruits were produced in the shape of ingenious but barren verbal technicalities, what hope could be entertained that Formal Logic could hold its ground in the estimation of the recent generation of scientific men? Mr. Mill has divested it of that assumed demonstrative authority which Bacon called "*regere res per syllogismum*;" but he has at the same time given to it a firm root amidst the generalities of objective science. He has shown that in the great problem of Evidence or Proof, the Laws of Formal Logic, though bearing only on one part of the entire procedure, yet bear upon one essential part, proper to be studied separately; and that the maintenance of consistency between our affirmations (which is the only special province of Formal Logic) has great importance and value as a part of the process necessary for ascertaining and vindicating their truth, or exposing their character when false or uncertified—but no importance and value, except as a part of that larger exigency.

While Mr. Mill was amending the Syllogistic theory so as to ensure for Formal Logic its legitimate place among the essentials of scientific procedure, Sir W. Hamilton was at the same time enlarging it on its technical side, in two modes which are highly esteemed both by himself and by others: 1. The recognition of two kinds of Syllogisms; one in Extension, the other in Comprehension; 2. The doctrine of the Quantification of the Predicate. Both

these novelties are here criticised by Mr. Mill in chapter xxii., which we recommend the reader to peruse conjointly with Lectures 15 and 16 of Sir W. Hamilton on Logic.

Now whereas the main objection, by which the study of the syllogistic logic has been weighed down and discredited in modern times, is this, that it encumbers the memory with formal distinctions, having no useful application to the real process and purposes of reasoning—the procedure of Sir W. Hamilton might almost lead us to imagine that he himself was trying to aggravate that objection to the uttermost. He introduces a variety of new canons (classifying Syllogisms as *Extensive* and *Intensive*, by a distinction founded on the double quantity of notions, in *Extension* and in *Comprehension*) which he intimates that all former logicians have neglected—while it plainly appears, even on his own showing, that the difference between syllogisms, in respect to these two sorts of quantity, is of no practical value; and that “we can always change a categorical syllogism of the one quantity into a categorical syllogism of the other by reversing the order of the two premises, and by reversing the meaning of the copula” (Lect. xvi. p. 296); nay, that every syllogism is already a syllogism in both quantities (Mill, p. 431). Against these useless ceremonial reforms of Sir W. Hamilton, we may set the truly philosophical explanation here given by Mr. Mill of the meaning of propositions.

“All judgments (he says—p. 423), except where both the terms are proper names, are really judgments in *Comprehension*; though it is customary, and the natural tendency of the mind, to express most of them in terms of *Extension*. In other words, we never really predicate anything but attributes; though, in the usage of language, we commonly predicate them by means of words which are names of concrete objects—because” (p. 426)—“we have no other convenient and compact mode of speaking. Most attributes, and nearly all large bundles of attributes, have no names of their own. We can only name them by a circumlocution. We are accustomed to speak of attributes, not by names given to themselves, but by means of the names which they give to the objects they are attributes of.” “All our ordinary judgments (p. 428) are in *Comprehension* only; *Extension* not being thought of. But we may, if we please, make the *Extension* of our general terms an express object of thought. When I judge that all oxen ruminate, I have nothing in my thoughts but the attributes and their co-existence. But when by reflection I perceive what the proposition implies, I remark that other things may ruminate besides oxen, and that the unknown multitude of things that ruminate form a mass, with which the unknown multitude of things having the attributes of oxen is either identical or is wholly comprised in it. Which of these two is the truth I may not know, and if I did, took no notice of it when I assented to the proposition, all oxen ruminate; but I perceive, on consideration, that one or other of them must be true. Though I had not this in my mind when I affirmed, that all oxen ruminate, I can have it now; I can make the concrete objects denoted by each of the two names an object of thought, as a collective though indefinite aggregate; in other words, I can make the *Extension* of the names (or notions) an object of direct con-

sciousness. When I do this, I perceive that this operation introduces no new fact, but is only a different mode of contemplating the very fact which I had previously expressed by the words, all oxen ruminate. The fact is the same, but the mode of contemplating it is different. There is thus in all Propositions a judgment concerning attributes (called by Sir W. Hamilton a Judgment in *Comprehension*) which we make as a matter of course; and a possible judgment in or concerning *Extension*, which we may make, and which will be true if the former is true.”

From the lucid explanation here cited (and from a following paragraph too long to transcribe, p. 433), we see that there is no real distinction between Judgments in *Comprehension* and Judgments in *Extension*; that the *appearance* of distinction between them arises from the customary mode of enunciation, which custom is here accounted for; that the addition to the theory of the Syllogism, for which Sir W. Hamilton takes credit, is alike troublesome and unprofitable.

The like may also be said about his other innovation, the Quantification of the Predicate. Still more extensive are the changes (as stated by himself) which this innovation would introduce in the canons of Syllogism. Indeed, when we read his language (Appendix to “Lectures on Logic,” pp. 291—297) censuring generally the prior logicians from Aristotle downwards, and contending that “more than half the value of logic had been lost” by their manner of handling it—we may appreciate the magnitude of the reform which he believed himself to be introducing. The larger the reform, the more it behoved him to be sure of the ground on which he was proceeding. But on this point we remark a serious deficiency. After laying down, with appropriate emphasis, the valuable logical postulate, *to state explicitly what is thought implicitly*, on which, Sir W. Hamilton says,

“Logic ever insists, but which logicians have never fairly obeyed—it follows that logically we ought to take into account the quantity, *always understood in thought*, but usually, and for manifest reasons, elided in expression, not only of the *subject*, but also of the *predicate* of a judgment.”—(“Discussions on Philos.” p. 614.)

Here Sir W. Hamilton assumes that the quantity of the predicate is always understood in thought; and the same assumption is often repeated, in the Appendix to his “Lectures on Logic,” p. 291 and elsewhere, as if it was alike obvious and incontestable. Now it is precisely on this point that issue is here taken with Sir W. Hamilton. Mr. Mill denies altogether (p. 437) that the quantity of the predicate is always understood or present in thought, and appeals to every reader’s consciousness for an answer:—

“Does he, when he judges that all oxen ruminate, advert even in the minutest degree to the question, whether there is anything else that ruminates? Is this consideration at all in his thoughts, any more than any other consideration foreign to the immediate subject? One person may know that there are other ruminating animals, another may think

there are none, a third may be without any opinion on the subject; but if they all know what is meant by ruminating, they all, when they judge that every ox ruminates, mean precisely the same thing. The mental process they go through, *as far as that one judgment is concerned*, is precisely identical; though some of them may go on farther, and add other judgments to it."

The last sentence cited from Mr. Mill indicates the vice of Sir W. Hamilton's proceeding in quantifying the predicate, and explains why it was that logicians before him declined to do so. Sir W. Hamilton, in this proceeding, insists on stating explicitly, not merely all that is thought implicitly, but a great deal more;* adding to it something else, which *may*, indeed, be thought conjointly, but which more frequently is *not* thought at all. He requires us to pack two distinct judgments into one and the same proposition: he interpolates the meaning of the *Propositio Conversa simpliciter* into the form of the *Propositio Convertenda* (when an universal Affirmative), and then claims it as a great advantage, that the proposition thus interpolated admits of being converted *simpliciter*, and not merely *per accidens*. Mr. Mill is, nevertheless, of opinion (pp. 439—443) that though "the quantified syllogism is not a true expression of what is in thought, yet writing the predicate with a quantification may be sometimes a real help to the Art of Logic." We see little advantage in providing a new complicated form, for the purpose of expressing in one proposition what naturally throws itself into two; and may easily be expressed in two. If a man is prepared to give us information on

one *Quæsitum*, why should he be constrained to use a mode of speech which forces on his attention at the same time a second and distinct *Quæsitum*—so that he must either give us information about the two at once, or confess himself ignorant respecting the second?

The two next chapters of Mr. Mill, noticing some other minor peculiarities (all of them unfortunate, and one, p. 447, really unaccountable) of Sir W. Hamilton's Formal Logic; and some Fallacious Modes of Thought countenanced by Sir W. Hamilton (chs. xxiii., xxiv.—pp. 446, 478), we are compelled to pass over. We must find space, however, for a few words on the Freedom of the Will (ch. xxv.), which (in Mr. Mill's language, pp. 488—549), "was so fundamental with Sir W. Hamilton, that it may be regarded as the central idea of his system—the determining cause of most of his philosophical opinions." Prior to Sir W. Hamilton, we find some writers who maintain the doctrine of Free-will, others who maintain that of Necessity: each supporting their respective conclusions by reasons which they deem sufficient. Sir W. Hamilton declares that both the one doctrine and the other are inconceivable and incomprehensible; yet that, by the law of Excluded Middle, one or other of them must be true; and he decides in favour of Free-will, of which he believes himself to be distinctly conscious; moreover, Free-will is essential (he thinks) to moral responsibility, of which also he feels himself conscious. He confesses himself, however, unable to explain the possibility of Free-will; but he maintains that the same may be said about Necessity also. "The champions of both the two opposite doctrines are at once resistless in attack, and impotent in defence"—(Hamilton's "Footnotes on Reid," p. 602.) Mr. Mansel also asserts, even more confidently than Sir W. Hamilton, that we are directly conscious of Free-will—(p. 508.)

Sir W. Hamilton has himself given some of the best arguments against the doctrine of Free-will, in refutation of Reid: arguments, some of which are here cited by Mr. Mill with praise which they well deserve—(pp. 497, 498.) But Mr. Mill's own reasoning on the same side is of a still higher order, enlarging the grounds previously urged in the last book of his "System of Logic." He protests against the term *Necessity*; and discards the idea of Necessity, if it be understood to imply anything more than invariability of antecedence and consequence. If it mean *that*, experience proves thus much about antecedents in the world of mind, as in the world of matter: if it mean more, experience does not prove more, either in the world of matter or in the world of mind: nor have we any grounds for affirming it in either—(p. 501.) If it were true, therefore, that consciousness attested Free-will, we should find the testimony of consciousness opposed to a full proof from experience and induction. But does consciousness really attest what is called Free-will? Mr. Mill analyses the case, and declares in the negative.

"To be conscious of Free-will, must mean to be conscious, before I have decided, that I am able to decide either way; exception may be taken in *limine*

* Among the various authorities (upon this question of quantifying the predicate) collected by Sir W. Hamilton in the valuable Appendix to his "Lectures on Logic," we find one (p. 311) which takes the same ground of objection as Mr. Mill, in these words:—"The cause why the quantitative note is not usually joined with the predicate, is, that there would thus be two *quærita* at once; to wit, whether the predicate were affirmed of the subject, and whether it were denied of everything beside. For when we say, *all man is all rational*, we judge that *all man is rational*, and judge likewise that *rational is denied of everything but man*. But these are, in reality, two different *quærita*; and therefore it has become usual to state them, not in one, but in two several propositions. And this is self-evident, seeing that a *quæsitum*, in itself, asks only—*Does or does not this inhere in that?* and not *Does or does not this inhere in that, and at the same time inhere in nothing else?*"

The author of this just and sagacious remark—much surpassing what the other writers quoted in the Appendix say—was a Jew who died at Perpignan in or near 1870, named Levi Ben Gerson or Gersonides. An interesting account of this man, eminent as a writer and thinker in his age, will be found in a biography by Dr. Joel, published at Breslau in 1862, "Levi Ben Gerson als Religionsphilosoph." He distinguished himself as a writer on theology, philosophy, and astronomy; he was one of the successors to the free speculative vein of Maimonides, and one of the continuators of the Arabic Aristotelian philosophy. He both commented on and combated the doctrine of Averroes. Dr. Joel thinks that he died earlier than 1870.

to the use of the word *consciousness* in such an application. Consciousness tells me what I do or feel. But what am I able to do, is not a subject of consciousness. Consciousness is not prophetic; we are conscious of what is, not of what will or can be. We never know that we are able to do a thing, except from having done it, or something similar to it. Having acted, we know, as far as that experience reaches, how we are able to act; and this knowledge, when it has become familiar, is often confounded with, and called by, the name of consciousness. But it does not derive any increase of authority from being misnamed: its truth is not supreme over, but depends upon, experience. If our so-called consciousness is not borne out by experience, it is a delusion. It has no title to credence, but as an interpretation of experience; and if it is a false interpretation it must give way."—pp. 503, 504.

After this salutary and much-needed warning against the confusion between consciousness as an infallible authority, and belief upon experience, of which we are conscious as a belief—Mr. Mill proceeds to sift the alleged self-evident connexion between Free-will and Accountability. He shows, not merely that there is no connexion, but that there is a positive repugnance between the two. By Free-will is meant that a volition is not determined by motives, but is a spontaneous mental fact, neither having a cause, nor admitting of being predicted. Now, the very reason for giving notice that we intend to punish certain acts, and for inflicting punishment if the acts be committed, is, that we trust in the efficacy of the threat and the punishment as deterring motives. If the volition of agents be not influenced by motives, the whole machinery of law becomes unavailing, and punishment a purposeless infliction of pain. In fact, it is on that very ground that the madman is exempted from punishment; his volition being presumed to be not capable of being acted upon by the deterring motive of legal sanction. The *free* agent, thus understood, is one who can neither feel himself accountable, nor be rendered accountable, to or by others. It is only the *necessary* agent (the person whose volitions are determined by motives, and, in case of conflict, by the strongest desire or the strongest apprehension) that can be held really accountable, or can feel himself to be so.

"The true doctrine of the Causation of human actions (says Mr. Mill, p. 516) maintains, in opposition both to pure and to modified Fatalism, that not only our conduct, but our character is in part amenable to our will: that we can, by employing the proper means, improve our character: and that if our character is such that, while it remains what it is, it necessitates us to do wrong—it will be just to apply motives which will necessitate us to strive for its improvement. We shall not indeed do so unless we desire our improvement, and desire it more than we dislike the means which must be employed for the purpose."

It thus appears that of the two propositions, 1, volitions are necessary, or depend on causes; 2, volitions are free, or do not depend on causes—neither the one nor the other is inconceivable or incomprehensible, as Sir W. Hamilton sup-

posed them to be. That the first is true, and the second false, we learn by experience, and by that alone; just as we learn the like in regard to the phenomena of the material world. Indeed, the fact that human volitions are both predictable and modifiable, quite as much as all those physical phenomena that depend upon a complication of causes—which is only a corollary from what has just been said—is so universally recognised and acted upon by all men, that there would probably be little difference of opinion about this question, if the antithesis were not obscured and mystified by the familiar, but equivocal, phrases of Free-will and Necessity.

Passing over chapter xxvii., in which Mr. Mill refutes Sir W. Hamilton's opinion that the study of mathematics is worthless, or nearly so, as an intellectual discipline—we shall now call attention to the concluding remarks which sum up the results of the volume. After saying that he "differs from almost everything in Sir W. Hamilton's philosophy, on which he particularly valued himself, or which is specially his own," Mr. Mill describes Sir W. Hamilton's general merits as follows:—

"They chiefly consist in his clear and distinct mode of bringing before the reader many of the fundamental questions of metaphysics: some good specimens of psychological analysis on a small scale: and the many detached logical and psychological truths which he has separately seized, and which are scattered through his writings, mostly applied to resolve some special difficulty, and again lost sight of. I can hardly point to anything he has done towards helping the more thorough understanding of the greater mental phenomena, unless it be his theory of Attention (including Abstraction), which seems to me the most perfect we have; but the subject, though a highly important, is comparatively a simple one."—p. 547.

Agreeing in this general view of Sir W. Hamilton's merits, we should be disposed to describe them in language stronger and more emphatic as to degree, than that which has just been cited. But what is stated in the pages immediately following (pp. 550, 551)—That Sir W. Hamilton's doctrines appear to be usually taken up under the stimulus of some special dispute and often afterwards forgotten; That he did not think out subjects until they were thoroughly mastered, or until consistency was attained between the different views which the author took from different points of observation; That, accordingly, his philosophy seems made up of scraps from several conflicting metaphysical systems—All this is literally and amply borne out by the many inconsistencies and contradictions which Mr. Mill has brought to view in the preceding chapters. It would appear that the controversial disposition was powerful with Sir W. Hamilton, and that a present impulse of that sort (as has been said respecting Bayle, Burke, and others) not only served to provoke new intellectual combinations in his mind, but also exercised a Lethæan influence in causing obliviscence of the old. But we can hardly follow Mr. Mill in ascribing the defect to "excessive absorption of time and energy by the study of old writers" (p. 551).

If this study did no other good, it at least kept the memory in exercise. Now, what surprises us most in Sir W. Hamilton's inconsistencies, is the amount of self-forgetfulness which they imply.

While the laborious erudition of Sir W. Hamilton cannot be fairly regarded as having produced any of his intellectual defects, it undoubtedly stamped upon him his special title of excellence as a philosopher. This is fully recognised by Mr. Mill; though he treats it as belonging not so much to a philosopher as to an historian of philosophy. He concludes (pp. 552—554):—

"It is much to be regretted that Sir W. Hamilton did not write the history of philosophy, instead of choosing, as the direct object of his intellectual exertions, philosophy itself. He possessed a knowledge of the materials such as no one, probably for many generations, will take the trouble of acquiring again. Independently of the great interest and value attaching to a knowledge of the historical development of speculation, there is much in the old writers on philosophy, even those of the middle ages, really worth preserving for its scientific value. But this should be extracted, and rendered into the phraseology of modern thought, by persons as familiar with that as with the ancient, and possessing a command of its language; a combination never yet so perfectly realised as in Sir W. Hamilton. This, which no one but himself could have done, he has left undone, and has given us instead a contribution to mental philosophy, which has been more than equalled by many not superior to him in powers, and wholly destitute of erudition. Of all persons in modern times entitled to the name of philosophers, the two, probably, whose reading on the subject was the scantiest, in proportion to their intellectual capacity, were Archbishop Whately and Dr. Brown. Accordingly they are the only two of whom Sir W. Hamilton, though acknowledging their abilities, speaks with some tinge of superciliousness. It cannot be denied that both Dr. Brown and Whately would have thought and written better than they did, if they had been better read in the writings of previous thinkers; but I am not afraid that posterity will contradict me when I say, that either of them has done far greater service to the world in the origination and diffusion of important thought, than Sir W. Hamilton with all his learning; because, though indolent readers, they were both of them active and fertile thinkers.

"It is not that Sir W. Hamilton's erudition is not frequently of real use to him on particular questions of philosophy. It does him one valuable service: it enables him to know all the various opinions which can be held on the questions he discusses, and to conceive and express them clearly, leaving none of them out. This it does, though even this not always; but it does little else, even of what might be expected from erudition when enlightened by philosophy. He knew, with extraordinary accuracy, the *eri* of each philosopher's opinions, but gave himself little trouble about the *doctrina*. With one exception, I find no remark bearing upon that point in any part of his writings. I imagine he would have been much at a loss if he had been required to draw up a philosophical estimate of the mind of any great thinker. He never seems to look at any opinion of a philosopher in connection with the same philosopher's other opinions. Accordingly he is weak as to the mutual relations of philosophical doctrines. One of the most striking examples of this inability is in the case of Leibnitz," &c.

Here we find in a few sentences the conclusion which Mr. Mill conceives to be established by his book. We shall state how far we are able to concur with it. He has brought the matter to a direct issue, by weighing Sir W. Hamilton in the balance against two other actual cotemporaries; instead of comparing him with some unrealised ideal found only in the fancy of critics and reviewers.

Comparing Sir W. Hamilton with Dr. Brown, we cordially subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Mill. We think that Dr. Brown has "done far greater service to the world than Sir W. Hamilton, in the origination and diffusion of important thought." To speak only of two chief subjects in the field of important thought—Causality and the Freedom of the Will—we not only adopt the conclusions of Dr. Brown, but we admire both his acuteness and his originality in vindicating and illustrating the first of the two, while we dissent entirely from the views of Sir W. Hamilton. This alone would be sufficient to make us approve the superiority assigned by Mr. Mill to Dr. Brown. We discover no compensating item to be placed to the credit of Sir W. Hamilton: for the great doctrine of the Relativity of Knowledge, which is our chief point of philosophical brotherhood with him, was maintained by Brown also.

But in regard to Dr. Whately, our judgment is altogether different. We cannot consent to admit him as a superior, or even as an equal, to Sir W. Hamilton, "in the origination and diffusion of important thought." He did much service by reviving an inclination and respect for Logic, and by clearing up a part of the technical obscurity which surrounded it: but we look upon him as an acute and liberal-minded English theologian, enlarging usefully, though timidly, the intellectual prison in which many orthodox minds are confined—rather than as a fit aspirant to the cosmopolitan honours of philosophy. "An active and fertile thinker," Mr. Mill calls Whately; and such he undoubtedly was. But such also we consider Sir W. Hamilton to have been, in a degree at least equal. If the sentence which we have quoted above be intended to deny the predicate, "active and fertile thinker," of Sir W. Hamilton, we cannot acquiesce in it. His intellect appears to us thoroughly active and fertile, even when we dissent from his reasonings—nay, even in the midst of his inconsistencies, when a new growth of opinions is unexpectedly pushed up, on ground which we supposed to be already pre-occupied by another both older and different. And we find this same judgment implied in the discriminating remarks upon his philosophical procedure made by Mr. Mill himself—(pp. 271, 272.) For example, respecting Causality and the Freedom of the Will, we detect no want of activity and fertility, though marked evidence of other defects—especially the unconditional surrender of a powerful mind to certain privileged inspirations, worshipped as "necessities of thought."

While thus declaring how far we concur in the parallel here drawn of Sir W. Hamilton with Brown and Whately, we must at the same time add that the comparison is taken under

circumstances unduly favourable to these two last. There has been no exposure of *their* errors and inconsistencies, equal in penetration and completeness to the crushing volume which Mr. Mill has devoted to Sir W. Hamilton. To make the odds fair, he ought to furnish a similar systematic examination to Brown and Whately; enabling us to read their works (as we now do those of Sir W. Hamilton) with the advantage of his unrivalled microscope, which detects the minutest breach or incoherence in the tissue of reasoning—and of his large command of philosophical premisses, which brings into full notice what the author had overlooked. Thus alone could the competition between the three be rendered perfectly fair.

We regret, as Mr. Mill does, that Sir W. Hamilton did not undertake the composition of a history of philosophy. Nevertheless we must confess that we should hardly feel such regret, if we could see evidence to warrant Mr. Mill's judgment (p. 554) that Sir W. Hamilton was "indifferent to the *diatribe* of a man's opinions, and that he was incompetent to draw up an estimate of the opinions of any great thinker," &c. Such incompetence, if proved to be frequent and considerable, would deprive an author of all chance of success in writing a history of philosophy. But the study of Sir W. Hamilton's works does not prove it to us, though Mr. Mill has convicted him of an erroneous estimate of Leibnitz. We say *frequent* and *considerable*, because no historian of philosophy is exempt from the defect more or less; or rather (to pass out of the self-confidence of the Absolute into the modesty of the Relative) we seldom find any historian whose estimate of great philosophical thinkers does not often differ from our own. Hence we are glad when ample original extracts are produced, enabling us to test the historian, and judge for ourselves—a practice which Sir W. Hamilton would have required no stimulus to enforce upon him. There ought, indeed to be various histories of philosophy, composed from different points of view; for the ablest historian cannot get clear of a certain exclusiveness belonging to himself. But, so far as we can conjecture what Sir W. Hamilton *would* or *could* have done, we think that a history of philosophy composed by him would have surpassed any work of the kind in our language.

We trust that Sir W. Hamilton's works will long continue to be read, along with Mr. Mill's examination of them; and we should be glad if the works of other philosophers could be read along with a comment of equal acuteness and impartiality. Any point of view which could command the adherence of such a mind as Sir W. Hamilton's deserves to be fully considered. Moreover, the living force of philosophy, as directress of human intelligence, depends upon keeping up in each of her devotees a full mastery of many divergent and opposite veins of reasoning—a knowledge, negative and affirmative, of the full case of opponents as well as of his own.

It is to Philosophy alone that *our* allegiance is sworn, and while we concur mostly with Mr. Mill's opinions, we number both him and Sir

W. Hamilton as a noble pair of brethren, serving alike in her train.

Amicus Hamilton: magis amicus Mill; amica ante omnes Philosophia.

ART. II.—PRECURSORS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—SAINT-PIERRE AND D'ARGENSON.

1. *La Société Française et la Société Anglaise. Au XVIII. Siècle.* Par CORNELIS DE WITT. Paris. 1864.
2. *Introduction aux Mémoires et Journal du Marquis d'Argenson, publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France.* Par EDM. JACQUES BENOIT RATHERY. Paris. 1859.
3. *Mémoires et Journal inédit du Marquis d'Argenson, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Louis XV., publiés et Annotés par le Marquis d'Argenson.* 1858.

BOLINGBROKE, writing in 1724 to the Abbé Alary, says, "Give my very humble compliments to our little academy, and say I should be extremely sorry not to see them in the course of next month. They have confirmed my taste for philosophy and reanimated my taste for letters. Many thanks to them." The allusion is to the once celebrated Club of the Entresol. Among the incidents of the first half of the eighteenth century, which may be regarded as precursors, or premonitions, of the French Revolution of '89, there is none more interesting and instructive than the formation of this small select political society which flourished in Paris from 1724 to 1731. The word club—destined to become afterwards of such terrible import in France—was, of course, an importation from England, and its title of Entresol was derived from its place of meeting—an agreeably situated Entresol occupied by the Abbé Alary in the house of the President Hainault, in the Place Vendôme. It consisted of twenty-three members, all of them advantageously known by their position and talents, some as magistrates, some as literary men, others who, before or subsequently, filled high public appointments. Among the latter were the Marquis de Saint-Coutest, who had acted as French plenipotentiary in negotiating the treaties of Baden and Cambray; his son, afterwards minister of foreign affairs; Marshal Count de Coigny; the Count de Camille, vice-admiral of France, a man of brilliant parts; and the Marquis d'Argenson—to whose memoirs, first published in 1825, we are indebted for precise information about the club—who was minister of foreign affairs in 1744. Such was its composition. Its president was the Abbé Alary, the correspondent and intimate friend of Bolingbroke, a man of extensive acquirements, who soon after its institution was appointed sub-preceptor to the princes, but with a special proviso that he was to have one day in the week at his disposal for attending to his presidential duties. The government at this time was favourable to the project. The professed object

of its members was merely the assembling of a few friends to talk of the affairs of the day and modern political history; but it is evident from the formal organization they adopted, and the labours assigned to each member, that they hoped to form a political academy which would have a powerful influence on public opinion. The meetings took place every Saturday afternoon precisely at five, and continued till nine. The business was divided into three parts, each occupying a third of the time. The first was devoted to the reading of the French and foreign journals, that is, the "Dutch, and *even* English," the former being at that time the chronicles of Europe. Questions suggested by them were put and answered, and then followed a curious and interesting conversation on their contents, in which the diplomatists and such members as had been employed on foreign service usually took the lead. At this time, also, were read the president's replies to questions which it was the duty of one of the members to draw up, and submit to him respecting points in the public journals on which a special comment, or elucidation, was required. The advantage which Alary's position gave him of constant communication with the highest persons in the state, was, no doubt, turned to account in these answers. The second hour was devoted to such news as did not appear in print. The floating opinions of society on the events of the day; all the secret knowledge of the pulse and play of general feeling which the keen observation of experienced, penetrating minds could obtain; all those varied, scattered, unconnected remarks dropped here and there in their respective circles by watchful and thoughtful men, the obscure premonitors of change so important and so difficult to collect; whatever of such matter the diligence of the members could amass furnished the interesting matter of this division. And so attractive was it, their minds being already stimulated by their previous conference, that it was always difficult to bring this section to a close in order to proceed to the third. This consisted of reading either the works of the members—each member that chose it had some important department of inquiry assigned him, having reference to national law, administrative organization, and the different branches of political science of which he undertook to present the results from time to time,—or such other works as it was desirable to read in common, or political memoirs bearing upon their purpose; also of receiving intelligence of treaties recently concluded, of which every one was emulous to get the earliest information from the most official sources; and of reading the foreign correspondence diligently kept up by its members. The business over, the members dispersed to their several engagements, except that in the long days of summer it was not unusual to adjourn to the Tuileries, and continue their animated conferences in its most shady and sequestered avenues. "It was there," says D'Argenson, "recalling these agreeable evenings—

"— que seuls en paix, errants dans le bois,
Nous voyons à nos pieds les favoris des rois."

An exaggeration which, if it exceeds the point to which they attained, at least shows the point to which they aspired. And, in fact, their influence over opinion became so great as finally to give umbrage, and cause the dissolution of the club. The secret of their conferences it is believed was inviolably kept, but to conceal the effects which they had on the minds of those who contributed to them was of course impossible. When the members of the club, fresh from one of its exciting discussions, mingled with the world, they were unavoidably remarked not only for their early and exact intelligence, but for opinions necessarily tinged with the bold colouring of their inquiries. More, too, was frequently inferred from their expressions than they were meant to imply—any exaggerated inference of this kind seeming legitimate, where the speaker was known to belong to the Entresol. Persons about the government began to be disquieted, and complained angrily to Fleury, who for awhile parried the storm, but at length gave way, either because he began to alter his own opinion, or that he found it necessary to attend to certain remonstrances from a quarter which he did not deem it prudent to offend. "Tell your messieurs of the Entresol," said the cardinal one day to Alary, "that they are over-bold in their discourse, and that *foreigners even have complained to us.*" The interest in its proceedings on the part of foreigners is illustrated by a very remarkable circumstance. Some points of dispute had arisen between England and Spain, and the French government had shown a disposition to side with the latter power. To counteract this, and for the express purpose of enlightening public opinion through the influence of the club, no less a person than Horace Walpole, brother of the English premier, and who had been English ambassador in Paris, demanded permission to present himself at one of its meetings. The request was granted; Walpole was introduced, and made a speech of two hours on the subject alluded to, after which the club took up the discussion and came to a decision; but what that was, or whether any steps were taken in consequence, does not transpire. The fact, however, sufficiently explains why foreigners should be concerned in its proceedings, and the government feel bound to attend to their remonstrances. It is evident the club had stirred up some formidable opposition, which it might be no light matter to disregard. The cardinal's language was interpreted as an intimation that further persistence on their part would draw down a formal interdiction. The meetings were in consequence for awhile suspended. A proposal was then made to Fleury that the club, abstaining from all questions having reference to the politics of the day, should confine itself to abstract considerations relating to the general and permanent political and administrative interests of nations. But the cardinal observed, "that labours of this kind must necessarily lead much further than at first intended; that there were other subjects as well worthy of their attention as those they were inclined to prefer; and that if they continued their meetings, they must have the good-

ness to confine themselves to such." This answer was considered a complete interdiction. As a last resource, they resolved on meeting informally at each other's houses; but this, of course, got wind, and after their third meeting they received what they understood to be a warning that any more attempts to prolong the existence of the club would be dangerous.

We shall not be surprised at this disquiet when we come to know the opinions of two of the most remarkable and active of its members, whose names belong to history—Saint-Pierre and D'Argenson. Thrown for awhile into shade by the outbreak of the great Revolution of 1789, which for a long time annulled all interest in the earlier opinions of the century—of which it appeared to be so little a development as to draw even from Burke the strange remark, that it was an "accident which, had it been foreseen, could never have happened"—it is only of late years they have been again coming to the front, bearing with them speculations and opinions explicative of the apparently abnormal phenomenon which subsequently ensued. To the latter of these earnest and thoughtful men, a French historian, M. Henri Martin, whose copious and critical 'History of France' finds great favour with what M. de Witt calls the Radical party—that is, we presume, the Republican party, not including the red—pays a distinguished tribute; according him much ability as a statesman, and noticing with emphasis the bold spirit of political innovation which his writings display, and which, he says, reminds him of Rousseau. Of the mental and moral qualities of the former, a remarkable record is left us in the writings of one whose name is still a power. Rousseau, in his 'Confessions,' informs us that when making his *entrée* into Parisian society, he received an invitation to dinner from Madame Dupin—the wife of a rich Receiver-General, and one of three sisters who were called "The Graces"—whose house and hospitable board were the rendezvous of all that was most distinguished by rank, fashion, or talent in the metropolis. The guests assembled to meet the young candidate for fame were Buffon, Voltaire, and the Abbé Saint-Pierre. The impression which the latter produced upon him was profound and never obliterated; he applied to him then the somewhat singular expression of "*la Raison ambulante*," and at a later period described him as "a man of rare superiority, the honour of his age and his species; the only one who had ever made reason his sole pursuit." In our own days a distinguished historian, M. Louis Blanc, in his brilliant summary of the 'Sources and Causes of the French Revolution' (which forms the first volume of his history of that event), places him among the precursors of the Revolution, speaks of him as a publicist full of matter, lauds the intrepidity with which he uttered political criticisms that gave offence to many, and suggests that if on many points he did not provoke hostility, it was because he was so much before his time that his views were too little appreciated to be feared. Indeed, both these men were regarded as dreamers—D'Argenson, in fact, ridiculed by the courtiers, was sometimes called

"D'Argenson la bête;"—and if to be allied by our speculations to the future rather than to the present be to dream, such undoubtedly they were. Hence it was, as D'Argenson informs us, that Saint-Pierre's feelings towards the club were those of a man towards a country he has long and hopelessly desired to see, and where he finds himself at last. It was here he found hearers willing to listen to him, and to discuss the value "of those researches and discoveries which directed his attention successively to every department of the State;" a home in which he could find refuge for his favourite views, and where he might hope they would be cherished when he should be no more. And though there is plain indication that his sanguine temperament carried him to conclusions to which his fellow-members could not at all times respond, it is equally clear that the difference was one of degree alone, and that it was not by the nature or direction of his theories, but their occasional extent, that he was sometimes at issue with his able and admiring associates. Some knowledge of the writings and opinions of a man in such relations to the most intelligent, thoughtful, and inquiring persons of his day, could not fail to be of interest, were it only that they were among the first faint whispers of that inexorable demand for change that burst forth with such coarse and horrible clamour towards the century's close. But they are otherwise interesting as touching on subjects of vital importance to ourselves, and as exhorting us either to a fulness of practice to which we have not attained, or to indispensable aims to which we have not yet seriously directed our minds.

Born in 1658, of a noble and distinguished family in Normandy, Charles Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre was educated at the university of Caen, and being a younger brother, was destined by his parents to the Church. His own inclination would have led him to accept the tonsure and fix himself in a cloister. Such a choice, looking to the constitution of his mind in after life, we should have found it hard to account for, had he not himself furnished the explanation. From this it appears—and a curious fact it is—that a fancy for monastic seclusion was in his boyhood a prevailing malady among young men, and he often cites with approbation a writer of the time, who, in allusion to this morbid fancy, to which, he says, every young man was subject once, though perhaps only once in his life, stigmatizes it as "*la petite vérole de l'esprit*." Fortunately for him, so he afterwards thought, a feeble state of health was considered a disqualification for this worthless career, and he thus escaped being a victim to this singular epidemic—this malignant "*small-pox of the mind*."

Soon after leaving college, he and his friend Varignon—subsequently one of the most distinguished mathematicians of France—went to Paris to improve, or rather to seek their fortunes. Here they took an apartment in the Rue St. Jacques, and lived together in common upon the abbé's funds. But this did not quite suit the latter. His income did not exceed 1800 francs a year; Varignon had nothing.

We can easily conceive why any one should object to so one-sided an arrangement, but we might guess for some time without discovering why Saint-Pierre did so. The fact, is that what dissatisfied him was not his friend sharing his purse, but that he should do so as a dependant. But how to make him otherwise? A very simple expedient did it. Out of his 1800 francs a year he insisted on settling 300 on his friend. "I give them to you," said he, "not as a loan, but as a gift, that you may be perfectly independent of me, and leave me whenever you are tired of me." A characteristic trait foreshadowing the whole history of his life, and practically illustrating that theory of reciprocal benevolence and goodwill which was the moving principle of all his schemes. After reading this anecdote, indeed, we are prepared for the unflagging zeal with which he in after life laboured to realize his theory of beneficence. Succeed, he of course did not. But he has left a remarkable record of his efforts in the word *bienfaisance*—beneficence, active kindness, as distinguished from benevolence, intentional kindness—which he made so general and popular as to fix it permanently in his native tongue, where we find it so often distinguishing charitable associations. The word is to be found in Balzac, but, as D'Alembert informs us, was completely buried and forgotten until revived by Saint-Pierre. We may safely regard such a result as a proof that his writings were largely circulated, and had considerable weight. It may be fairly a question, too, whether the remarkable elevation of the word "*fraternity*" at a later period may not be owing to those incessant exhortations to reciprocal acts of kindness, as indispensable instruments of civilization, to be found in them. Soon after this little arrangement was made, the two friends were joined by two other kindred spirits, the one destined to shine as a philosophical historian, the other, if we accept the opinion of Voltaire, as the most universal genius of his time—Vertot and Fontenelle. A companionship to which, after long years, the latter could recur with feelings of tender regret, as he looked back to that period, the happiest of their lives, while they yet enjoyed a pleasure, on which he says at that time they set but too little value—that of being unknown.

One of the first literary occupations of Saint-Pierre, a treatise upon Grammar, though it eventually brought him a distinction, in itself no mean literary glory in those days—admission into the Academy—was probably the one of all his pursuits he looked back upon with the least delight. He seems henceforth assiduously to have devoted himself to the study of political science, and to an attentive consideration of the means by which the condition of society might be improved, which he afterwards brought to bear with varied but considerable success.

It was while thus occupied for several years in his peaceful retreat in the Rue St. Jacques, that an event occurred which transferred him to a very different scene. He purchased the place of almoner to the Duchess of Orleans, through whose influence he was soon after-

wards made Abbé of Tiron. Residing, in virtue of his office, principally at Versailles, his friends beheld with mistrust his translation to a sphere so little in harmony with the tranquillity of his nature and his simple and moderate desires. They were unnecessarily alarmed. Instead of being frightened back to his retreat by the glare and whirl of its giddy crowds, he seems to have experienced an agreeable excitement from their careless joy, like that the traveller feels, who, in a strange land, mingles at some season of festivity with its holiday and laughing throngs. "I was comfortable enough," he writes to Madame de Lambert, "in my cabin in the Quartier St. Jacques, but as yet I am more so here." It was a curious instance of one whose mental constitution was in almost all respects the opposite of a courtier's making himself at home, and finding his existence not only tolerable but desirable in a court. To the serene disposition of Saint-Pierre there must however, have been an exquisite charm in that graceful amenity of manner, in that elegant mechanism of deportment which imparts such a smooth and harmonious movement to the personal intercourse of the refined, which will in every country be found united with those classes on which the action of intelligence has been longest felt,—a tolerably clear indication of its having an intrinsic merit, and conducing to some useful end. But there was also a peculiar advantage to him, as he imagined, and no doubt found, in this abode. It brought him into contact with the crowds of courtiers who, he says, have more influence on affairs than is generally supposed; with eminent persons charged with the highest offices of state, and procured him the acquaintance of many who, belonging to classes not suffering from the heavier evils of society, and not wanting practical relief, had patience and inclination as a mere mental pastime, to listen to speculative projects of reform. Immense advantages these in a country where, according to a distinguished writer, M. Taine, conversation has been the principal instrument of civilization, and at a time when, in that country, it was certainly the chief vehicle for the circulation of ideas. But if he made use of his opportunities, he did not abuse them. He was abstemious in conversation, not from temperament only, but on principle; feeling with singular modesty that what he wrote no one was compelled to read, but that when he spoke others were constrained to hear,—a necessity he was unwilling to impose. A judicious distinction, which one cannot help wishing were more common in the world—a rule of mercy, of self-denial, we could willingly prescribe to those oral essayists who are for ever inflicting on us in conversation what we should carefully elude if it were in print. With Saint-Pierre it was less a merit than a fault. Silently and timidly reserved unless specially brought out, he then confined himself to points which best he understood, but these points were neither trivial nor few; for besides his political knowledge, which was extensive, his memory was stored with a vast variety of anecdotes, which he told with great simplicity, but with considerable point. To

one thing he was scrupulously attached, and that was to be exact. "No one," he said, "is under obligation to amuse, but every one is under an obligation not to deceive." But of his own merits as a talker he could never be convinced; and when, on some occasion, a clever and accomplished woman, after a long conversation with him on his most serious plans, warmly thanked him for the information and pleasure she had derived, "Madam," he replied, with a modesty which was as sincere in fact as gallant in form, "I am but a sorry instrument which you have touched with skill." Had his conversation, indeed, resembled his writings—of which twelve volumes exist—it would doubtless have been deficient in grace of expression, though marked by occasional flashes of eloquent warmth, and not without a certain air of dignity arising from the deep conviction of the speaker, the spotless purity of his purpose, and the lofty aim of his speculations. From the few specimens we have of it, it is evident it was distinguished by that uncompromising spirit of truth that was conspicuous in his works, and that must have often startled the servile associations of his listeners by the uncourtier-like boldness of its views. When some one in the ordinary and obsequious language of the times insisted that kings were gods of the earth, "I know not," he said, "if Caligula and Domitian be gods; what I am very sure of is they were not men." And hearing it asserted on another occasion that even tyrants had performed acts of clemency for which they deserved praise they had not received, "Never fear," said he, "but that all the good they did was made the most of during their life-time; the only pity is that their subjects seem to be so little aware of it." The virtuous acts of princes, he maintained, would always be written in the hearts of the people; and was wont to say that with whatever pleasure he might hear the praises of good princes, whether in books, which were always a little suspicious to him, or in courts, which were very much more so, he should never be perfectly content until he had gone into the villages and found it there—language as familiar and commonplace now as it was new and startling then. Nor can we possibly estimate its force unless we restore it to the context of the times and country in which it was used, contrast it with the servile notions of kingcraft that were then afloat, and remember how little the false and bloated glory that still commanded the adoration of the day could have stood the application of this simple and conclusive test. For though there were some like the minister Maurepas, who, according to D'Argenson, "despised not only God but the very notion of divinity; not only the king but royalty," there was a vast amount of that respect for royalty in the abstract so curiously illustrated by the high-principled and self-respecting Duke de Luynes, who, though shocked at the vileness of the creature that filled the throne, could, in his reverence for the throne itself, regret that the ceremony had been dropped of bowing to the king's bed in passing through

his bedchamber, and to his dinner-napkin on entering his dining-room.

It was probably at the Regent's desire, as well as in consequence of his acquirements, that he received the appointment of private secretary to the Cardinal, then Abbé de Eolignac, when he went, in 1712, as plenipotentiary of France, to negotiate the Peace of Utrecht. In the course of these negotiations it was that Saint-Pierre conceived his project of universal peace, which he developed in a work of considerable historical research, that not only attracted attention in France, but was translated into several of the principal languages of Europe. To this work, by which *unfortunately* for Saint-Pierre's reputation he is the most remembered, we shall presently take occasion to refer.

He was now on his return incessantly engaged upon various publications connected with political science. Well acquainted with his subject and indefatigable in its development, it is perfectly surprising to what a variety of points he addressed himself—government, the church, police, military organization, commerce, conventual life, codification of the laws, religious tolerance, taxation, national education, including subordinate and dependent points, in turn exercised his pen, and not unfrequently, with the happiest results. It would be difficult, in fact, to point out an individual in any country, who, holding no official situation, belonging to no party, sustained by no influence, backed by no public excitement, having no other aim than the public good, ever devoted himself so zealously to the suggestion and exposition of practical reforms in the administrative organization of his country as Saint-Pierre. Nor were his efforts entirely devoid of success. If his bold project of dividing and weakening the direct action of the Crown by investing the management of each department of the State in a council chosen and perpetuated by ballot, under pretence of supplying the king with exacter information, and less inconstant views than could be possibly derived from intriguing and ever-changing ministers, neither did nor was likely to succeed; if his startling scheme of making bishops removable at the end of every ten years, unless continued in their sees by the approbation of a peculiarly constituted board, deciding by ballot; if his proposals of *suffering the clergy to marry, of making all titles of honour personal and not hereditary*, had as little chance of succeeding, they are in the highest degree interesting, as indicating tendencies of political and ecclesiastical reforms which, though totally unknown to the nation at large, had already an existence in a few, but very distinguished and practical minds. More fortunate on more accessible points, he had the satisfaction to see his suggestions for the improved administration of police, for the better regulation of religious houses, for stopping the increase of mendicancy, but above all for the substitution of a graduated tax in lieu of the fearfully oppressive system of capricious taxation which ground the peasant to dust—one of the most frightful sores of the ante-revolution-

any times—more or less adopted. Voltaire, who had his own reasons for being peevish with Saint-Pierre, acknowledged the statesmanlike ability which he displayed in the last of these reforms.

But there were other great subjects on which he also dwelt with the deepest earnestness, and in the treatment of which he displayed a noble liberality and breadth of views. One of these was religious toleration. In him we do not find that dualism of feeling and policy which so frequently offends us in many men, who, expansive and progressive in all other directions, irresistibly contract into bigots, and lose the faculty of advance, wherever religion is concerned. Indeed his notions of religious toleration were extraordinary for that day, and are not without their instruction for this. He was willing to give men every liberty except that of quarrelling about their creeds. Theological controversy he could not in any respect abide, and his recipe for curing it was at all events summary—imposing silence on both parties, and leaving each to its belief. A kindred sentiment in D'Argenson has drawn down the censure of M. de Witt, who thinks it found favour with him because, to prevent the religious from controverting would, by stifling the vitality of religion, extinguish faith, and relax the check which is placed on the corruption of manners. This censure, utterly inapplicable to Saint-Pierre, is unfair to D'Argenson. It is a sufficient explanation of this sentiment that both these men had fresh in their memory one of the most crapulous theological controversies that ever raged, profoundly disturbing their country, and accompanied by acts and exhibitions in which religion played the part of a street mountebank, and was occasionally made to grin through a horse-collar. A regard for the honour of religion, as well as a desire to annihilate one of the most pestilent causes of angry irritation, might well suggest a policy of restraint to men who had such profound reasons for being sensible of its mischief. To fetter expression it is true cannot be wise; but certainly mankind will never receive any benefit from the quarrel between the Jesuits and Jansenists, and equally certain that religion was entirely discredited by it. It is true that D'Argenson had a good deal in common in one respect with the moral laxity of his times; but so little was there in him approaching to debauch that, as M. de Witt himself informs us, he was regarded by the greater part of his contemporaries as a person of almost irreproachable morality. An error in doctrine Saint-Pierre thought less dangerous than a breach of Christian charity in correcting it. He was not one of those timid believers who are only confident in their faith in proportion as it is submissively received, and to whom every aberration in the faith of other men seems a protanto invalidation of their own. "Truth," he was wont to say, "may be submerged, but cannot be destroyed—sink it as you will, it must come to the surface—but strife and uncharitable discord might adjourn its reappearance for an indefinite time." An anecdote, which he has himself preserved to us in his *'Annales*

Politiques,' will best illustrate the extent and elevation of his views in this way. A Molinist having written some furious letters against the Jansenists, forged the Abbé's name to them—a proof of the general respect entertained for his opinions; soon afterwards a bigot of his acquaintance, one of those very excellent persons who believe all violence lawful in the cause of truth, compliments him on the eloquence and justice of his supposed views. The Abbé, who would as soon have been suspected of writing a panegyric on hatred, or of preaching a crusade, as of engaging in a religious controversy, was not slow in denying it. "But are you not a Molinist?" said the inquirer. "I agree with Molina, but I am not a Molinist; I do not mix myself up with a party." "You, then, sometimes leave the truth to take care of itself?" was the rejoinder. "Yes, willingly, and always," said Saint-Pierre, to the dismay of the bigot, "when by doing so I can preserve justice and charity." According to his view right conduct, or really religious practice, was of more importance to religion than right belief. Many a terrific page of history had instructed him how the latter might exist without the former; and not only without it, but to its prejudice. Hence it was that observing the means pursued to keep men orthodox to be precisely such as had made them bad, he so manfully affirmed that whenever from any momentary collision between the two branches of religion, the speculative and the practical, he was obliged to choose, he would give a preference to that which makes injustice impossible over that which had hitherto made it indispensable; knowing by the plainest evidence of history that the latter might triumph to the exclusion of the former, but knowing from the plainest evidence of reason, that the triumph of the former must sooner or later bring on the triumph of the latter, as far as it is identical with truth. It was in consequence of this deep-rooted aversion to theological strife that he looked with no favour upon Protestantism. He, in fact, regarded it as a revival of dogmatic war, and as the means of prolonging those feuds which, in his opinion, had hitherto neutralized religion; but he was of course for granting it the most absolute toleration. Time and reason working their way quietly, would, he thought, in every case of human error be always sufficient for reform, and he was sanguine enough to hope that even Islamism itself would fall before them, that its muphtis and cadis would find it to their interest to undeceive the multitude and substitute a simple faith for the fables of the Koran. He indeed wrote a treatise on this very subject, which Voltaire esteemed the most curious of his works; being doubtless much interested in it, because he saw the possibility of applying to Christianity the arguments which are there employed to demonstrate the decline and fall of Islamism, but it is by no means clear that such an application of them was in the Abbé's thoughts. There is no reason to believe that he disbelieved the dogmatic portion of the religion in which he was educated, though he wished to narrow its sphere, to shut it up entirely within the indi-

vidual as a thing purely personal, and exclusively affecting himself. And it is interesting to observe with regard to this particular view of Saint-Pierre's, namely, the detaching the morality of the Christian scheme, and employing it apart from its mysterious dogmas, that, as was the case indeed with so many of his views, it presents itself to us in a practical and working shape in the course of the great political convulsion which ensued. In that remarkable little sect, which appeared in 1797, under the strange title of 'Theophilanthropists, or Adorers of God, and Friends of Mankind,' including some of the most able and respectable men of the time, anxious to revive that religious feeling which had been completely destroyed by the Revolution, and which they declared indispensable to society, we find a perfect echo of the Abbé's views of religion, as he contemplated it only in its character of a practical moral instrument of social regulation and restraint. As the early fathers of the Church stood before the Gospel—so did Saint-Pierre. What they chiefly gazed upon with admiration was its moral teaching; it was on this, as Paley justly remarks, that they delighted to dwell, not on its dogmas;—so did Saint-Pierre. Like them, he read Christianity by the purer light of its early dawn, not as we do, through the hot and reeking medium of dogmatic strife. He clings manfully to the ignored and specifically Christian commandment, which was to swallow up the rest, and loves his God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himself. Such was the large and comprehensive view which the Abbé took of religious toleration, too large and comprehensive to suit the taste of everybody, even in this age of greater liberality. Marvellous was it for a time when bigotry had not yet lost its tusks, and in a country where, even as late as 1750, a bishop could dare to call upon the minister to extirpate from the kingdom a sect so deadly to its glory as the Protestants. Marvellous, too, is it and disgraceful, that a Catholic priest, writing in the earliest dawn of the eighteenth century, should manifest a greater courage of tolerance, a more valiant confidence in the dogmas of his faith left to take of themselves, than is shown in the latter half of the nineteenth century by a large proportion of a Protestant clergy and ministry permitted to be the religious instructors of an enlightened Protestant people.

Thus irreconcilably opposed to bigotry and intolerance, his great aim was to destroy them, and knowing that for this purpose knowledge and intelligence, universally diffused, were the most effective weapons, his thoughts naturally turned to another great subject—national education.

It was the Abbé's destiny to live at a period when there was very much of that stately and decorative knowledge which flashed a concentrated light upon the few, illuminating the general darkness with a single spot of dazzling brilliance, walled round, as it were, with a barrier of impenetrable gloom. He had seen all Europe turning with eagerness to behold it, and had heard the buzz of admiration which spread

through nations as they gazed curious and wondering at the sight. Very different was the impression produced on him. To confine light to the hill-tops he thought might suit the exigencies of despotism, but would not suit exigencies of a higher kind; what he required was a light that should descend into the valleys, replacing the general obscurity with a mild and useful lustre, by which no eye should be dazzled, and by which every eye should see.

It is indeed his distinguished merit to have been, if not the first, at all events one of the first, who contemplated education in its great and proper character, as the common right and property of the mass, not as the privilege of the few. To stop short of this result was, in his opinion, to defraud society of its due, and obstruct knowledge in its most important direction. But eminent minds nevertheless had stopped short of this consequence, had not caught even a glimpse of it. "Even Milton and Locke," it has been very justly observed, "though both men of a great benevolence towards the larger family of man, and both men whose sentiments were democratic, yet seem in their writings on education to have had in view no education but that of a *gentleman*. It had not presented itself even to their minds that education was a blessing of which the indigent orders could be expected to partake." What Milton and Locke had not even surmised was developed by Saint-Pierre to its fullest extent. He not only insisted on the necessity of popular instruction, but insisted on it as a necessity of the gravest and most urgent nature. He called upon his country to do what to its honour it has since done, and what our own, in the face of many difficulties, has at last succeeded in doing, namely, to enrol education among its primary concerns. Among other things he contemplated a system of gratuitous education for the poor. In order to effect this, it was necessary to secure a number of competent teachers; and for this purpose he proposed making use of the regular clergy. Like the Chancellor d'Hôpital, he had no great esteem for them, but, like him, too, he saw the possibility of utilising them by abridging their numbers, and employing the remainder partly in works of charity—as in the administration of hospitals, and the general care of the infirm—and partly in works of education. He proposed charging them with the management of the national schools; preferring them to the secular clergy as less expensive and having no other fixed duties, interests, or cares to distract them. But he knew too well the treasure he was committing to their hands to leave it to their own control. They were to be the teachers; but the nation, in the person of its magistrates, was to superintend and direct the teaching; and not only the temporal teaching, but—mark the bold, sagacious spirit of this believing man—the spiritual as well; to see the latter was directed, not to dogmatic and controversial, but to practical and moral ends. Dogmatic teaching he left to the clergy outside; wiser in his generation than we in ours, who, a few years since, when the Dean of Chiches-

ter—then Vicar of Leeds—proposed a similar arrangement, vigorously hooted it down as a "Godless scheme."

Another of his suggestions was that certain convents in Paris should be turned into what are now called normal schools for forming female teachers to superintend the education of the poor of their own sex. But of his projects connected with this subject, the boldest and not the least useful—but which we can well imagine must have excited the supreme contempt of those whom it concerned—was the partial conversion of the French Academy into "*A Society for the diffusion of useful Knowledge*," such as we have seen established by eminent men in our own day. Undaunted either by the indignation or contempt he might excite, our practical and clear-headed Abbé proposed that, setting aside at least a portion of their glittering toils, its members should occupy themselves with plain and popular treatises for the peasantry, unfolding the best principles of husbandry, indicating safe and simple medicaments for the ordinary maladies incident to men and domestic animals, and familiarly explaining all those phenomena which among ignorant people are the source of superstitious alarm. Works of this kind addressed in the first instance to the inferior clergy, almost as ignorant as their flocks, but yet a little more capable of profiting by them, would, he justly thought, be the means of insinuating a vast amount of the most beneficial kind of knowledge into the minds of the neglected and miserably uninstructed people.* The study of practical science he insisted upon as an indispensable feature in any system of national education, even though it should be necessary in consequence to contract the range of classical acquirements.

One capital suggestion, on which he over and over again insisted, we must not omit, and that is of rendering every school a seminary of strictly moral instruction, and making the practical acquirement of the moral virtues as essential a branch of education as any of the others, or even the most essential of all. He did not choose that the bearing of men to each other, under the guidance of charity and love, should be left to be an incidental consequence of the elementary instruction, whether moral or religious, that they received—he wished it to form a substantial and practical part of their teaching. He proposed, what never has been acted upon, but which it should be the first great business of a nation to endeavour to accomplish, that acts of conduct should come within the jurisdiction of primary education as indispensably as rules

of conduct, and that the child should be trained to do what he is taught to believe is right. Unhappily, however indispensable such an aim may be, the difficulty of carrying it into execution appears at present insurmountable. It is indeed attempted in the education of what are called juvenile offenders—in reality juvenile victims, for well indeed may we apply to them what Quintilian says of the children of the rich brought early into contact with vicious practices, "*Discunt hæc miseri antequam sciant vitia esse*"—who cannot have the benefit of the home where the only moral training we get, such as it is, takes place. How far it can be successfully introduced into every school is a problem waiting for solution, which can be solved only when society is willing to give the teacher a social status and such liberal emolument as will induce able and gifted men to devote themselves to a service which yields to none in importance to the state.

Such being the bold originality of his views on the two great questions we have been considering, so much in contrast with the general feelings of the day, but representative of currents of opinion destined in a marvellously brief space of time to coalesce, and become a vast and widely inundating stream, we are naturally curious to know in what relation he stood to his contemporaries with respect to ideas of government. His work, with its singular title of '*Polysynodie*,' will give us the clue, and the more so as it exposed him to the wrath of a very distinguished body of men, full of devotion in one direction to the past. The subject was this: When that man of superior talents, utterly emasculated by an ultra-debauched life, Philip Duke of Orleans, assumed the reigns of government as Regent of France, he instituted for the better management of public business several departments of state, or councils, under the general direction of the council of regency. Into these were huddled together, as St. Simon tells us, three classes of men—great nobles, novices in affairs, veterans in intrigue, overflowing with pride, and not incapable of doing petty things;—personal friends of the Regent, the very cream of the profligate, calculated to embarrass much more than assist a government;—and finally masters of requests, councillors of state, and other functionaries, the real workers, and who without any thanks or distinction were busily employed in repairing the blunders of their incompetent colleagues. These councils soon became nests of intrigue and were set aside. It was ostensibly to reform their constitution by suggesting a mode of selection through means of ballot, by which they might be composed of qualified men, with sufficient independence of action to enable them to work without apprehension in their different departments for the public good, that the Abbé took up his pen. But the real drift of the work was to a much higher end. In order to justify the principle of councils it was necessary to show the mischief that ensued in a government in which the supreme authority was more or less delegated to a single minister, and the advantage that would follow from interposing between

* This valuable suggestion, like so many others of Saint-Pierre's, reappears at this day. In his admirable address to the Social Science Congress in October last, Dr. Lankester says—"It is only when those who instruct weekly in their pulpits, and influence the education of our lower class schools, are themselves taught the great laws by which the Creator governs the life of the world, that we can expect our working classes to exercise that judgment and self-control with regard to their health, the want of which causes the sacrifice of holocausts of victims amongst them every year."

the King and the people some institution more permanent in its views, more regular in its action, more reflective of the interests of the people, and less dependent on the favour and caprice of the sovereign, than a single and supreme minister. It was Rousseau's opinion that this work was the best in point of manner as well as matter of all he wrote, and it was with this he began the task he had undertaken at the request of Madame Dupin and the Abbé Mably, of converting Saint-Pierre's dry and ungracious style into captivating French; for, strangely enough, though he had won his way into the Academy by a treatise on grammar, and was punctilious enough, like our Phonographists, to insist on spelling words according to their sound, he was wilfully negligent of the graces of style. A great mistake anywhere, but especially in a country where brilliancy of expression is more than the rival of solidity of thought. But whatever might be the merits of the work it had the effect of bringing a storm about the author's ears, and of exposing him to the only persecution to which by good fortune, as it seemed, he ever was exposed. It astonished everybody, irritated many, and made the members of the Academy wild with rage. With an intense admiration for their late royal patron, Louis XIV., at least equal to their admiration for themselves, they regarded any reflection on his memory as an insult to the Academy. But that it should have been committed by one of their own body was a monstrous and inexpiable offence. To cast him forth was the only punishment they could inflict, but this was, in their opinion, little less terrible than the extrusion of Adam after the fall—so they cast him forth. In vain did Saint-Pierre request a hearing; the Cardinal de Polignac, though he had personal grounds of complaint against the late King, was the first to oppose it. In what D'Alembert describes as an eloquent "*Catalinaire*," he reminded the august forty that this was but a repetition of a first offence (in his proposals for a graduated tax Saint-Pierre had previously been a little free of his censures), which had been aggravated by a third; for the honest Abbé had written an explanatory letter to the Regent in which, with characteristic simplicity, he declared that he knew of no other way in which he could have mentioned the late King, if he mentioned him at all; and such was the success of the cardinal's eloquence, that when the Abbé's request was put to the vote, there were but four voices in its favour. If his chances of a hearing were so few, his chances of escaping exclusion would of course be still fewer; and accordingly when the motion was made for it, a single white ball was the sum of the opposition, and to that Fontenelle was obliged to confess in order to save his friend Sacy from the imputation. The Regent, of whom Saint-Pierre was a favourite, though dissatisfied with these proceedings, contented himself with desiring that no successor should be appointed. He was in fact excluded, not expelled; and his place remained vacant as long as he lived. The vengeance thus taken was not thought, it seems, fully to expiate the offence; for though Saint-Pierre, with his in-

vincible sweetness of disposition, continued to live in unbroken amity with his colleagues, persisting to the last in making presentations of his works to the Academy, and taking a sincere interest in its concerns, he was at his death denied the customary eulogy on a deceased member—an act of folly which Voltaire sharply rebuked. "The idle flowers," he says, "which are thrown on the tomb of an academicien add nothing to his reputation or his merit; but the refusal was an outrage, and the services which Saint-Pierre had rendered, his probity and his amiability, merited a very different treatment." It was not until 1775, several years after his death, that the Academy was sufficiently alive to its own dignity to repair this foolish wrong, which it did through the mouth of D'Alembert, who paid him the tribute which his talents and virtues demanded, and which has preserved to us the most of the personal knowledge respecting him we possess. But the highest eulogy on Saint-Pierre is the exclusion itself. Our first impulse is to ascribe it to a most base and pitiful spirit of servile adulation. There is no reason to suppose that this was in any degree the case. It seems to have been an honest and spontaneous movement of resentment. Louis was dead, his successor a child, and the Regent in no way tender about the late King's reputation. While the striking fact of the Academy pronouncing, we might say, with an almost unanimous voice—if the single exception were not that of Fontenelle,—under cover of the ballot-box, his sentence of exclusion shows it to have been actuated by a *bond-fide* feeling of indignation shared by the most honourable men, and arising out of a delirious admiration of the glories of the last reign: Nor are we to suppose that this feeling was confined to the Academy alone; for a contemporary journal assures that there were many inclined to regard the heretical language of Saint-Pierre in the heinous light of a state crime. We must therefore acquit the academicians of anything more than a silly expression of a universal feeling of the day, but in doing this we pay a high tribute to the superior intelligence of the man who could so freely raise himself above it—a tribute, too, to something more than his intelligence, to the generous boldness with which, in his ardent desire to benefit his country, he fearlessly affronted it. It is indeed a curious fact that one of the reasons which Rousseau gives for not completing his task of editing the Abbé's papers, to which we have referred, was the freedom of his strictures on previous reigns. "His works," said Rousseau, "were either criticisms, or contained criticisms, on preceding governments, and *some of them so free that it is a wonder he escaped*. But the fact was, he was considered in the public departments as a species of public preacher rather than as a working politician, and so he was not regarded. Had I, a foreigner moreover," he adds, "contrived to get him listened to, it might have had a very different result." Rousseau was mistaken. It was not because the writer was not eloquent, but because power was not sensitive, and opinion not on the alert. And the proof is, that when Rousseau a few

years afterwards, in his 'Contrat Social,' by the boldness of his views, and the brilliancy of his declamation, made himself so obnoxious to the government as to compel him to fly from its pursuit, he was eventually allowed to return and die unquestioned, though his works were still eagerly read; the government, for a moment excited, relapsing into its usual indifference to speculative views.

It was lucky, however, for Saint-Pierre that, at the earnest request of his family, he consented to adjourn the publication of his 'Annales Politiques' until after his death. For it is there that he treats the public character of Louis XIV. with unsparing severity, and shows how the natural qualities of the man were corrupted by the mischievous training that prepared him to be a despotic King. He acknowledges that for "a most puissant and most ill-educated King," he was really estimable in a variety of ways. It is easy to perceive that his attacks are not against the casual tenant of the throne, but against the motives that determine the occupants of thrones in general. He selected Louis as the most brilliant, not as the greatest criminal, of his class. He even throws the burden of his faults on the political ignorance of his age. "We are still," he says, "in the infancy of reason, and it is this immaturity of reason in our times which excuses the great and numerous faults of Louis XIV. He lived in the midst of other children as ill-instructed as himself." Voltaire was as much exasperated with his latter criticism, as the Academy had been with the former; and, forgetting in his anger the tribute he had paid to the writer's worth, snappishly called him an old child and a libeller. But Saint-Pierre could well have afforded to smile at this; he knew full well how much his estimate of kingship differed from that of Voltaire, and was quite confident that his estimate was a sound one. To eschew the pursuit of glory, to desire to divest themselves of arbitrary power, to direct all their efforts to ameliorating the condition of every class of their subjects, these he considered as essential to the honourable reputation of kings; and these he did not find among the qualities of that monarch who furnished Voltaire with the subject of a biography, which is an historical romance.

The character of Hamlet would be omitted from the play, were we to pass over in silence that famous subject by which, to his disadvantage, he is most remembered—his advocacy of international peace. The subject is far too important to be put aside with indifference.

"There are two ways," says Cicero, "of settling disputed questions—by discussion or by force—the former is in accordance with the character of man, the latter of brutes." It is said of this eminent person, that his writings powerfully contributed, in the three first centuries, to the diffusion of Christianity; and if so, it is a matter of regret that his disparaging estimate of war was not one of the views impressed on the minds of those he brought over to the new faith. In modern times, a writer of great renown in his day, and who continues to

be one of our chief authorities on international law, Grotius, has in a work devoted to that subject, declared that, for various important reasons he assigns, "it will be useful, and even necessary, that Congresses of Christian powers should be held, in which controversies might be settled, and parties be compelled to accept peace upon equal terms." And we suppose we may say that it is to the honour of his learned translator, Dr. Whewell, that he should have become his interpreter, partly from its being his opinion that "the progress of the study of international law on such principles as those of Grotius, and the increase of a regard for the authority of such law, are among the most hopeful avenues to that noble idea of the love of mankind—perpetual peace; because along this avenue we can see a long historical progress, as well as a great moral idea." These, after all, are very respectable authorities for a foolish idea. M. Louis Blanc, also, has called our attention to the fact, that our own time has witnessed a confederacy of kings for the pacification of Europe, and thinks we are moving on a current which is leading us to a more holy and effective alliance, that of the peoples. Rousseau, he tells us, thought the project was too bold for the times, but passed a judgment upon the book which he thinks will commend itself to a future not far distant. "It is," says Rousseau, "a solid and sensible book; it is of importance it should exist." To a person unacquainted with the history of Christianity it would appear incredible, that a man otherwise esteemed for his abilities should suffer in his reputation for wisdom, for having suggested a project of perpetual international peace. If there be one thing more than another we vaunt of in our national religion, especially on days of ceremony, it is that it is essentially a religion of peace and charity and brotherly love. But this is with the tacit understanding that we are not to be hampered with its restrictions in practice; we are quite willing they should be matters of faith, and subjects of congratulation; we are liberally lax in imposing them as necessities of conduct. The official expounders of the religion are always extremely complaisant in this respect; politely accommodating themselves to their own convenience, and that of the laity. In the middle ages a bishop armed to the teeth sallied forth to fight, but delicately mindful that he was not to be a shedder of blood, fought with a "mace," with which he pounded his adversary to death, but did not hack him. In these latter days, when we deny the clergy the pleasures of the chase or war, their only participation in the latter is, that when blood is spilt in a way that is favourable to us, they are at liberty triumphantly to celebrate *Te Deums*, or, if it be spilt to our disadvantage, to offer supplications for more favourable issues, to the Lord of hosts; for Christianity differs in this respect from Paganism, that its God of peace, can, on fitting occasions, be converted into the God of war. Hence it is that less reverent of the Deity than the learned and pious Jew of Alexandria, who regarded a bellicose God as a figment, merely intended to suit the coarse conception of the vulgar, our

Christian divines are in frequent parley with the God of battles.* It is possibly to cover the semblance of an inconsistency on such occasions, that while in our churches the Jewish decalogue indispensably figures, the eleventh, and essentially Christian and peace-enjoining commandment, which is avowedly intended to supersede the rest, never finds a place. In the United States, indeed, where, until within a few years, war has been unnoticed or rarely known, the ignored commandment, less inconveniently obtrusive, though not displayed over the altar, does find a place in the liturgy of the Anglican Church, immediately after the decalogue; but this is the highest honour it has attained. The Quakers alone have doggedly stuck to a common-sense interpretation of Christianity; but as they have as unhappily stuck as doggedly to other things of a secondary nature, such as stand-up collars and drab cloth, hideous bonnets and dreary gowns, second-persons singular and rights of hat, they have justified the world in regarding them as merely eccentric, and so their valuable protest has been a cause of ridicule, rather than respect.† It is clear that if in the face of these facts, the Abbé Saint-Pierre had invoked international peace on Christian principles, or made any appeal in their name, he would have deserved to be laughed at for his pains. But he did nothing like this; he went to work in a much more sensible style. It is true, that when he laid before Cardinal Fleury the fundamental points of his scheme, the latter's remark was, "You should have added a sixth, to send out missionaries to convert the hearts of kings." Possibly Saint-Pierre thought these missionaries were slowly coming in the shape of the wants and wills of nations; but, working for the present on what materials he had, he did, what he thought, and what was better than appeal to the hearts of kings, he appealed to their interests. Relying on some passage in Sully's memoirs, he places his scheme of a European diet for the adjudication of international disputes under the sanction of Henry IV., who seems to have entertained some project of a Christian republic, which was to secure Europe against the overwhelming power of Austria, in which our Elizabeth is supposed to have taken an interest. But, little or much in it as there might be, it expired with the French King. This plan he professes to revive, and in most respects to follow, relying much, too, on the case of the Germanic diet. The work in which he expounds it is formal and dialectic in the extreme. He bases his system on five fundamental points, dividing each point into several propositions,

which he treats in detail, raising objections and replying to them. A recent historian of repute endorses the opinion that the project originated "with a great politician, Henry IV.;" but is very angry at its having had for its expositor a writer not versed in human affairs, nor enough of a philosopher to "prescribe the conditions under which it could cease to be a dream, and become an idea." Fortunately he supplies us with the experience and philosophy which the problem requires, from which we learn that the error of Saint-Pierre was to desire to have his project realized by Europe as it then stood, whereas "such a confederacy is neither possible nor desirable until nationalities are freely constituted." But our critic should remember that the nostrum of nationality is a recent device; and that in no case did the most brilliant philosophy of the last century reckon among the desiderata, or conditions of progress, the decomposition and reconstruction of Europe on genealogical principles. On the whole we are of opinion that there was more of common-sense in the Abbé's conditions than in the historian's. For very good reasons Saint-Pierre had not nations in his mind; had it been otherwise, the Cardinal's remark would have been an opportune reminder. But, assuming kings to be the masters of nations, his arguments have reference to them alone. Led consequently, to consider the complete interests of sovereigns in all their bearings, he displays a large amount of historical and political knowledge, and no inconsiderable amount of ingenuity in applying it. He analyses the results of their many contests, and shows what a balance of loss and discomfiture there is against them. Turning then to what has been done within nations, he infers the possibilities of what may be done between them. He desires kings as lords paramount to consider what in times gone by has been done by those miniatures of them—their great vassals, who have foregone the jeopardy of war for the security of peace.

"If two lords," he says, "are at variance with each other, they do not collect an army, neither they, nor their kindred, nor their friends, nor their domestics, nor their vassals. They trust neither their lives nor their fortunes to the chances of a battle. To obtain justice they are not obliged to be at the charge of an armament which would cost them twenty times the thing they contended for. They are not obliged to support a ruinous expense for many years. They go to a tribunal to whose award they must submit; but how came they by that great advantage? By being members of a permanent society strong enough to enforce control."

This reasoning is good. Men are ever apt to regard facts accomplished as things of course, though as great miracles in their way, as anything which the most sanguine imagination can predict. The two lords of Saint-Pierre excite anything but surprise and indicate to us little in the way of future or even past results; but the fault is entirely our own. If we would be at the pains of studying history as it should be studied, that is, for the purpose of ascertaining the origin of the actual phenomena of society, we should discover that many facts

* We are shocked, not surprised, at hearing of the frightful parody of this species of thanksgiving for successful slaughter, recently performed by the blacks in Jamaica immediately after their most brutal massacre. They, like monkeys, but mimic what they see.

† It is right, however, to say that these peculiarities are no longer obligatory; nevertheless, at Liverpool in October last, a Quaker, to the great indignation of Baron Bramwell, insisted, while giving evidence, on his right of hat.

which are now familiar and matters-of-course, have emerged out of a condition of things which, at one time or other, made their advent highly improbable, and their development painfully difficult. Of this kind is the extinction of that right of private war to which Saint-Pierre alludes.

Whoever doubts it may find the evidence at hand in the interesting note (xxi.) which Robertson has appended to his view of the state of Europe in his *Life of Charles V.* There is no custom, he tells us, in the middle ages more singular than that of private war. "It was a right so important and of such extensive prevalence that the regulations affecting it occupy a considerable space in the system of law during the middle ages." It was a right jealously guarded; sometimes a powerful sovereign impinged upon it, but at his death there is immediate demand for the full restitution of the right. Churchmen, as well as laymen, asserted it. The great monasteries and bishops had in their service powerful barons, under the names of Advocati or Vidames, who were bound to protect the sacred possessions of the Church flamma, ferro, cæde—a singular commission from a religion which sanctifies poverty and enjoins peace. The objects for which they might contend in this holy warfare were formally indicated, as were the persons whom they might summon to their standard. When the Church prohibited marriage to the seventh degree, the Vidames might demand the service of their kinsmen to the seventh degree. When the limit of prohibition extended no farther than the fourth degree, the right of summons shrank within the same limits. Everything was according to regulation as precise as that of our War-Office. In Germany this privilege of private war was more conspicuous even than in France. Now it is manifest that when this right was in its palmiest state anyone who should have predicted its extinction, and especially the manner of that extinction, would have been regarded as a Saint-Pierre—a dreamer; it did, however, terminate—and through what agency? By the agency of the majority of those who claimed the right to exercise it—for the simple reason that it became a nuisance to them, and they found it to their interest to suppress it. It was abandoned in an improved condition of society which, finding an advantage in repose, desired a substitute for the arbitrament of war. For the final manifestation of the right is exhibited in the form of powerful combinations of chieftains entitled to this prerogative, against such of their body as refused to consent to its abolition. Not very unreasonably, then, might Saint-Pierre infer that by the same process, and for similar reasons, the right of war, now admitted as between nations, would one day be put down like the right of war within them. But if reason was on the side of Saint-Pierre, prejudice was against him. His arguments were rejected because they were not weighed. To no man indeed, more fitly than to him, can we apply what D'Argenson says of an old writer unfavourably criticised but little read:—"*On le dénie justice, parcequ'on lui refuse audience.*" Saint-Pierre, in consequence, passed

away with this project of peace as a blemish on his reputation, causing him to be remembered as nothing more than a dreamer.

But in this, as in other cases, time brings with it a reversal of unjust judgments. A little more than a century elapses, when, in a neighbouring country, a very distinguished man, regarded as anything but a dreamer, draws up an indictment against international war. That man was Richard Cobden. In a characteristic way he wrote a letter to the excellent and benevolent Joseph Sturge, sympathising with the peace movement, in which he reminded the world that the noble pastime of war cost Europe about £200,000,000 a year. The accession of such a leader gave a new stimulus to the peace societies. On the 12th of June, 1849, petitions signed by 200,000 persons were presented to the House of Commons praying it to adopt arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. On the same day, Mr. Cobden made a motion to that effect, which was met by Lord Palmerston moving the previous question, and carrying it by a majority of 176 against 79. The defeat was a matter of course. But the general tone of the debate and the importance of the constituencies represented by the minority were accepted as harbingers of approaching success. There was now a perfect jubilee—vast excursion trains carried hundreds of peace delegates for three successive years, 1848, 1849, and 1856, from England to foreign capitals, where, joined by delegates from different parts, they assembled in solemn congress, to agitate against international war. They reached these capitals, not entirely as unrecognised individuals, but, in some sort, as official representatives. When they crossed the frontier no custom-house officer dared molest their luggage, no passport inspector dispute their passage. The broad ticket that proclaimed their membership was a sufficient answer to all inquiries, and a satisfaction of all forms; while they held their session they had free access to all public institutions; hotels were gorged—in some instances, as at Frankfort, private families accepted them as billeted lodgers;—humble delegates, who had never left their native towns, and of little importance in them, felt themselves elevated to the rank of ambassadors, while eminent men, who had played distinguished parts in their respective countries, came to join them as colleagues in their great work. Never did a public movement assume a more noble presence—never was one honoured by a more distinguished homage. In England its foundation was broad and solid. At its head a man of renown, whose pride it was to have gained a great victory over an established policy supported by a powerful class; a successful agitator of immense force. In his first agitation he had had to work his way from small beginnings through vast obstructions, and in defiance of great opponents. In his second, the materials of at least a great approach to victory were ready-made to his hand. The object was avowedly one which all men desired; the time apparently opportune for it, as far as could be judged from the distinguished honour accorded to its missionaries; the following devoted to it in this country considerable; the deference of

the government to his new views so great as to be the occasion of party satire. Nevertheless, in spite of these concurrent advantages, the able agitator signally failed—failed so signally as to throw back into ridicule a cause which had conquered so much respect. And why was this? Because he utterly misconceived the point at which he ought to aim, and the means by which alone he could successfully operate. Herein it that he contrasts so unfavourably with Saint-Pierre. The aim of the latter, as we have seen, was to devise some powerful check upon war. He proposed to make France that check, and for this reason he made it a capital point that France, as a great military power, should be strong. He desired that she should have a vast command of force, not for war, but against war. He wished to make her the great peace-officer of Europe—ready to aid in behalf of those who desired to keep the peace against those that desired to break it. Now, if it were chimerical in Saint-Pierre to suppose his country could be made to assume this office, it was not so to suppose that could she be persuaded to do it, there would at once be created an immense impediment to international war. Far more chimerical and inconsequent were Mr. Cobden's views and policy. Instead of assuming with Saint-Pierre that there was everywhere a disposition to war, or the possibility at any moment of a disposition to war, he strangely assumed that there was a disposition to war nowhere, and that it was simply the fact of one great nation being armed that provoked other nations to be equally armed. A more extraordinary misconception never forced itself into an able man's brain. One great nation, indeed, there was in the supposed predicament, which was armed to the teeth solely because other nations were armed, and which had no inclination for war, for the very good reason that she had an immense interest in peace; with an enormous empire more than sufficient to satisfy her wants, preservation, not acquisition, must, of necessity, be her policy; and with a vast commerce and a vast industrial production as the sources of her wealth, her perpetual need must be unmolested repose. England, in fact, was the postulate that Saint-Pierre's problem required; a great country of formidable power, armed only in the interests of peace, and thus preserving, and in a manner imposing, peace. But, with a want of sagacity which is perfectly surprising, Mr. Cobden, utterly overlooking the advantages of such a position, began his operations against war by an attempt to cripple the power which was the best guarantee of peace. "Reduce your armaments," he said to a country having, of all other, the greatest inducements not to go to war, "and other nations," not having the same inducements, "will do the same." The inference was by no means clear; under any circumstances it would be highly improbable, under actual circumstances quite impossible. For there is a fact which seems never to have presented itself to Mr. Cobden's mind which renders the truth of such an inference impossible, and which, by making it impossible, inflicts a peculiar hardship upon England; and that fact is, that the armaments of the continental nations have as much

or more reference to their domestic, than to their foreign relations. Take France, for instance. It is notorious that she keeps up her immense army neither from fear of invasion nor desire of conquest, but for the purpose of political tranquillity within, supplemented by a powerful navy, because it is vital to the government to present on every side an aspect of great power. Nevertheless, as long as that army and navy may, without violation of international law, be let loose upon other nations at any time for any purpose, even to satisfy some momentary exigency of internal politics, they have no choice but to be prepared against such a contingency.—Hence, a peace-requiring country like England is compelled to put itself to the enormous expense of being a great military power, simply because France or some other leading nation is ill governed, or refuses to be well governed, and so must justly or unjustly be kept in order by a prodigious accumulation of force, *easily diverted to war*. Had not Mr. Cobden overlooked this fact, he would not have made the sad mistake of supposing that the armed condition of the Continent was a mere matter of rivalry, precaution, or choice; had he observed it, he could have adduced it as an irresistible reason why England should require such a change in international law as to release her from the oppressive consequences it involved.

But ill-judged as were Mr. Cobden's proceedings, so great was his influence, and that of the idea he represented, that the ministry yielded as far as it dared to his demands. So firm a hold, indeed, did he and the peace party seem to have on the nation, as to suggest an opinion, at the time, that the Emperor of Russia would not have hazarded a war had he not, misled by appearances, conceived that England was bound over to adhere to peace at any price. But the idea, if ever entertained by him, was absurd. England for a while tolerated a misdirected movement of which she solemnly approved the aim, but her common-sense revolted against the injudicious means which had been used to advance it. The interest in the movement itself abated, as the national displeasure against the proposed method of its accomplishment increased, and a sudden ridicule was thrown over a cause which had recently been an object of respect. Never was anything more unfortunate. Had Mr. Cobden adopted the statesmanlike views of Saint-Pierre—had he used his ascendancy to induce the English nation to require that it should be from that moment the unflinching duty of every administration, while maintaining to the uttermost a capacity of force, to devote itself to the discovery of the means of superseding international war, and to press upon all other governments the expediency of doing so, it is inconceivable what an amount of good he would have done. There cannot be a doubt that the then existing ministry, hampered by his unwelcome policy, would have been but too glad to give such a pledge; and the work once begun would never have ceased until it had accomplished its end. By not doing this, and doing what he did, Mr. Cobden compromised the cause he had at heart. But let us note to his honour that he had it at heart. Well

does the writer of these lines remember meeting him on his way to the House when some critical decision was to be taken respecting the Russian war. They had been fellow-labourers in the good cause. Cobden was manifestly very nervous, and expressed his displeasure at the prospect of war. The writer reminded him that though, like himself, an advocate of the peace movement, he had always affirmed that we should at all times be prepared for war, and that in the absence of any faculty of appeal, it might be even expedient to go to war. Cobden was silent for a moment—his eyes became slightly suffused, and pressing the writer's hand in parting, he said, "Well, I am sure we both earnestly agree in desiring to have peace if we can." He left the impression of being conscious of having missed his way.

But though a golden opportunity was lost, we need not despair. That nations can go on much longer strenuously competing with each other for the best modes of slaughter—that they will continue earnestly, and at vast expense, to waste their time and resources in weighing the respective merits of guns and targets—that they will persist in regarding as benefactors, Armstrongs, Whitworths, and other artificers of implements of destruction, cannot be admitted by any one who has faith in human progress. Surely the time cannot be very far off when some one will arise with influence as great as Cobden's, and judgment far superior, who will persuade his country to make itself the antagonist of this stupendous folly. Even at the moment we are writing comes Mr. Gladstone's address at Glasgow, in which, with his usual ability, he indicates the causes of war, and fastens the mark of Cain upon it. There is no fatality about it, he judiciously reminds us. It does not come by visitations of God. It is simply the result of unbridled passions or unprincipled greed exhibiting themselves now in one form, now in another—religious, dynastic, territorial, or commercial. The picture is faithful but not flattering. In spite of all our efforts to conceal it from ourselves, war is a foul nuisance; one of those antique nuisances to which men continue to submit simply because they have submitted to them, which they think interminable, simply because they have not yet terminated, but which public aversion, ripening with public intelligence, does some day cause to disappear as if by magic. Meanwhile we must be content to express our gratitude to those who, according to the measure of their abilities or their means, have been enlightened and resolute enough to protest against its continuance. Verily their places will be among the Paladins of History.

Such, on the important questions we have been considering, were the views of the Abbé Saint-Pierre. When, then, we remember what these views were, what a comprehensive field of inquiry they embraced, when we reflect on the spirit of truth which directed his researches and *discoveries*, as D'Argenson calls them, his opinions of the duties of kings, his earnest and enlightened concern for the welfare of the people, and the clear and manifest consequences to which such sentiments must inevitably lead,

it will be difficult to persuade ourselves that they who were so willing to hear him, were not themselves far gone in that deep and earnest passion for political and social reform which was the master principle of his mind. Had we then, no other evidence but this of Saint-Pierre's connexion with the Club, and the manifest consideration he obtained in it, we should be quite justified in ascribing to its members a bold reforming zeal, far outrunning the laggard spirit of their times. But we have other and conclusive evidence. In the writings of the Marquis D'Argenson, to whom we are indebted for what we know of its organization and proceedings, we have ample testimony to the fact.

In his very able work at the head of this article, M. Cornelius de Witt has given us a highly interesting sketch of this very remarkable man, whom he summons as one of his three witnesses to the condition of French society in the eighteenth century. His memoirs have of late years been published, including a very remarkable journal, in which, with the openness of Pepys, he exhibits himself in the nude, giving expression to his inmost thoughts on the events and persons of his day. He gives us this picture of himself:—"I put my heart into everything I do, for or against; whether the objects be things or men, I am a warm supporter or a hot opponent. Those who know me best can give no other account of me than this:—heart excellent; head less good than the heart; tongue the worst of all." A blunt description, somewhat too deeply shaded, but in the main correct. Two qualities he omitted—truthfulness and probity. "Never," says Voltaire, "was there an honest man, or one more truly attached to his king and country." His weakness was his over anxiety to be prime minister, for the purpose of doing good to his country. He eventually became minister, but found it impossible to attain his end. M. de Witt, in his estimate of D'Argenson's capacity as a statesman, and his views as a politician, differs from M. Henri Martin, who thinks that of a statesman he had all the necessities, but not the accessories, and represents him as almost a Republican in his innovations and a precursor of Rousseau. To this M. de Witt demurs. As respects his statesmanship, the latter writer justly remarks, that whatever may have been the breadth of his views, he was totally deficient in that faculty of practical application, without which the most enlightened policy becomes unprofitable in a minister's hands. For Republicanism he certainly had no respect, though many of his opinions were such as a Republican would gladly adopt. Nothing in him is so conspicuous as his unswerving attachment to royalty—nothing more touching, as M. de Witt remarks, than to watch his robust faith in monarchy as it struggles to preserve itself intact, in defiance of the foul and disgusting royalty of the reigning king; now wavering, now recovering itself; hoping against hope, even while giving utterance to these marvellous apprehensions some thirty years before the ever-memorable date of 1789. "The time," he says, "of adoration is past; the word master, so welcome to our ancestors, grates harshly

on our ears. . . . I have in my time seen the respect and love of the people for royalty decline. . . . Now-a-days, all the orders are simultaneously discontented. . . . Combustible matter in every direction. From a riot we may proceed to a revolt, from a revolt to a thorough revolution—to the election of real tribunes of the people, of consuls, of comitiæ, to the stripping kings and ministers of their excessive power of doing mischief." Prophetic foresight! of which had those blind agents, the Mirabeaus and Sieyes of a later day, possessed but a tittle, they would never have stood on the brink of a volcano without suspecting it—would never have showered down their fiery words on what they thought an inert, but which D'Argenson knew was a highly explosive mass.

That his political speculations were communicated to the Club and offered to their consideration, there can be no manner of doubt. He has himself told us that in the distributions of literary subjects among such of the members as chose to undertake them, the subject assigned to him was a treatise on '*Le Droit Public*,' which was afterwards narrowed down to a '*Histoire de Droit Ecclesiastique Français*.' Another subject bore the title, '*Traité de la Démocratie dans un état monarchique*.' This is said to be the work we now have under the title of '*Considérations sur le Gouvernement Ancien et Présent de la France*.' It is a curious proof of the rapidity with which opinions will sometimes pass from the speculative to the practical, that, alluding to the sentiments and views contained in this work, Voltaire observed of D'Argenson that he was fitted to be "a secretary of state in the republic of Plato," meaning, of course, to pay a high compliment to the nobleness of his views, and at the same time to mark their impracticability. A few years elapse, and the Assembly of Notables has the work in question printed at its own expense, as containing valuable practical instruction to the nation on points of pressing and immediate concern. This was in 1787. In little more than fifty years, the theories which had only been fit "for the republic of Plato" were being reduced to practice by the congregated notabilities of France.

Of this work we cannot give a juster idea than by repeating what has been correctly said of it, that its title ought properly to be—"To what extent Democracy can be admitted into a Monarchy." Such, unquestionably, is the bearing of the book, which seems to identify it with the academic work alluded to. Its author does not, indeed, propose by any formal provision to abridge the power and prerogative of the crown; far from it, he only prescribed to it the duty of having but one rule of action—the interests of the people; but then he points out the necessity and means of giving energy and effect to the will of the people, and he insists on the total abrogation of those aristocratical privileges which in France presented so formidable an obstruction to their progress and prosperity. He wishes, like Mirabeau, at a later period, to have but two great elements of the state in presence—the crown and the nation; but he took a superb view of the relation between them. He called attention to the fact that in

establishing any new institutions the king's rights are the only things considered; public utility never. "The more, however," he boldly exclaims, "we consider the monarch relatively to his subjects, the more we become sensible that he is the man of the people, and not the people the property of the king." Who does not see that the French Revolution had begun? And if we pass on for a moment to the meeting of the States-General, the first scene of the first act of that memorable tragedy, and observe the great struggle there was respecting the form of voting, and wonder that the nobility did not, at all hazards, insist upon recording their votes as a distinct and independent body, our surprise will cease on learning that eminent men of their own order had already proposed to reduce them to the ranks, and to place them in all legislative respects on a mere equality with the Tiers. In the remarkable work we are considering, there is a remarkable part of it which the most celebrated of French political writers, the late M. de Tocqueville, would agree with us might be beneficially studied by the actual statesmen and legislators of his country, where the author contends that the people are the best guardians of their municipal and local interests, and proposes an admirable plan of reorganizing the provincial estates with a view to this purpose, on a purely popular and representative principle. He would make a partial exception to this principle by admitting the proprietors of every considerable domain, as holders of such property, to sit and vote in those assemblies. But mark how they are to sit there—not as a separate order, not with distinct powers, but merely recording their votes as simple individuals, entirely undistinguished in this respect from other members sitting as representatives of the people. It is worthy of being observed, too, that a similar exception was made in favour of certain persons who were to be admissible as the deputies of the crown on behalf of any lands it might possess within the jurisdiction of the estates; but though the personal representatives of the monarch, they were to sit and vote as simple members, and nothing more. A very bold and stringent application of the rule. This is striking enough, and if we add to this that D'Argenson, like Saint-Pierre, proposed that all aristocratic exemptions should be suppressed; that privileges should be merely honorary; that no proof of nobility should be hereafter required as a necessary qualification for obtaining any distinction or office in the state—a monstrous practice which contributed more than any single event to the French Revolution, and more especially to the malignant character of it—and that even the crown property should be alienated to buy up that pernicious multitude of venal offices, or charges as they were called, which fearfully embarrassed the administration of justice, and produced the most serious inconvenience to the state, we see at once the deadly blow which opinion had aimed at a worn-out and over-privileged aristocracy from the lips of men of its own order, and that the great democratic suggestions which took a practical shape at the end of the century had been foreshadowed by

able aristocrats when yet little more than half of it had expired. Our surprise at the unexpected apparition of a Lafayette will cease, when we know that he was only a D'Argenson in action, with more of energy and less of knowledge and ability. Under either name we have the same group of ideas and sentiments, only differently developed according to the difference of the times; manifested speculatively before the hour of action came, practically when it did come. D'Argenson is Lafayette preparing the Revolution. Lafayette is D'Argenson consummating it.

When we reflect that the author of these remarkable, or, we may safely say, revolutionary opinions, was a member, and a very leading one, of the Club of the Entresol; that Saint-Pierre, with views perfectly similar, bore exactly the same relation to it, it is impossible not to feel that it had fixed its attention upon a future big with the elements of change, and that its object was to pave the way for their salutary and safe approach. We can well understand why foreigners receiving exaggerated reports of its projects, and dreading their diffusion among themselves, denounced it to the government as a proper object of its suspicions and fears; and why Fleury, willing at first to favour it, felt himself compelled at last to bring it to a close, having doubtless very good reasons for what he says, namely, that it was in the nature of these occupations to carry those who pursued them farther than they at first intended. Hence it was that D'Argenson, impatient of the sybaritic philosophy which doats on every kind of good while it is speculative, but whose delicate nerves are shocked at the mere idea of reducing it to practice, satirically says, "We must live for ourselves alone. We must look for good actions only in dreams, or in the heroes of romance or in the drama, but the moment we wish practically to realize what we *may* admire at a distance, this is regarded as the supreme of absurdity." Hence, too, it was, that when pointing out the difference between the Club of the Entresol and that political academy which at one time met at the Louvre under the patronage of M. de Torcy, he remarks that the latter "was formed to push on the personal fortunes of its members, in their way to the political appointments of the government; the former, on the contrary, had no other object than the consideration of subjects beneficial to the state, no other purpose than that of doing gratuitous good." Both these extracts might have been written by Saint-Pierre—they breathe the same scorn of those effeminate minds that will not strive to realize the good they are willing to admit; the same confidence in the possibility of working out that good; and the same generous and firm devotion to the interest of others and of all. It is clear that the spirit of this excellent, able, and, until these days, underrated man, had largely penetrated into the breasts of his associates, and filled them with the influence of his amiable and exalted views. As far as D'Argenson was concerned, this was eminently the case. The peace policy of Saint-Pierre had so much become his own, that he was often

designated Peace-d'Argenson (D'Argenson de la Paix). True to his faith in this respect, he entered upon his ministry, determined to commit France to a policy of peace to which neither king nor courtiers were inclined; and partial to the principle of confederation, his great anxiety was to establish a powerful Italian confederacy, after the manner of the Germanic Diet, to Italianize all foreign princes ruling in Italy—that is, to require that they should not hold any possessions out of its territory,—and also to relieve it from all subordination to the Pope. This great scheme was, indeed, the occasion of his fall. Spain took umbrage at it, and the French king, reckless and indifferent, without principle, without purpose, first supported his minister, and finally sacrificed him to the displeasure of the Spanish court. "The sage and virtuous D'Argenson," as M. Henri Martin observes, "was quite out of place in the cabinet of Louis XV., and the surprise is, not that he did not remain in office, but that he ever got there." Save for the objects he had in view, it gave him no concern whatever to quit it, and he cheerfully returned to that private station which by his acquirements, his occupations, and his estimable qualities, he so well knew how to enjoy and adorn, spending his time between agreeable society and retirement, which was still more agreeable to him; or, as he himself expressed it, "entre la bonne compagnie, et une meilleure encore, qui est, la retraite."

Such, then, were the two thoughtful, far-seeing men, whose views were regarded as dreams because they soared higher and pierced deeper into the future than the feeble or self-directed vision of those who were masters of power. Yet—and this is the most instructive consideration of all—they were but exponents of ideas and aims that must have been silently forming and maturing through the length and breadth of France. For if we examine the remarkable *cahiers*—the customary forms under which each of the three orders in every province was wont to complain of grievances, or desire reforms—which were presented to the States-General at their opening in 1789, we shall be astonished at the character of their requisitions, especially as coming, many of them, from the order to which they belonged. Thus we find the nobles spontaneously sacrificing that unjust privilege of exemption from taxation so odious to D'Argenson and Saint-Pierre; we find them asking for the protection of personal liberty; for elective municipalities everywhere; for obliteration of all relics of serfage; for a gradual preparation for emancipating the West Indian blacks; for the general practice of granting long leases; for the diminution of large farms as being injurious to the poor; for religious toleration; for the abolition of all taxes on commerce, manufactures, and trade; for national education, for trial by jury; and for unrestricted liberty of the press. Superb materials these for a noble, intelligent, and peaceful revolution, very different from that mad orgy in which, to use the strong expression of Byron,

"—France got drunk with blood to vomit crime,"

leaving behind it a vertigo which, to this hour, has incapacitated her from fully availing herself of those invaluable reforms which her nobles suggested nearly a century ago. So then it is, that when convulsions are approaching by which the ancient institutions of states are upheaved, riven, and overthrown, and long before they are foreseen, they are preceded by certain eddies of opinion, which show that the habitual and regular state of the moral atmosphere is about to be destroyed. The minds in which they are manifested, however, instead of being supposed to indicate any secret derangement of its elements, are mocked at and spurned as obeying some capricious and spontaneous action of their own. Nor is it till after the disturbance is visible and the storm has burst, that men remember the direction in which they moved, and first perceive that, by some peculiar sensibility of their nature, they were influenced by those light premonitory currents which are ever incapable affecting the grosser spirits of the mass. Such minds, especially in periods of transition, are always to be found, and the fate of that government is to be deplored that does not gather wisdom and warning from their movements, however anomalous or fantastic they may appear.

ART. III.—LORD PALMERSTON.

The Life and Death of Lord Palmerston. London: Routledge and Sons. 1865.

UNQUESTIONABLY Lord Palmerston was one of the really remarkable men of his day. In the sphere of politics, by reason of his office as Prime Minister of England, he stood in the foremost rank of men. But over and above this *ex officio* distinction, he claims notice on account of his long and successful career, on account of the qualities which impelled him to, and sustained him in that career, and on account of the world-wide influence exercised by the official acts for which he was responsible. The odium to which he was exposed in foreign countries, while it helped to sustain his popularity in his own country, increases the difficulty which contemporaries have had in arriving at a right judgment upon his character and conduct. The judgment of posterity will be more deliberate, and doubtless more correct than any that we may arrive at. We mean not, therefore, to enter into competition with our descendants, but rather to supply materials for their use in the sketch we propose to give of the career of Lord Palmerston.

In a country like England, where the aristocracy still possess so large a share of political power, it was no small advantage to the late Premier to be of good birth. His inheritance of an Irish peerage, while it kept him out of the Elysian Fields of the House of Lords, gave him a high social position, and permitted his entrance into that field of active political life in which he ultimately gained the highest prize.

The young Viscount of 1803 was not without the prestige of ancient descent. The ancestry of the Temples were distinguished personages in the remote days of the Saxon Heptarchy before the reign of King Alfred.

After the Norman Conquest the great Saxon nobles were shorn of their possessions and dignities. The Earls of Leicester became simple lords of Temple, the name affixed to lands which had once been given by the Earls of Leicester to the Knights Templar, and which subsequently reverted to the descendants of the former. It does not appear on the record that the great rebel and radical leader of the thirteenth century, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, had any other relationship with the Temples than the possession of their old title. It might please the fancy of some antiquary to trace a blood-connexion between the disturber of Europe in the thirteenth century and the "remueur" of the nineteenth. The fortunes of the family appear to have decayed, but vital energy did not fail the race. "Flecti, non frangi" is their motto, "Bent, not broken," and well have they redeemed the pledge it gives to fortune, that the Temples will not be easily cast down. When wealth and broad lands were no longer theirs they turned to learning, to labour, and to action, for the maintenance of life and honour. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of two brothers, John and Anthony Temple, the first succeeded to the family estate at Stow, and was the progenitor of the present Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, while the second gave birth to the line which ends in Lord Palmerston. William, the son of Anthony Temple, was a proficient in learning, became Master of a Free School in the city of Lincoln, and subsequently secretary to the heroic Sir Philip Sidney, who died in his arms at Zutphen. Mr. Temple inherited from his illustrious friend a bequest of 30*l.* a year, and the favour of the great Earl of Essex. The death of the latter upon the scaffold exposed all his friends to the enmity of Mr. Secretary Cecil; and Temple, to escape his resentment, retired into Ireland, where his worth and learning caused him to be nominated Provost of the University of Dublin. The stock thus planted on a new soil made a fresh start towards rank and wealth. Mr. Temple was knighted, and his early studies in the law were rewarded by an office in the Irish Chancery. His son, Sir John, became an eminent lawyer and judge (Master of the Rolls), and showed the same practical ability and remarkable power of adapting himself to changing times and circumstances without dishonour that seems to have belonged to the race. Physical vigour also was theirs then as it has been in later times. Sir John died at the age of seventy-seven, his father, Sir William, at seventy-three. Sir John's son and successor was William, the eminent statesman and diplomatist, and the friend of William III., the author and promoter of the "Triple Alliance," which proved so great a check to the ambitious projects of Louis XIV. He died in his seventieth year. His brother, Sir John, a lawyer and politician, was Speaker of the Irish House of

Commons, and was held in such general esteem by his contemporaries, that Archbishop Sheldon paid him this singular compliment, "That he had the curse of the gospel, for all men spoke well of him." He reached the seventy-second year of his life, and was the father of the Henry Temple who, in 1722, was created by King George I. Baron Temple and Viscount Palmerston, of Palmerston, in the Irish peerage.

We have purposely noticed the advanced age attained by various members of the Temple family, because longevity is at least some proof of soundness in the physical constitution. The first Lord Palmerston lived to his eighty-fourth year, survived his eldest son, and dying in 1757, was succeeded by his grandson, the father of the late Premier, making the latter but the third Viscount, although the title dated from 1722, and its first possessor, the late lord's great-grandfather, was born in 1673, when Charles II. was king.

Henry John Temple was born in Park-street, Westminster, on the 20th of October, 1784. His mother was Miss Mary Mee, of Bath, who appears to have gained her noble husband in a somewhat romantic manner. The second Lord Palmerston, it is related, was thrown from his horse, and carried in a dangerous state into the house of Mr. Benjamin Mee. Too ill to be removed, he was tenderly cared for by Mr. Mee's daughter, with whom he gratefully fell in love, and, being a widower of fourteen years' standing, married. This second Viscount was faithful to the political creed he had inherited, and held office under the Marquis of Rockingham. It was the violent alarm and reaction caused in England by the French Revolution, that converted so many of the liberal nobility into Tories. Under the influence of the reaction young Temple grew up. He enjoyed all the opportunities of a liberal culture. He went to Harrow school; after that to Edinburgh, where he attended the lectures of Dugald Stewart, and he finally graduated Master of Arts at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1806. He never pretended to much scholarship. His abilities were good, but they were not much devoted to book-learning. Indeed his schooling began later than is usual with boys, and his entrance into life was earlier than is usual with men. It used to be a reproach urged by her neighbours in Hampshire against his mother, that she kept Henry too long in the nursery. He was a big fellow, it is said, of eleven years of age, before he was released from that gentle petticoat government to pass under the ferule of tutors and professors. Tardy development of character is, indeed, one key to the secret of his envied vigour in old age. On the other hand, he was only eighteen years old when his father died, and young Henry became the third Viscount Palmerston. Handsome, gay, and clever, with a strong dash of Irish fervour in his temperament, there can be no doubt that the young lord's entrance into society was a decided success, and that his claim to the title of "Cupid" was stronger at that period of his life, than when later in his career it was applied to him as a nickname.

However this may be, his talents and his profession of the Tory faith made him of sufficient importance to be selected by that party as their representative in an important struggle. On the death of Pitt, in 1806, Fox became Prime Minister, and young Lord Henry Petty, the late Marquis of Lansdowne, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Parliamentary representation of the University of Cambridge was also vacant, and Lord Henry became the popular candidate. The Tories set up Lord Palmerston, a still younger man, as an opposition candidate, but in vain. Indeed, Lord Palmerston's attempts to enter the House, to which afterwards he became so much attached, were unfortunate. He was returned to the new Parliament that assembled in December, 1806, as member for Horsham, but by a double return, and on petition, was unseated. He again started for Cambridge University at the election in 1807, and was defeated, together with his former antagonist, Lord Henry Petty. He did, however, obtain a seat that year, and commenced his long career as a member of the House of Commons by representing the borough of Newport, Isle of Wight, which was then under the influence of the Worsley family. Two years later he became Secretary at War, a post which he retained for nearly twenty years. The Secretary at War was not a *Cabinet* Minister at that time, and Lord Palmerston confined himself mainly to his necessary duties in the House of Commons, speaking there only on business connected with his office—army estimates, army reforms (which he always opposed), and other matters of a subordinate description. He served under the six successive Prime Ministers, all of the Tory party, who ruled this country from 1807 till 1830, seldom troubling himself to defend their general policy, and content to give them a silent vote. In 1818 he had a narrow escape from death by assassination. A half-pay officer, Lieutenant Davies, of the 62nd regiment of foot, fired a pistol at the Secretary, who was ascending the stairs of the War Office. The bullet perforated the coat in the middle of the back, passed upwards, and glanced off at his lordship's shoulder-blade, without causing any serious injury. The assassin was immediately seized, and exclaimed to the doorkeeper of the office, "You know my wrongs! I have killed him!" What these wrongs were we have not been able to ascertain. Davies, on his trial, was treated as a lunatic. This incident, which might have terminated Lord Palmerston's career while he was in comparative obscurity, seems to have attracted little notice. It is indeed singular how rarely we find the name of the future Prime Minister in the many volumes of gossiping correspondence that have been published to illustrate the time of the regency and the reign of George IV. Once we find him mentioned as an intimate friend of that monarch's unfortunate consort, Caroline of Brunswick, whom he used to visit and play chess with when, as Princess of Wales, she resided at Kensington. The description of him at this time merits citation:—

"Lord Palmerston pays the princess great court :

he is not a man to despise any person or thing by which he can hope to gain power: he has set his heart thereon, and most likely he will succeed in his ambition, like all those who fix their minds steadily to the pursuit of one object; though, except a pleasing address, it does not appear that he has any great claim to distinction. There is one strange circumstance connected with him—namely, that though he is suave and pleasant in his manner, he is unpopular. The princess is not really partial to him, but conciliates his favour."

This passage reveals the wary, watchful politician. His "hope to gain power" was long deferred, but the delay did not, as the proverb requires, make his heart sick. For twenty years he submitted patiently to the yoke of men whom possibly he despised, for he was learning his trade—learning to be adroit in fencing off troublesome questions, skilful in winning friends, artful in making the worse appear the better cause. These accomplishments he acquired and improved, not only in the House of Commons, or at the War Office, but in society amid the men, and especially among the women, of rank and fashion, whose countenance and favour did more to bring him into notice than even his undoubted general talent. At length he felt himself strong enough to be independent. He had served under so many chiefs that the world, maybe, thought him perfectly indifferent as to who the Prime Minister might be and what his opinions. Yet he revolted against one of the greatest English warriors and the most absolute Minister of the age. He grounded his resignation, too, upon the state of his opinions. The occasion was the resignation of Mr. Huskisson, after his adverse vote on the "East Retford Disfranchisement Bill"—a matter that appeared very trifling for so momentous a change as the withdrawal of two or three Ministers from the Cabinet, but which involved principles of general policy and of Ministerial and Parliamentary government that largely affected subsequent history. As this is a topic with which our readers are tolerably familiar, a word or two of explanation will suffice. The followers of Canning, who represented what is now called Liberal-Conservative opinions, had joined the Ministry of Wellington on the understanding that their opinions were to be allowed their fair share of influence in the Cabinet counsels. Huskisson, who was the leader of the Canningites, soon discovered that the old Tory party, headed by Wellington and Peel, were not over desirous of conceding anything to the spirit of reform then spreading through the country. After voting against Peel on the question above-mentioned, Huskisson thought it but courteous to offer his resignation to the Prime Minister, fully expecting that his offer would be declined. Wellington, however, took him at his word, and laid the offer of resignation before the King. Huskisson demanded an audience of the King, and being by the advice of Wellington refused, he resigned. Lords Dudley and Palmerston, who had served with Canning and professed his opinions, followed in the wake of their friend, and the world laughed at the military manner in which the Iron Duke

had taught them all the value of discipline. The recalcitrants were not, however, men to submit to undue exercise of authority. Huskisson said on the occasion :—

"God forbid that any man should ever be a Secretary of State and agree to be admitted to the Sovereign only when, and as the Prime Minister might permit. He might indeed be the chief clerk—the head-manager of a great executive department, but he could no longer be a Minister of State and a confidential adviser of his Sovereign."

When Mr. Huskisson had finished an unusually long speech, and had been answered by Mr. Secretary Peel, up rose Viscount Palmerston, and in plain, straightforward language expressed his approval of what Mr. Huskisson had done, and his own intention of doing the same. And here we get at something like a public profession of political faith :—

"My main reason," he said, "for joining the Government formed by the noble Duke, was the confidence I felt in my right honourable friend being a member of it. I have very strong feelings relative to certain general principles, of the greater part of which my right honourable friend has been the powerful advocate. I had not the presumption to suppose that I could myself give effect to any particular system, but while my honourable friend was in the Cabinet I knew I was safe."

The principles here alluded to were those of Mr. Canning, the Minister who aimed a blow at Absolutism in Europe by first acknowledging the independence of the Spanish republics in South America. It was in the speech we have been quoting from that the following passage occurred :—

"The manner in which our foreign relations have for some years been managed has raised this country to a point of proved pre-eminence which in no former period of our history has been surpassed and rarely equalled. This situation has not been gained by lawless violence, but by the confidence inspired by our justice, moderation, and the enlightened wisdom of our councils. It is this that has gained us the respect of the civilized world, and made the King of this country to be chosen the arbiter of other States, and to be placed in a situation of greater dignity than was ever attained by the conqueror who lately ruled France."

These words, uttered at a time when the speaker was voluntarily quitting office without any near prospect of returning to it, and when no anticipation of holding the seals of the Foreign Office could have seriously occupied his mind, is an unconscious revelation of Palmerston's real leanings in foreign policy, and were significant of that remarkable system of meddling intervention which he subsequently attempted to establish when Minister of Foreign Affairs. He evidently admired Mr. Canning's manner and conduct as being always "spirited," and he strove to imitate it. Canning had said in a fine, boastful way, *à propos* of British aid to Portugal, "We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon;

* See "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates," June 2nd, 1828.

where that standard is planted foreign dominion shall not come." And twenty years later, Palmerston indulged in a no less boastful strain, when defending his policy in his great speech on the affairs of Greece. This talking to "Buncombe" was more popular formerly than it is now.

Another peculiarity of Mr. Canning's—that of employing jokes in Parliamentary debates—Lord Palmerston preserved to the end of his life. Without the keen and polished wit of Canning, he yet possessed no small talent for turning an opponent into ridicule, or jocosely putting aside a troublesome question.

The East Retford disfranchisement question was really the starting-point of Palmerston's public career in politics. Only three years before it had been rumoured that his re-election for Cambridge was so doubtful that he was expected to withdraw from it into the Upper House. As a member of the House of Peers he would probably have subsided into a personage of second-rate importance, and the world would have lost whatever there is to be learned from his history as Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister. Reviewing the early portion of his career, we see that a vigorous physical constitution was not broken in upon by excessive attention to public business and anxious cares of state for the first forty years of his life. We find him in the prime of manhood, when he begins the real struggles of ambition, with long official experience (slowly and unlabouriously acquired) to assist him; and we conclude that this slowly-developed ambition, this tardy aspiration after fame and power, was kindled into life and enthusiasm by his sympathy for a brilliant minister whose triumphs really seemed worth enjoying, since they cast so much *éclat* round the individual man. Provided with this key, we shall now attempt to trace briefly the better known portion of Lord Palmerston's life, beginning with the accession of William IV. to the throne of England.

In Canning's lifetime the oratorical and debating powers of his colleague had lain dormant. The Prime Minister once even spoke with regret of the loss he sustained through the silence of his Secretary at War. "What would I give," he exclaimed, when wearied with assaults from the Opposition benches—"what would I give to get that three-decker, Palmerston, to bear down upon them!"

The most agitating public question at the time when Palmerston resigned his office was that of the relief of the Roman Catholic subjects of Great Britain from the civil disabilities which had so long weighed upon them. On this question Lord Palmerston and other followers of Canning took the Liberal side, and distinguished themselves by the ability with which they supported their views in debate. One of Palmerston's very best speeches was that which he delivered on the 18th of March, 1829, on the Catholic Relief Bill. It is terse and business-like, yet elegant and lively. He ridicules the fears of those who dreaded the admission of some forty or fifty Catholic gentlemen within the walls of Parliament as being calculated to overthrow the constitution of a Protestant coun-

try. As for granting political power to the Catholics, he shows that they were already exercising very great power by their meetings and agitation—a power much more mischievous than would be their legitimate influence in the House of Commons. He boldly asserts that the question was not a religious one, but a political and an Irish question. Justice and humanity to Ireland demanded that the bill should pass—sound policy also required it, for civil war would probably result from the defeat of the bill. To those who derided the notion of Ireland resisting the English power, he said:

"It is well for the gentlemen of England, who live secure under the protecting shadow of the law, whose slumbers have never been broken by the clashing of angry swords, whose harvests have never been trodden down by the conflict of hostile feet,—it is well for them to talk of civil war as if it were holiday pastime or some sport of children—

'They jest at scars who never felt a wound;'

but that gentlemen who *have* seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, the miseries which civil war produces, and should look upon it as anything but the last and greatest of national calamities, is to me a matter of the deepest and most unmixed astonishment."

Certainly, the man who could with dignity and spirit deliver language like this before a hostile phalanx of prejudiced Englishmen, was fitted to run the race of ambition with most of the men who then figured in the British Parliament.

As our readers well know, the opinions held by Lord Palmerston on the Catholic question triumphed. Wellington and Peel, after an obstinate resistance, conceded the claims set up in the Relief Bill. Palmerston saw that a strong tide of Liberalism was setting in, and, bidding farewell to the Tory ranks, he cast in his lot with the promoters of the next great movement—Parliamentary Reform. The heavings of the Reform agitation overthrew the tottering Wellington Ministry, and greatly influenced the political opinions of a new sovereign. On June 26th, 1830, George IV. died, and was succeeded on the throne by his sailor brother, the Duke of Clarence, who took the name of King William IV. Death, though a cruel enemy when he smites our friends, does generally flatter the survivors of men in high places with the hope that the vacancy left may advance them a step farther on the ladder which ambition climbs. In this respect Lord Palmerston was fortunate. Canning was out off when he had hardly passed the prime of life. Three years later Huskisson was killed; and at a still later period men like Lord Durham, Lord Melbourne, and Sir Robert Peel, who occupied the public attention, or were favoured with the royal regard to the exclusion of their competitors, passed prematurely into the grave. So, likewise, Brougham, the most popular man of his time, was entrapped early into the House of Lords; and the only remaining rival of early days, Lord Russell—fairly beaten in the contest for power—stood for the last years of Palmerston's life second

on the list. Wellington and Peel continued in office until the month of November, 1830, when they retired before the manifest feeling of the country in favour of the Whigs. The latter, under the Premiership of Earl Grey, took possession of the Treasury bench, upon which they had gazed from the cold and barren seats of the Opposition for the long period of twenty-four years.

Together with other Canningites, Lord Palmerston entered the Cabinet and assumed the character by which he became best known in Europe when he accepted the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. His fitness for this office had not been exhibited in any very marked manner. At the outset of his career, indeed, in 1808, when a new-fledged Lord of the Admiralty, he had made a good speech in defence of the expedition to Copenhagen, treating that attack on a neutral as a matter of necessity, indispensable to the thwarting of Napoleon's policy of confederating maritime states against England. Again, in 1829, on the subject of Portugal, Palmerston had made a resolute effort to get into the front rank of statesmen, by a speech in which Mr. Canning's ideas on foreign policy were very ably set forth and adopted.

Our readers will remember that the third decade of the present century was a period of reaction in Europe against the liberal ideas that had prevailed to a certain extent even on thrones, when the first Napoleon fell. In 1815, Constitutionalism was rather in fashion. Louis XVIII. entered France with *la Charte*—the King of Prussia promised liberty and a constitution to his subjects as a reward for their patriotic struggle against Napoleon. Other German princes seemed willing to make concessions, and even sovereigns of greater note felt no dislike to theories which Castlereagh and Wellington patronised. In truth a constitutional form of government was thought to be a very innocent and harmless piece of machinery. Ten years' experience, however, of its active, stirring nature, and of the fruits it bore—free thought and a free press—tended to disabuse the ruling powers in Europe of their tenderness to Constitutionalism. The Holy Alliance was formed, and a system of repression was begun, with so much vigour and success that the English ministry, with Wellington at their head, believed that Conservatism in its strongest form of development, that of Absolutism, was about to commence a long reign in Europe.

In accordance with this belief, the foreign policy of Wellington acquired a very Conservative colour. In the struggle in Portugal between Don Miguel and Don Pedro, the Absolutist prince enjoyed the countenance of the English Government, which also, in the affairs of Greece, supported the reactionary views of Russia. For this conduct the Ministers were called to account in the House of Commons on the 1st June, 1829, by Sir James Mackintosh, who charged them with disregarding the neutrality of England by favouring Don Miguel, and not giving fair play to Don Pedro and his partisans. Peel replied to Mackintosh, and

was supported by Huskisson, who attempted to identify the policy of the government with that of Canning. Thereupon rose Lord Palmerston, and in a speech of great fervour and eloquence gave to Canning's views on foreign policy an interpretation widely differing from that offered by Huskisson. He frankly avowed his opinions in favour of interference in the affairs of foreign countries, as long as such interference was only a moral one, and did not require the employment of force:

"There are two great parties in Europe," he said, "one, which endeavours to bear sway by the force of public opinion; another, which endeavours to bear sway by the force of physical control. The principle on which the system of the last-named party is founded is, in my view, fundamentally erroneous. There is in nature no moving power but mind—all else is passive and inert; in human affairs this power is opinion; in political affairs it is public opinion; and he who can grasp the power, with it will subdue the fleshly arm of physical strength, and compel it to work out his purpose."

After giving a fine illustration of his meaning, from the person of the steersman who directs the majestic ship where he will over the vast deeps of ocean, making nature obey the powers of mind, he goes on to say:

"And those statesmen who know how to avail themselves of the passions, and the interests, and the opinions of mankind, are able to gain an ascendancy and to exercise a sway over human affairs, far out of all proportion greater than belong to the power and resources of the State over which they preside."

In this speech he showed pretty clearly what he conceived a British Minister of Foreign Affairs ought to be, and what he should be if ever he obtained that office. A year had scarcely elapsed, when he received from Earl Grey the invitation to become the Foreign Secretary of State.

In our judgment of Lord Palmerston's conduct with respect to the general politics of Europe, we must confess at once that we do not share the opinions of either of those extreme sections of politicians who have denounced him as an enemy of the human race. While the sovereigns of Austria and Naples and ministers of the Metternich school laid the burden of their wrongs on Palmerston's shoulders, the Republicans and patriots of Europe, regarding him as the frustrator of their projects, shouted at the top of their voices, "Hat der Teufel einen Sohn, so ist er, sicher, Palmerston." We believe in the truth neither of these charges nor of Mr. Urquhart's accusation that Lord Palmerston was bribed by Russia to sell the interests of his native country. Our conviction is, that personally and individually Lord Palmerston had no special political creed. Having become master in the art of managing numbers of men, by courting popularity on the one hand, and judiciously opposing certain persons on the other, he found enough to satisfy his ambition in the active exercise of power. He found also that he could do this as easily with a Parliament and a free Press as other men could do it by the exercise of autocratic

power. Having no decided political principles of his own, he took care to watch the current of public opinion, and by an instinct which belongs to all minds given to practical observation, he knew when to launch himself upon the current, and when to withdraw from its eddies. When Talleyrand said of Palmerston, "C'est un homme qui n'a pas le talent du raisonnement," he forgot, or seemed to forget, that in England the politics of men in office are reasoned out for them, that however much they may aspire to *lead* the mind of the country, they do in fact only *follow* its dictates. A Minister in England has no more the power of forcing measures for which the country is not prepared, than he has of resisting changes which an enlightened majority demand. This is a commonplace that is sometimes denied by disappointed agitators, but is true, nevertheless.

Some exception to the theory may doubtless be made with regard to foreign politics, which the English public, until quite recently, have been content to ignore. Of this circumstance Lord Palmerston, during his long occupancy of the Foreign Office, did not fail to take advantage. He carried on his diplomacy with as much secrecy as the minister of a German potentate. When he needed popular support to make some particular negotiation bear with peculiar force upon a foreign Government, he contrived to make known so much of a given incident as would wound the national susceptibilities and excite popular animosity against the Government upon which he desired to operate. For this purpose he availed himself of the assistance of the Press more generally, and with better effect than many modern politicians. The history of the noble Viscount's opinions on the subject of Russia illustrates his principle of adopting the general feeling of the day as his own. In his great speech on foreign affairs, June 1st, 1829, he observes, when speaking of the war in the East, that—

"Turkey was the aggressor, and Russia had a right to compensation for injury sustained, and that a regard for the interests of Europe and a regard for the interests of Turkey herself, ought equally to impel France and England to urge the Sultan to make fair terms as soon as he could," for "that the people of England would be little disposed to pay subsidies to Austria for the recovery of unpronounceable fortresses on the Danube after they had been lost by the obstinate perverseness of Turkey."

This language admirably expressed the general feeling of the British public on the subject. There was then no hostile feeling to Russia among Englishmen, and little dread of her growing power in Turkey, a country for which but faint sympathy was felt. Eight years later, however, when the Treaty of Adrianople had excited in Britain jealousy of Russian progress in the East, Lord Palmerston was called to account by Mr. Roebuck for not resenting the capture, by a Russian ship-of-war, of the *Vixen*, a merchant vessel, seized for breaking the blockade of the Circassian coast. The Foreign Secretary pronounced a lukewarm defence of Russia, and maintained her right to seize a vessel breaking the blockade, yet he condemned

"the extension of the Russian frontier on the mouth of the Danube, to the south of the Caucasus and the shores of the Black Sea." Here, chiming in with public opinion, he seemed unwilling to affront Russia, while he showed due deference to British pride. Again, in the differences that arose between the two Governments in 1853-4, there is no reason to believe that Palmerston was unfavourable to accommodation with Russia. He was certainly a member of Lord Aberdeen's pacific Ministry. When, however, the national jealousy of Russian aggrandizement was raised to fever-heat, Palmerston took up the cry, and sailed on the gales of popularity thus acquired into the post of Premier.

So much by way of illustration of his political system, such as it was. We return to the history of his public acts from the time of his entering the Foreign Office as one of Lord Grey's Reform Cabinet. The distinctive principles of the new Ministry were expressed in the popular formula, "reform, retrenchment, and peace."

Those who thought that "peace" meant "non-interference" in foreign affairs, had soon reason to be disappointed in the new Secretary of State. The French Revolution of July, 1830, and its consequences, had been promptly accepted by Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet. The same policy was adopted by the succeeding Ministry. France represented the liberal triumph over Absolutism as a *fait accompli*, and her revolutionary government was acknowledged and lauded. When, however, the insurrection of the Poles in the same year seemed to demand, as a logical consequence of Liberal principles, both countenance and aid, England and France held back, and Western diplomacy was silent. To plot against an established Government, to meddle in questions which might be called, diplomatically, questions of internal administration, was a very different thing from ratifying the decision of a people who overturned one ruler to set up another. Russia, too, was strong and great in resources, having an army with considerable *prestige*, and was allied in a common cause with Prussia and Austria. Though it is not romantic to abandon a cause because it is hopeless, it is very practical, and where a man is as a Minister handling matters that touch the welfare of millions of his fellow-countrymen, every consideration binds him to a practical line of conduct. In return for the non-interference of the Western Powers in the internal affairs of Russia, the three military potentates were compelled reluctantly to forego the pleasure of interfering in the question of Belgium and Holland. The annexation by the Congress at Vienna of the Belgian Provinces to Holland, as a fence against French ambition, had proved a failure. The newly-united provinces did not amalgamate with the old, differing from them as they did in religion and in their notions of good government. Dutch rule became odious to the mass of the Belgians, who revolted against Holland soon after the accession of Louis Philippe. In a brief space of time the Dutch troops were driven out of

all the Belgian towns except the citadel of Antwerp. Here was an opportunity for the application of Lord Palmerston's theory of "moral intervention." A new power had to be erected in Europe, the Government of which should be at once acceptable to the people governed and to the powerful neighbours who were looking on with gloomy jealousy. The task was difficult, as being so glaring an infringement on the part of Liberal Governments of the Treaties of 1815. It was Palmerston's first attempt at the higher kind of statesmanship, and it must be admitted that he won his spurs. With great tact, courage, and decisiveness, he conducted intricate negotiations on the subject with the powers interested. He kept before him two leading ideas—1st. That Belgium should have a constitutional Government. 2nd. That the interests of England should not suffer. He held the Northern Powers at bay, by showing them that England and France were perfectly agreed upon one point—namely, that Belgium should be independent, spite of the Congress of Vienna. He baffled the intrigues which were rife both in France and Belgium for annexing the latter country to the former; he helped to defeat the attempts made to establish a Belgian Republic; and finally he contrived that Prince Leopold, the widowed husband of the late heiress to the British throne, should be elected King of the new constitutional kingdom, France giving the Queen. It cannot be denied that the little kingdom has been prosperous during its thirty odd years of existence, and that it passed through a trying crisis in European history with safety and honour. Let Lord Palmerston, therefore, have credit for his share in the creation of the Belgian kingdom.

A more difficult question soon arose to tax the energies and ingenuity of the English Minister's eager mind. A crisis occurred almost simultaneously in the affairs of the two kingdoms of the Western Peninsula—Spain and Portugal. It is perhaps generally forgotten now, that after the Empire of Brazil had been separated from the kingdom of Portugal (1822), Don Pedro, on the death of his father in 1826, retained the American crown for himself, and nominated his daughter Donna Maria to the throne of Portugal, with the proviso that she should marry her uncle Don Miguel, the heir-presumptive and Pedro's brother. To this arrangement Don Miguel objected, and repudiating the proposed marriage, placed himself at the head of the reactionary party in the country, overthrew the constitution which his brother had granted by charter, and usurped the throne. His government was tyrannical, and acts of violence committed against foreign subjects drew upon him the armed interference of France, Great Britain, and the United States. Meanwhile, Pedro had been compelled to abdicate his Brazilian throne, and was watching events in Portugal from Terceira, one of the Azore islands. In 1832 he made an unsuccessful descent upon the kingdom, and in the following year, his fleet, commanded by the English Commodore Charles Napier, annihilated Don Miguel's fleet near Cape St. Vincent. This triumph was followed by

Pedro's occupation of Lisbon, and the proclamation of a constitution with Donna Maria as Queen. The new Government was at once acknowledged by France and England.

Throughout the whole of these transactions, Lord Palmerston had given his moral support to the Constitutionalists, but he did not interfere in the dispute by physical force. In the affairs of Spain he was not altogether so prudent. We must hastily recapitulate the circumstances which brought on civil war in that ancient monarchy. Ever since the accession of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne, it had been the law that no Queen could reign in the country. This was expressly provided in the Treaty of Utrecht, in order to prevent the possibility of Spain becoming by marriage an appanage to the French crown. King Ferdinand, however, having to provide for his two children, who were daughters, did violence to his Absolutist feelings, and bribed the Cortes, with a constitution, to alter the fundamental law of the country, and to decree the lawfulness of a Queen's sovereignty. By this decree, Ferdinand's brother, Don Carlos, was deprived of the inheritance to the crown. When Ferdinand died, Carlos asserted his right to be King, and naturally, though very unwisely, threw himself upon the party of Anti-Constitutionalists for support. The friends of freedom rallied round the young Queen Isabella, in whose name the Government was administered by her mother. A long and bloody war ensued. The Constitutionalists received from Lord Palmerston as much support as he dared to give. The Cabinet of which he formed a part was not very firmly seated. The cause of Don Carlos had numerous friends in England, where, even without a thought of future "Spanish marriages," it was considered that the principles involved in the Treaty of Utrecht ought not to have been abandoned. Besides this, the formidable power of the northern nations was in favour of Don Carlos, and bitterly hostile to Palmerston's policy. He met their threatened intervention by the famous quadruple treaty between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, by which each of the contracting parties engaged to defend the existing monarchies in the Peninsula against all attempts to displace them. The parties interested were left to fight out their domestic quarrels free from interference. In England, however, permission was given to certain volunteers forming a Spanish legion to take service under Queen Isabella. Lord Palmerston even succeeded in persuading his colleagues to have a British squadron stationed off the north coast of Spain, with instructions to aid the Queen's troops and annoy those of Don Carlos. For this departure from his principle of purely moral intervention, he was severely handled in Parliament, especially by Lord Aberdeen, who condemned the whole tenor of the Whig policy, and insisted that non-interference meant neutrality. In the Press, too, he was accused of "buccaneering," and of leading the country into disgrace on the coast of Spain. But in the end he enjoyed the triumph of seeing Constitutionalism established in Spain as well as in Portugal, and of knowing that the moral support of England had greatly contributed to that result.

Once again he interfered in the affairs of Portugal, when Queen Maria, yielding to the influence of the Reactionists, provoked her people to rebellion, and appealed to Spain for the fulfilment of the Quadruple Treaty. Lord Palmerston offered to mediate between the Queen and her subjects, and when the latter, declining his proposals, marched towards Lisbon to expel their sovereign, the British fleet lying in the Tagus was instructed to intercept the insurgents, and the rebellion was at once put down. This interference did not take place until the Queen had engaged to restore the constitution to its full vigour, in accordance with the charter. The marvel of this portion of the late Premier's history lies in the circumstance that while he was thus behaving abroad with the energy, promptitude, and decision of a powerful Minister, the Cabinet of which he was a member exhibited the greatest weakness and vacillation in their domestic policy, and were barely supported in the House of Commons by a majority of twenty or thirty votes. But the audacity and vigour of the Foreign Secretary were none the less exerted in the Syrian question, which soon engaged the attention of the leading Governments of Europe. Lord Palmerston's difficulties were increased enormously in these transactions, by having to work against not only the skilful diplomacy of Russia, but also against the ill-concealed opposition of the French Government. The Pasha of Egypt had invaded Syria with a view to annexing that country to his own. The interests of England and Austria required the preservation of the Ottoman Empire in its integrity. Russia naturally expected to profit by the dissolution of its ancient enemy, while France, recurring to the policy of the first Napoleon, sought to acquire influence in the East through the instrumentality of Egypt and Syria.

Palmerston laboured hard to bring about an alliance with France, Prussia, and Austria, for the defence of Turkey, but M. Thiers, who was then Minister to Louis Philippe, interposed objections and delays, in order to give time to Ibrahim Pasha to consolidate his power in Syria. No time was to be lost, and with or without the consent of France, Palmerston was determined to have the Egyptians turned out of Syria. To the astonishment of France and the other Powers, a treaty was suddenly signed in 1840 between England, Austria, and Turkey, for the defence of the Ottoman Porte, and a fleet was instantly despatched to the coast of Syria, with instructions to drive the Egyptians out of the country. These instructions were promptly and efficiently carried out. Great was the fury and indignation of the French at being thus cleverly over-reached in diplomacy, and left out of the treaty. Thiers might have roused the whole nation into a war in defence of Mehemet Ali but for the decidedly pacific policy which Louis Philippe had resolved to pursue. The feeling of annoyance in France gradually subsided after being gratified with an outrage committed upon the British consul at Tahiti in the Pacific Ocean.

We may here very properly refer to Lord Palmerston's exertions in putting down the

nefarious traffic in slaves from Africa. It was in 1840 that a decisive blow was dealt at the Portuguese dealers in human flesh, by the destruction of the barracoons erected on the African coast as entrepôts for the safe custody of captured negroes brought from the interior to market. Captain Denman, by Lord Palmerston's directions, made a treaty with the chief of the region in which these barracks were most numerous, and having thus acquired a legal authorization to destroy them, he liberated the wretched creatures confined there, and burned down the buildings. It is a noteworthy circumstance that the Portuguese owners of the barracoons brought an action against Captain Denman in the English Court of Queen's Bench for injury done to their property; but neither law nor justice was on their side, and they lost the cause. Further discouragement was given to the slave-trade by strengthening the cruising squadron on the coast of Africa, and by placing a similar fleet of cruisers to watch the Brazilian coast where the slaves were most generally sold. The slave-dealing King of Ashantee was also punished by the capture of the city of Lagos. In consequence of these and other vigorous measures, the dealing in blacks became unprofitable, and Lord Palmerston earned the praise of having given a severe blow to the slave-trade.

In 1841, the Whigs quitted office and remained on the Opposition benches for about five years, during which Sir Robert Peel prepared, matured, and carried his great measures of tariff—Reform and Free Trade.

Lord Palmerston was not idle meanwhile; he watched the Conservative Ministers with a keen eye, and indulged in smart attacks upon what seemed to be their apathy in the conduct of public affairs, during the gestation of the great changes they contemplated. The marriage of Lord John Russell at this juncture, and his consequent absence from Parliament, placed Palmerston in the position of leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons, an opportunity which the noble Viscount did not fail to improve, and Lord Russell may probably date from the period of that luckless holiday the loss of influence which enabled Palmerston to supersede him. On the conduct of foreign affairs by Lord Aberdeen at this time, Palmerston expressed his opinions in an able speech, censuring the treaty which Lord Ashburton had concluded with the United States regulating the possessions of the north-eastern boundary and the State of Maine. He derisively called it the "Ashburton Capitulation," and intimated that the Minister had yielded to the Americans more than was required by honour. The House, however, was too sensible to re-open a question that might have led to complications, and the ex-Foreign Secretary's motion of censure was not even put to the vote.

Indeed, distrust of the Palmerstonian foreign policy had very much increased even among the Whigs, and at the very critical moment of repealing the obnoxious Corn Laws, 1845-6, Lord John Russell was prevented from forming a Ministry, by the refusal of Earl Grey to sit in the Cabinet if Palmerston were made Foreign

Secretary. Thus the Whigs were deprived of that which was their due—the glory of establishing Free Trade.

On the resignation of Peel, after carrying his great measures, Lord Russell became Prime Minister, and Palmerston once more Foreign Secretary, and they both remained in office for nearly six years (1846–52). Reasons for British intervention in the affairs of other countries soon arose. The cantons of Switzerland were divided among themselves on the subject of religion and the intrusion of the Jesuits. Civil war began, and the Continental Powers were about to interfere on behalf of the Catholics, when Lord Palmerston insisted upon a conference of all the Powers to settle the terms of a general intervention. He, meanwhile, counselled the Government of the Confederation to act promptly with the Catholic cantons, and subdue them by force of arms; this was done, and all further intervention of the Great Powers was at once obviated. In 1847–8, the British Government was threatened with a more serious complication on the question of the Spanish marriages. The provision made by the Treaty of Utrecht, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one crown, having been, as we have said above, abrogated by the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, Lord Palmerston kept a vigilant diplomatic eye upon King Louis Philippe, who made great efforts to strengthen the position of his family by matrimonial alliances. The French King would not consent to forego all connexion by marriage with the Spanish Bourbons, but he gave up the claim of his family to the hand of the Queen of Spain, and agreed that his son should not marry her sister until an heir or heiress to the throne of Spain should be born. As soon, however, as Isabella had espoused her cousin, her sister was married to the Duc de Montpensier, and the indignation of Lord Palmerston was justly aroused at the flagrant breach of faith. An angry correspondence ensued between the English and French Cabinets and had not concluded when Louis Philippe was precipitated from his throne by a revolution, which communicated itself as by an electric shock to nearly all the kingdoms of Europe. Some people have been found on the continent ignorant and unthinking enough to attribute these fearful convulsions to the machinations of Lord Palmerston. They can know little of the nature of political transactions, or of the mode of forming and directing public opinion, who suppose such a mighty influence to be within the grasp of a Minister in England, watched as he is by six hundred keen-eyed members of the House of Commons, and a House of Peers jealous of every encroachment on prerogative. It is certain that Lord Palmerston never loved Republicans or their doctrines. An illustration of his antipathy is to be found in the fate which befel the unhappy Sicilians, when abandoned to the mercies of Ferdinand of Naples. After the great war with the first Napoleon, the British Government had promised that the constitutional forms of government in Sicily should be preserved and respected. The promise made was not kept, and the islanders, in 1848, rose against the Neapo-

litan Government, and asserted their independence. Palmerston was ready with his moral aid, and promised to reorganise their independence if they could erect themselves into a monarchy under one of the princes of the House of Savoy. To this plan of independence the Republican party in Italy and the Radical party in England were both violently opposed; and Palmerston, finding himself thwarted in his schemes, left the Sicilians to their fate, and they fell immediately under the despotism of the bombarding King Ferdinand. The very scheme of placing a Sardinian prince on the throne of Sicily, with a liberal constitution, has since been fully carried out in the person of Victor Emmanuel.

Lord Palmerston suffered another check from the spirit of reaction guided by a Bourbon. Isabella of Spain, under the influence of certain men favourable to despotism, was striving earnestly to destroy the representative system in her country. When Europe was heaving with revolutions, the English Foreign Secretary thought it his duty to warn the Spanish Government of the danger they were running into, and to remonstrate against their proceedings. This interference on the part of the "barbarian islanders" was promptly resented, and the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, was dismissed from Madrid. The only reply to this indignity was the *congé* of the Spanish Ambassador from London, and diplomatic intercourse between the two courts ceased, until a reconciliation was brought about by the announcement of the birth of a Spanish princess. The greatest trial, however, to which Lord Palmerston's policy was ever exposed, arose out of the miserably paltry question of compensation due from the Greek Government at Athens to certain individuals under the protection of the British flag, for outrages committed upon them by the Greek populace. One whose name was most frequently repeated in the debates that ensued was a Jew, named Pacifico, a native of one of the Ionian Islands, who greatly exaggerated the amount of compensation due to him. The Greek Government, however, having refused to entertain the question at all, the whole of Pacifico's demand was claimed by Palmerston, who insisted upon having the principle, at least, admitted that British subjects were entitled to reparation in circumstances like those alleged. At the time negotiations were pending on this subject, an insurrection broke out in the Ionian Islands, the instigators of which were suspected, but could not be proceeded against for want of proof.

The avowed object of the insurrection, however, being union with Greece, Lord Palmerston turned the Pacifico claim into an instrument for punishing the Government at Athens. He demanded immediate satisfaction of the Jew's claim, and cut short all delays and subterfuges by causing the British admiral to seize Greek merchant-ships to double the value of the amount claimed. A great commotion in all the courts of Europe was the consequence. The mediation of France was accepted so far as the amount of reparation due was concerned, but no liberty was left to the mediator to question

the justice of the original claim. On that subject England would admit of no mediation, being resolute in her determination to support the claims. The French agent, however, did precisely what he was not asked to do; he examined the question of the justice of any claim at all. The Greek Government recovered their courage and began to trifle with England. Immediate orders were sent from London to continue the seizure of Greek merchant-ships till all claims were paid. Otho's ministers were humbled once more, and the French agent went back to Paris disgusted. His Government, that of the Republic, felt themselves insulted and withdrew their ambassador from London—a degree of susceptibility which doubtless augmented Lord Palmerston's dislike to Republicanism. The affair was at length arranged; the French Ambassador returned to England in a few days, the justice of the English claims on Greece was admitted, and the mediation of France was again accepted for settling the amount due to the outraged persons. The question was not, however, thus finally set at rest. Two great Parliamentary battles ensued—one in each House of Parliament.

The Earl of Derby, in an eloquent speech, replete with that stinging satire which he wields with so much effect, moved in the House of Lords a vote of censure on the foreign policy of the Government. The aged Marquis of Lansdowne, in defending Lord Palmerston, opened his speech by remarking that, in the House of Commons, where his noble friend sat and could defend himself, none of his opponents dared to bring forward a motion of censure. This would seem to have been very near to the truth of the matter, for although the Ministry were condemned by a majority in the Upper House, the Opposition in the Lower House abstained from trying the question. The public, unaccustomed to see a Ministry retaining office after an adverse vote in Parliament, were in some perplexity until Mr. Roebuck, a supporter of the Government and of Lord Palmerston, put a question to the Premier (Lord Russell) in the House of Commons as to what the Ministers intended to do in consequence of the resolution in the House of Lords. In reply, Lord Russell said that he did not propose to do anything in consequence of that vote. He justified his disregard of the Peers' resolution, according to his wont, by several excellent examples from the history of the Constitution, and after noticing the terms of that resolution, which "recognised the right and duty of the Government to secure to her Majesty's subjects residing in foreign States the full protection of the laws of those States," he intimated that it was the right and duty of an English Government to protect English subjects to the very best of their power, according to their own conception of the laws and justice to which an Englishman feels himself entitled. If the subjects of other governments do not enjoy a similar measure of law and justice, an Englishman may regret their position and may wish them better fortune, but his Government is not to refuse him protection against unjust laws because they exist in a foreign State. In conclusion, he said—

"So long as we continue the government of this country I can answer for my noble friend that he will act, not as the Minister of Austria, or as the Minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as the Minister of England. The honour of England and the interests of England are matters within our keeping, and to those interests and to that honour our conduct in future will be, as hitherto it has been, devoted."

There is no little pride and defiance in these words, uttered as they were in the face of Europe, ever attentive to the proceedings of the British Parliament.

Mr. Disraeli, the chief of the Opposition in the House of Commons, though he replied to the taunts of Lord Russell, did not propose a vote of censure, and Mr. Roebuck, in order to bring the subject into a satisfactory constitutional state, and test the opinions of the representative House, proposed a vote of confidence and approbation in favour of the Minister's foreign policy. A tremendous debate ensued, lasting four nights, and bringing into full play the oratorical abilities of the leading men on both sides. Lord Palmerston, on the second evening, made a speech of five hours' duration, which was not only the most remarkable speech in the debate, but the best specimen of Parliamentary eloquence that he ever pronounced. He gave a very complete history of the relations of England with Greece; he retorted upon Lord Derby in many happy hits, condemned his manner of describing *Pacifico* as a poor contemptible Jew—

"As if a man, because he was poor, might be bastinadoed and tortured with impunity;" or, "because a man is of the Jewish persuasion he is fair game for any outrage. It is a true saying," he continued, "and one that has often been repeated, that a very moderate share of human wisdom is sufficient for the guidance of human affairs."

"But there is another truth equally indisputable, which is, that a man who aspires to govern mankind ought to bring to the task generous sentiments, compassionate sympathies, and noble and elevated thoughts."

This was evidently a dart aimed at "Scorpion Stanley." Again, speaking of the two Ionians who were arrested, manacled and thumb-screwed, he observed—

"Then it was said that the application of the thumb-screw had not maimed them for life. Had that indeed been the case, the men would have been entitled to compensation, but for a very little thumb-screwing applied only during an evening walk no compensation ought to have been required. I am of a different opinion. Thumb-screws are not as easy to wear as gloves, which can be put on and pulled off at pleasure."

Strokes of humour of this kind, uttered in a genial, pleasant manner, had the very best effect upon his auditors. He reviewed all the transactions which had occurred during his twenty years' tenure of the Foreign Office seals, and concluded with his famous declaration:—

"As the Roman in days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say *Civis Romanus sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye

and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."

The debate was rendered all the more memorable as being the last occasion on which Sir Robert Peel addressed the House of Commons. He spoke with his usual ability and sobriety, and while he paid homage to the talents of Palmerston, using the remarkable words, "his most able and most temperate speech made us proud of the man who delivered it," he yet condemned the policy which made diplomacy a means of disturbing and irritating foreign nations:—

"It is," he said, "a costly engine for maintaining peace—an instrument used by civilized nations for preventing war—if your application of it be to fester every wound, to provoke instead of to soothe resentments, to continue an angry correspondence for the purpose of promoting what is supposed to be an English interest, to keep up conflicts with the representatives of other powers,—then I say, not only is the expenditure on this costly instrument thrown away, but the great engine used by civilized society for the purpose of maintaining peace is perverted into a cause of hostility and war."

These words expressed the opinions which a large body of Englishmen entertained of the Palmerston policy. But it ought in justice to be remembered that men of this kind concentrated their thoughts upon domestic policy, insulated England from the other nations of the world, and regarded foreign affairs with supreme indifference. Whatever may be Lord Palmerston's faults, he has done much to shake the English nation out of this apathetic disregard of foreigners. If his efforts at the propagandism of constitutional theories have made for him many enemies abroad, they have at the same time tended to destroy the insularity of Englishmen, and to make them more cosmopolitan in their sympathies. The final result of the debate was a complete triumph for Palmerston and the Ministry to which he belonged. In an unusually full House of 574 members, they had a majority of 48. The hero of the day was fêted and applauded in all parts of the country, and his extraordinary popularity as a minister dates from that time. In this state of public feeling, Lord Russell, by an act perfectly justifiable in itself, yet singularly wanting in political tact, threw his old colleague out of office and almost into the arms of the Opposition. The occasion of this schism in the English Cabinet was the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon in December, 1851. The day after that important event, December 3rd, Count Walewski, the French ambassador in London, had a long conversation with Lord Palmerston, during which the latter expressed his satisfaction at the course taken by the President of the Republic for the repression of socialism and anarchy. On the same day the English ambassador at Paris wrote home for instructions to guide his conduct under the new order of things. Lord Russell immediately called a Cabinet Council, at which it was resolved to instruct the Minister at Paris to continue with the new Government on the same footing that he had held with the old, without interfering at all in questions that belonged to the internal ad-

ministration of France. The Marquis of Normanby communicated these instructions to the French Minister, and made apologies for delaying to give this assurance of the continued friendship of Great Britain. Monsieur Turgot replied that the delay imported little, because he had already received from Walewski, two days previously, an assurance of Lord Palmerston's hearty approval of what the President had done. This statement struck Lord Normanby with surprise, and wounded his vanity. He wrote to the Foreign Office for an explanation and immediately received an answer to the effect that "Lord Palmerston did prefer unity and order in France to anarchy, and that it would be better for English interests to have it so."

Meanwhile a similar demand for explanation had reached the Foreign Office from the Palace, being transmitted to Palmerston by the Prime Minister, Russell. This demand Palmerston was in no haste to answer, for reasons which may partly be guessed. The Premier, therefore, quitting the subject of the unauthorized approval of the *coup d'état*, objected to the letter of explanation which had been sent to Lord Normanby without the knowledge or sanction of the Cabinet, and intimated that the seals of the Foreign Office must be resigned—and resigned they were. The triumph over Palmerston was but brief. His popularity increased rapidly. He had been considered the most able man in the Ministry, which could not long survive his resignation. Mr. Roebuck pointedly said—

"At this critical period the most marked person in the Administration—he, around whom all the party battles of the Administration had been fought—whose political existence had been made the political existence of the Government itself—the person on whose being in office the Government rested their existence as a Government, was dismissed; their right hand was cut off, their most powerful arm was taken away, and at the critical time when it was most needed."

Similar language was used by other Liberal members of the House of Commons. It was not long before the dismissed Minister took his revenge on his late colleagues. He had quit office in December, 1851. On the 3rd February following Parliament assembled, and on the 20th of the same month the Ministers, being left in a minority of eleven on an amendment moved by Lord Palmerston, resigned. The question was the introduction by Lord Russell of "A Bill to Amend the Laws respecting the Local Militia." Lord Palmerston professed his belief that a local militia was nearly useless, and that a general militia, which might move to any part of the country, was the thing wanted. He proposed, therefore, that the word "local" should be omitted from the title of the bill, and his proposition was carried. Thereupon the Prime Minister said, "that, as the Ministers no longer possessed the confidence of the House, the usual course would be followed." So much for the word "local," upon which was made to hang the fate of a Government. The word in this instance represented public confidence in the fitness of Ministers for

their post. Palmerston for the nonce gained nothing by his victory beyond the triumph over Lord Russell. Lord Derby, Disraeli, and party, constituted the new Ministry, into which they tried in vain to tempt Palmerston. He remained out of office, biding his time, but supported the Conservative Government on two or three important occasions. The Ministry could not, however, stand more than a few months. Mr. Disraeli's financial plans were most severely handled by Mr. Gladstone; and Lord Derby, after an adverse division in the House of Commons, resigned. A new Ministry was formed of Liberals and Peelites, under the premiership of Palmerston's old political antagonist, Lord Aberdeen.

The abilities and influence of the ex-Secretary for Foreign Affairs were acknowledged by his appointment as Minister for Home Affairs. Neither Aberdeen nor Russell would consent to his being placed at the head of the Foreign Office. Lord Palmerston justified the appointment by the vigour and promptitude with which he performed his new duties. That famous and much-abused coalition Ministry was a combination of many eminent statesmen. Though absolute agreement among independent minds is not possible, there was sufficient affinity between these public men, and certainly sufficient ability, to enable them to carry on the Government efficiently. The tact and good feeling of the chief kept them well together during peace, but the approach of war was too severe a trial for the confederation of old enemies and new friends. With reviving jealousies and rivalries within, furious and unscrupulous factions without, and a terrible peril hanging over Europe, Lord Aberdeen's position became extremely painful. Though accused of pusillanimity, and caricatured as an "old woman," his conduct was throughout consistent. Convinced that war retards civilization, he strove to avert that calamity, but having at length accepted it as a dire necessity, he prosecuted it with all his might. For the disasters which befel the British army in the Crimea, Lord Aberdeen's war administration was not to blame. The system of the military authorities in London had long been defective. When history shall reveal the secrets of cabinets, it will be acknowledged that no man more vehemently than Aberdeen urged on the contest in which no man so reluctantly embarked. Despite his genuine merits, however, the anger of the nation at the course of events in the Crimea, expressed and increased by the press, was too great to be appeased by any sacrifice short of the resignation of the Ministers. The resignation of the Coalition Ministry, though promoted by the attacks of the Opposition, was not caused by their adverse vote so much as by the unmistakable expression of public opinion excited by the inquiry into the state of the army, which culminated in the vote of the House of Commons on Roebuck's motion. The consequence was, that the Opposition was not ready or willing to undertake the responsibilities of Government. Lord Russell was absent from England on his unlucky mission to Vienna and Berlin, where he had contrived to make

matters worse than they were before; no leader of eminence but Palmerston was left to assume at once the chieftainship of the Liberals. He had, indeed, no following in Parliament like Russell, whose hundred friends voted for the man, not his measures. But Palmerston was strong in himself and in the opinion of the public. In the strength of his popularity he triumphantly entered the office of First Lord of the Treasury, spite of the opposition of the Conservative party, of the Peelites, and of many on the Liberal side, who had disapproved of his foreign policy. Bitter must have been the mortification in many hearts at this triumph, but the new Premier did not at first abuse his power. He was gay and bland to all, worked assiduously at the duties of his office, and made up his Ministry of hard-working men, rather than humble himself before the shining talents to obtain their adhesion. He allowed his most redoubtable colleague and rival, Lord Russell, to ruin himself in public estimation by diplomatic *gaucheries*. The new Prime Minister had hardly sat at his first Cabinet Council when the news reached London of the sudden death of the Emperor Nicholas. This event, however lamentable it may have been for those who loved the Czar, was a most fortunate one for Lord Palmerston, whose greatest difficulty was thus removed. He had been called to his high place by the popular voice for the very purpose of vigorously prosecuting the war with Russia. As everything had been done by the late Government that could be done, Palmerston would have been unable to satisfy the clamorous demands of the nation, for more victories and fewer disasters; the greatest boon therefore that fortune could send him at this juncture was the prospect of peace offered by the accession of the Czar Alexander II. The bond of personal friendship existing between the Emperor Louis Napoleon and Lord Palmerston was no doubt of great service to both. This intimacy, however, was too close to be long maintained without deranging the legitimate relations with their respective countries of the two persons concerned. At the close of the Crimean War, for instance, the French Emperor hurried forward the negotiations with Russia just when England, "the unready," had got herself into prime condition for continuing the war or for exacting hard conditions.

The friendship of the Emperor at a later period was otherwise injurious to Lord Palmerston. Meanwhile the ancient rival of the English Prime Minister was adroitly thrown out of office, in consequence of his accepting at Vienna terms of peace with Russia, which the Cabinet in London could not accept.

At length, on the 1st February, 1856, at noon, a protocol was signed at Vienna by the ministers of Russia, France, England, Austria, and Turkey, accepting the Austrian propositions as a basis of peace. A conference was opened at Paris on the 25th of the same month, at which the British Government was represented by Lord Clarendon. It required all Lord Clarendon's acuteness and steadiness of purpose to

gain by the pen what England had not gained by the sword. The Russian and French diplomatists were drawn together by a common desire to baffle English projects. In Lord Clarendon, however, Lord Palmerston had an able and friendly negotiator, who, in yielding some points of his chief's political programme, gained others. The story of these negotiations is too recent to require further enlargement from us at present. Without doubt, the plans were there first *ébauché* of the Italian war for independence and unity under Victor Emmanuel. The excessive friendliness, too, between the sovereigns of Western Europe, which had taken Louis Napoleon and his empress to London, and Queen Victoria and her consort to Paris, began to cool a little when it was found that the peace caused a *rapprochement* between the courts of France and Russia. When the difficulties arose about Bessarabia and the proper interpretation of the treaty of Paris, Lord Palmerston showed his determination to have the points of the treaty strictly adhered to. At a Lord Mayor's dinner, on the 10th of November, 1856, he explained his conduct by saying—

"We were convinced that the people of England would willingly forego the prospect of future military and naval glory when they were satisfied that the objects of the war had been substantially accomplished. It now remains that the conditions of the peace shall be faithfully executed and honourably observed; and I trust that the peace of Europe will be placed on a secure and permanent basis."

In this speech the Premier expressed the feelings of his influential mercantile auditory. On tact of this kind was Lord Palmerston's art of governing mainly based. He handled common-places with extreme skill, and persuaded his auditors that he was right by simply expressing the opinions which he knew to prevail among them. He did not alter his own views, conclusions, or anticipations. He was often but a mouthpiece, giving voice to the thoughts of his audience, which he generally had the sagacity to divine aright. For two years Palmerston's career as Premier was successful and prosperous. In February and March, 1857, it was exposed to rude trials in the famous debate on China. We give a brief history of the transaction that was the subject of debate. On the 8th of October, 1856, hostilities broke out between the English and Chinese at Canton on account of the seizure by the Chinese authorities of a *lorcha*, or small trading vessel, called "The Arrow," which sailed under the English flag. Yeh, the chief commissioner of Canton, would hold with the English admiral no intercourse that might facilitate an arrangement of the dispute. The Englishman adopted the course, not unusual with his countrymen, of compelling this courtesy by cannon-balls. The Government at home justified this warlike conduct by the plea that the Chinese had infringed the treaty of 1842. The Opposition perceived, however, that something might be made out of the transaction. On the 24th of February, 1857, Lord Derby brought forward a motion

in the House of Lords censuring the operations at Canton, and blaming the Government for not discountenancing their admiral on that station. After two nights' debate a majority declared against Lord Derby. On the very night of the Ministerial triumph in the Upper House, February 26th, a motion similar in character to Lord Derby's was laid before the House of Commons by Mr. Cobden, who, together with his friends of the Peace party, had formed an ominous alliance with the Conservatives. A tremendous debate ensued, lasting four nights. Palmerston's bellicose interference with the small States of Europe had been amply discussed in the great debate on Greece, and had resulted in his triumph within Parliament, and the increase of his popularity without. The present protest against the indulgence of his pugnacious tastes, and the abuse of the principle involved in his famous quotation, "*Civis Romanus sum*," in the far-off regions of Asia, was endorsed by the vote of 263 members against 247 of his own supporters.

Relying on the English love of fighting and sympathy for what is called "pluck" the dauntless Premier hopefully committed the safety of his Government to the chances of a new election. His most sanguine expectations were exceeded as the elections went on. The Peace party was for a time annihilated. Manchester rejected the leaders of the Manchester school—Cobden, Bright, and Milner Gibson were all defeated and left outside of the House of Commons. The new Parliament, which assembled on May 7th, was so decidedly in favour of the Minister and so adverse to his foes, that Lord Palmerston was for a time dictator of the British empire. He had scarcely, however, resumed his seat on the right hand of the Speaker, when the fearful news arrived that there had broken out in India a wide-spread mutiny which threatened to tear that costly jewel from the British crown. This unlooked-for difficulty was formidable, not only from its suddenness, but from the great distance of the scene of action. What could be done was done promptly—troops and able generals were sent out. From May to October the Mutiny raged, and uncertainty prevailed in England as to its termination, until Delhi and Lucknow were both captured, and the ancient empire of the Great Mogul was secured to the domination of Queen Victoria. The Prime Minister's difficulty seemed to be overcome, and his government to be as strong and prosperous as ever, when, on the 14th of January, 1858, Orsini attempted the life of the Emperor of the French.

The time had now come when Lord Palmerston was doomed to feel the evil consequences of his personal intimacy with Prince Louis Napoleon. His natural horror at the attempted assassination made him precipitate in concurring with the suggestion of the French Minister that an Alien Act for the control of refugees in England should be passed through Parliament. The first reading of the bill had been carried by a very large majority, when a rumour that the French Minister had suggested the measure was spread abroad. The sensitive pride of the nation, already irritated by the offensive language

of certain French colonels, took fire, the press became indignant, the House of Commons loud in its patriotism. On the second reading of the bill the Government was defeated by a majority of nineteen, and Lord Palmerston resigned. The amendment by which the popular Minister was thus unexpectedly overthrown was moved and seconded by Messrs. Gibson and Bright, members of the Peace party, who had recovered seats in the House of Commons. This event happened on the 19th February, 1858. Lord Derby formed a Ministry, and the Liberals passed over to the Opposition side of the House. It must here be noticed that Lord Palmerston's defeat was accomplished by means of a combination of Lord Russell and the Radicals with the Peelites under Mr. Gladstone, and the Conservatives under Mr. Disraeli. The tenure of office by the Conservatives was precarious, depending, as it did, upon the support of men who had no political sympathy with the party they had raised to power. The late Premier, during his *quasi* dictatorship, had suffered himself on two or three occasions to forget the amenity of manner and good humour which made him a general favourite in the House of Commons. Several members had expressed their displeasure at the noble Viscount's arrogance and irritability; and on this fatal division of the 19th February, 1858, they united with his antagonists to humble him. For a period of fifteen months he studied in the cool shade of the Opposition benches the lessons of adversity—nor in vain. His old cheerfulness and *bonhomie* returned; he gradually drew nearer to Lord Russell, and strove to forget recent quarrels while he remembered ancient friendships. The Radicals soon wearied of their alliance with the Conservatives; and when Mr. Disraeli, in deference to their wishes, brought in a bill for Parliamentary Reform, they only laughed at a measure which smacked strongly of the novelist and romancer. This altered state of feeling on the Liberal benches began to produce its effect early in the session of 1859. On the motion for the second reading of the new Reform Bill, on March 21st, Lord Russell moved an amendment condemning the measure; and after some delay, and several nights' debate, an amendment was carried by a majority of thirty-nine. Nevertheless the Ministers did not resign. Lord Derby, following the example of Palmerston when defeated on the China question, recommended the Queen to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the constituencies. No popular enthusiasm, however, could be roused in favour of Disraeli's Reform Bill, and the new elections did not strengthen the Ministry in the House of Commons. The existence of the Conservative Government was prolonged only by the divisions among its opponents. Great efforts were made to overcome these internal discords; and at length, on the 2nd of June, a large meeting of three hundred Liberal members was held at Willis's Rooms, for the purpose of reconciling the jarring elements of the party. The compact that ensued bound the Radicals to Lord Russell by the promise of a liberal Reform Bill, and reconciled the latter with Lord Palmerston by the understanding that he should have the control of Foreign Af-

fairs if Palmerston became Premier. The campaign was then opened before the new Parliament was a week old. A vote of want of confidence was moved on the Address, and was carried by a majority of thirteen. Lord Derby resigned, and Palmerston again became prime minister. It was indeed time that some master-hand should take the reins of the Foreign Office from the feeble control of Lord Malmesbury.

The war between Sardinia and Austria had burst out almost as a surprise to the Conservative Ministers, who, up to the very commencement of hostilities, were making assurances to Parliament that all would yet be "peace." They certainly were not much in the confidence of Napoleon III., who felt their leaning to an Austrian rather than to a French Alliance. So sensible was the Austrian Government of the loss they would sustain by the change from Lord Derby to Lord Palmerston, that, as is said, they precipitated the war, and entered Sardinian territory on receiving news of the change in the English Ministry. Returning to power at a critical moment with a chastened spirit, Lord Palmerston adopted a conciliatory policy. He was able to exert his personal influence with the French Emperor on behalf of Italy, but he did not bow too low to that potentate. After the annexation of Savoy and Nice, he did not interfere with Lord Russell's public statement, that England must look to other quarters than France for alliances. He encouraged the raising of volunteer corps, and the erection of fortifications, which were justly considered as marks of distrust of France. All this, however, was avowedly done only by way of defence. The time for interfering in the affairs of foreign states with good effect having passed away, he frankly adopted the principle of non-intervention. His abiding conviction, and the distinguishing characteristic of his foreign policy, was the necessity of a firm alliance between England and France. It was natural that this should be his dominant thought during the eighteen years of Louis Philippe's peaceful reign, when he fought the fight of protocols with Thiers and Guizot, in a spirit very much like that with which he carried on the conflicts with the Opposition in the House of Commons, seeking no bloodier issue.

England and France had, during the reign of the citizen king, a certain community of political interests in advancing the prosperity and development of constitutional states; since then commercial interests have bound the countries closely together. No circumstance showed more clearly the change that had come over the spirit and policy of the once redoubtable Palmerston than the conduct of his administration in the Schleswig and Holstein war. The change, however, was not so much in the Minister as in the people. The latter had come to the wise conclusion, that the nation's blood and treasure should not be spent in other people's quarrels, unless for very powerful and cogent reasons, and the aged Premier, obedient to his instincts, bowed to the popular decision.

That which, perhaps, caused the greatest perplexity to Lord Palmerston's Government was the disrapture of the United States of America.

The noble Viscount had all his life long been a staunch advocate for the abolition of slavery, therefore his sympathies were strongly in favour of the Northern States; but, on the other hand, a large proportion of the industrial wealth of England was absolutely dependent upon cotton. To the temptation of procuring this valued produce of the Slave States was added another, in the prospect of the abolition of custom dues in the ports of the seceding States. A popular Minister might have been pardoned for throwing the weight of his influence and power into the scale, and for opposing an unpopular cause; but whether restrained by the prudence of old age, or the greater foresight of his colleagues, Lord Palmerston did, fortunately for the peace of the world, abstain from interference in the civil war of North America.

We say nothing here of the expedition to Mexico, nor of English policy in reference to the last insurrection in Poland, because they present no points of interest that have a special bearing upon Lord Palmerston's career, excepting that they serve to further illustrate the determination of his Cabinet to maintain the principles of non-intervention. He is charged with having deserted Poland and Hungary in the time of their need, from a fear of the great Powers interested in their subjection. Had he done for those countries, it is said, what he did for Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Italy, or even the Confederate States of America, he might have saved a free people and raised two nations of freemen in the heart of Europe. Alas! he could not go beyond his means. He was a powerful minister, but he was not an autocrat. He could steer in the direction of the gale of popular opinion, but, happily for us, he could do no more. The English people were not disposed to fight for Poland, and their sympathy for Hungary was very lukewarm, even after the eloquent appeals of Kossuth, which came too late for action. Lord Palmerston's interest centred in England. If he could help other nations without crippling his own country, well and good. If not, he would hold his hand. This appears to us to be the fairest way of appreciating his foreign policy. He was a man of the times—a creature of circumstance, like many other great men. So in domestic politics: when the revolutionary energy which animated the nation for thirty years, from the days of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill to the passing of the Jewish Disabilities Act, had spent itself, and a Conservative reaction was setting in, Lord Palmerston had the skill to seize the reins of power, and by the exercise of consummate tact to do, in the name of a Liberal, all the work that the Tories could have expected to do. The failure to abolish Church-rates was indicative at once of the weakness of Liberalism and of the true position of Lord Palmerston with regard to the two parties. By toning down the innovating temper of the party he professed to lead, he brought it to the level of the tempered Conservatism by which the Tories perforce were guided.

This was all very well for a season. It gave the nation time for calm reflection and self-examination as to its real wants and wishes.

That those wishes will make themselves heard in the new Parliament, there is no reason to doubt. Earl Russell, with his past career vividly impressed upon the minds of his countrymen, will surely not be an obstruction in the way of reform. Mr. Gladstone will give all the energy of his ardent mind to the carrying out of any scheme that he believes to be for the good of the nation at large; while the Earl of Clarendon, as the depositary of the traditions of the Foreign Office, will be faithful to the spirit of a free and peaceful development of prosperity among all nations, as far as England may be able to contribute thereto.

In conclusion, our summary of Lord Palmerston's career is—that he was not precisely a great man, but a clever man; that, according to Coleridge's classification, he was not a man of genius, but a man of talent, that the sympathy he felt through his happy temperament for all varieties of humankind gave him a command of the House of Commons and of the general public that no man of splenetic mood could ever have compassed. He was genial, generous, manly, and in many other respects the representative of the best side of the English character. But while he was neither so logical as the typical Frenchman, nor so profound as the typical German, he was eminently practical; and, for his day, the best exponent of English feeling and English common-sense that could be found.

ART. IV.—COLERIDGE'S WRITINGS.

Conversations, Letters, and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge. Edited by THOMAS ALLSOP. London: T. Farrar.

Forms of intellectual and spiritual culture often exercise their subtlest and most artful charm when life is already passing from them. Searching and irresistible as are the changes of the human spirit on its way to perfection, there is yet so much elasticity of temper that what must pass away sooner or later is not disengaged all at once even from the highest order of minds. Nature, which by one law of development evolves ideas, moralities, modes of inward life, and represses them in turn, has in this way provided that the earlier growth should propel its fibres into the later, and so transmit the whole of its forces in an unbroken continuity of life. Then comes the spectacle of the reserve of the elder generation exquisitely refined by the antagonism of the new. That current of new life chastens them as they contend against it. Weaker minds do not perceive the change, clearer minds abandon themselves to it. To feel the change everywhere, yet not to abandon oneself to it, is a situation of difficulty and contention. Communicating in this way to the passing stage of culture the charm of what is chastened, high-strung, athletic, they yet detach the highest minds from the past by pressing home its difficulties and finally proving

it impossible. Such is the charm of Julian, of St. Louis, perhaps of Luther; in the narrower compass of modern times, of Dr. Newman and Lacordaire; it is also the peculiar charm of Coleridge.

Modern thought is distinguished from ancient by its cultivation of the "relative" spirit in place of the "absolute." Ancient philosophy sought to arrest every object in an eternal outline, to fix thought in a necessary formula, and types of life in a classification by "kinds" or genera. To the modern spirit nothing is or can be rightly known except relatively under conditions. (An ancient philosopher indeed started a philosophy of the relative, but only as an enigma. So the germs of almost all philosophical ideas were unfolded in the mind of antiquity, and fecundated one by one in after ages by the external influences of art, religion, culture in the natural sciences, belonging to a particular generation, which suddenly becomes pre-occupied by a formula or theory, not so much new as penetrated by a new meaning and expressiveness.) So the idea of "the relative" has been fecundated in modern times by the influence of the sciences of observation. These sciences reveal types of life evanescent into each other by inexpressible refinements of change. Things pass into their opposites by accumulation of undefinable quantities. The growth of those sciences, consists in a continual analysis of facts of rough and general observation into groups of facts more precise and minute. A faculty for truth is a power of distinguishing and fixing delicate and fugitive details. The moral world is ever in contact with the physical; the relative spirit has invaded moral philosophy from the ground of the inductive sciences. There it has started a new analysis of the relations of body and mind, good and evil, freedom and necessity. Hard and abstract moralities are yielding to a more exact estimate of the subtlety and complexity of our life. Always as an organism increases in perfection the conditions of its life become more complex. Man is the most complex of the products of nature. Character merges into temperament; the nervous system refines itself into intellect. His physical organism is played upon not only by the physical conditions about it, but by remote laws of inheritance, the vibrations of long past acts reaching him in the midst of the new order of things in which he lives. When we have estimated these conditions, he is not yet simple and isolated; for the mind of the race, the character of the age, sway him this way or that through the medium of language and ideas. It seems as if the most opposite statements about him were alike true; he is so receptive, all the influences of the world and of society ceaselessly playing upon him, so that every hour in his life is unique, changed altogether by a stray word, or glance, or touch. The truth of these relations experience gives us; not the truth of eternal outlines effected once for all, but a world of fine gradations and subtly linked conditions, shifting intricately as we ourselves change; and bids us by constant clearing of the organs of observation and perfecting of analysis to make what we can of these. To

the intellect, to the critical spirit, these subtleties of effect are more precious than anything else. What is lost in precision of form is gained in intricacy of expression. (To suppose that what is called "ontology" is what the speculative instinct seeks is the misconception of a backward school of logicians.) Who would change the colour or curve of a roseleaf for that *ὅσα ἀρχαῖα, ἀρχαῖα, ἀρχαῖα*; *ἀρχαῖα, ἀρχαῖα, ἀρχαῖα*. (A transcendentalism that makes what is abstract more excellent than what is concrete has nothing akin to the leading philosophies of the world.) The true illustration of the speculative temper is not the Hindoo, lost to sense, understanding, individuality; but such an one as Göthe, to whom every moment of life brought its share of experimental, individual knowledge, by whom no touch of the world of form, colour, and passion was disregarded.

The literary life of Coleridge was a disinterested struggle against the application of the relative spirit to moral and religious questions. Everywhere he is restlessly scheming to apprehend the absolute; to affirm it effectively; to get it acknowledged. (Coleridge failed in that attempt, happily even for him, for it was a struggle against the increasing life of the mind itself. The real loss was, that this controversial interest betrayed him into a direction which was not for him the path of the highest intellectual success; a direction in which his artistic talent could never find the conditions of its perfection. Still, there is so much witchery about his poems, that it is as a poet that he will most probably be permanently remembered. How did his choice of a controversial interest, his determination to affirm the absolute, weaken or modify his poetical gift?)

In 1798 he joined Wordsworth in the composition of a volume of poems—the "Lyrical Ballads." What Wordsworth then wrote is already vibrant with that blithe *élan* which carried him to final happiness and self-possession. In Coleridge we feel already that faintness and obscure dejection which cling like some contagious damp to all his writings. Wordsworth was to be distinguished by a joyful and penetrative conviction of the existence of certain latent affinities between nature and the human mind, which reciprocally gild the mind and nature with a kind of "heavenly alchemy."

— "My voice proclaims

How exquisitely the individual mind
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less
Of the whole species,) to the external world
Is fitted:—and how exquisitely, too,
The external world is fitted to the mind:
And the creation, by no lower name
Can it be called, which they with blended might
Accomplish."*

In Wordsworth this took the form of an unbroken dreaming over the aspects and transitions of nature, a reflective, but altogether unformulated, analysis of them.

There are in Coleridge's Poems expressions of this conviction as deep as Wordsworth's.

* Preface to the "Excursion."

But Coleridge could never have abandoned himself to the dream as Wordsworth did, because the first condition of such abandonment is an unwearyed quietness of heart. No one can read the "Lines composed above Tintern" without feeling how potent the physical element was among the conditions of Wordsworth's genius:—"felt in the blood and felt along the heart,"—"My whole life I have lived in quiet thought." The stimulus which most artists require from nature he can renounce. He leaves the ready-made glory of the Swiss mountains to reflect a glory on a mouldering leaf. He loves best to watch the floating thistledown, because of its hint at an unseen life in the air. Coleridge's temperament, *dei ty ἀπορρο-δότης*, with its faintness, its grieved dejection, could never have been like that.

"My genial spirits fail;
And what can these avail
To lift the smothering weight from off my breast?
It were a vain endeavour,
Though I should gaze for ever
On that green light that lingers in the west:
I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life whose fountains are within."

It is that flawless temperament in Wordsworth which keeps his conviction of a latent intelligence in nature within the limits of sentiment or instinct, and confines it to those delicate and subdued shades of expression which perfect art allows. In sadder dispositions, that is in the majority of cases, where such a conviction has existed, it has stiffened into a formula, it has frozen into a scientific or pseudo-scientific theory. For the perception of those affinities brings one so near the absorbing speculative problems of life—optimism, the proportion of man to his place in nature, his prospects in relation to it—that it ever tends to become theory through their contagion. Even in Göthe, who has brilliantly handled the subject in his lyrics entitled "Gott und Welt," it becomes something stiffer than poetry; it is tempered by the "pale cast" of his technical knowledge of the nature of colours, of anatomy, of the metamorphosis of plants.

That, however, which had only a limited power over Coleridge's sentiment, entirely possessed him as a philosophical idea. We shall see in what follows how deep its power was, how it pursued him everywhere, and seemed to him to interpret every question. Wordsworth's poetry is an optimism; it says man's relation to the world is, and may be seen by man to be, a perfect relation; but it is an optimism that begins and ends in an abiding instinct. Coleridge accepts the same optimism as a philosophical idea, but an idea is relative to an intellectual assent; sometimes it seems a better expression of facts, sometimes a worse, as the understanding weighs it in the logical balances. And so it is not a permanent consolation. It is only in the rarer moments of intellectual warmth and sunlight that it is entirely credible. In less exhilarating moments that perfect relation of man and nature seems

to shift and fall; that is, the philosophical idea ceases to be realizable; and with Coleridge its place is not supplied, as with Wordsworth, by the corresponding sentiment or instinct.)

(What in Wordsworth is a sentiment or instinct, is in Coleridge a philosophical idea. In other words, Coleridge's talent is a more intellectual one than Wordsworth's, more dramatic, more self-conscious. Wordsworth's talent, deeply reflective as it is, because its base is an instinct, is deficient in self-knowledge. Possessed by the rumours and voices of the haunted country, the borders of which he has passed alone, he never thinks of withdrawing from it to look down upon it from one of the central heights of human life. His power absorbs him, not he it; he cannot turn it round or get without it; he does not estimate its general relation to life. But Coleridge, just because the essence of his talent is the intuition of an idea, commands his talent. He not only feels with Wordsworth the expression of mind in nature, but he can project that feeling outside him, reduce it to a psychological law, define its relation to other elements of culture, place it in a complete view of life.)

(And in some such activity as that, varied as his wide learning, in a many-sided dramatic kind of poetry, assigning its place and value to every mode of the inward life, seems to have been for Coleridge the original path of artistic success. But in order to follow that path one must hold ideas loosely in the relative spirit, not seek to stereotype any one of the many modes of that life; one must acknowledge that the mind is ever greater than its own products, devote ideas to the service of art rather than of *γνώσις*, not disquiet oneself about the absolute. Perhaps Coleridge is more interesting because he did not follow this path. Repressing his artistic interest and voluntarily discolouring his own work, he turned to console and strengthen the human mind, vulgarized or dejected, as he believed, by the acquisition of new knowledge about itself in the "*éclairecissement*" of the eighteenth century.)

What the reader of our own generation will least find in Coleridge's prose writings is the excitement of the literary sense. And yet in those grey volumes we have the production of one who made way ever by a charm, the charm of voice, of aspect, of language, above all, by the intellectual charm of new, moving, luminous ideas. Perhaps the chief offence in Coleridge is an excess of seriousness, a seriousness that arises not from any moral principle, but from a misconception of the perfect manner. There is a certain shade of levity and unconcern, the perfect manner of the eighteenth century, which marks complete culture in the handling of abstract questions. The humanist, he who possesses that complete culture, does not weep over the failure of a theory or the quantification of the predicate, nor shriek over the fall of a philosophical formula. A kind of humour is one of the conditions of the true mental attitude in the criticism of

past stages of thought. Humanity cannot afford to be too serious about them, any more than a man of good sense can afford to be too serious in looking back upon his own childhood. Plato, whom Coleridge claims as the first of his spiritual ancestors, Plato, as we remember him, a true humanist, with Petrarch and Göthe and M. Renan, holds his theories lightly, glances with a blithe and naive inconsequence from one view to another, not anticipating the burden of meaning "views" will one day have for humanity. In reading him one feels how lately it was that Cæsar thought it a paradox to say that external prosperity was not necessarily happiness. But on Coleridge lies the whole weight of the sad reflection that has since come into the world, with which for us the air is full, which the children in the market-place repeat to each other. Even his language is forced and broken, lest some saving formula should be lost—distinctions, enucleation, pentad of operative Christianity—he has a whole vocabulary of such phrases, and expects to turn the tide of human thought by fixing the sense of such expressions as reason, understanding, idea.

(Again, he has not the jealousy of the true artist in excluding all associations that have no charm or colour or gladness in them; everywhere he allows the impress of an inferior theological literature; he is often prolix and importunate about most indifferent heroes—Sir Alexander Ball, Dr. Bell, even Dr. Bowyer, the coarse pedant of the Blue-coat School. And the source of all this is closely connected with the source of his literary activity. For Coleridge had chosen as the mark of his literary egotism a kind of intellectual *tour de force*—to found a religious philosophy, to do something with the idea in spite of the essential nature of the idea. And therefore all is fictitious from the beginning. He had determined, that which is humdrum, insipid, which the human spirit has done with, shall yet stimulate and inspire. What he produced symbolizes this purpose—the mass of it *ennuyant*, depressing: the "Aids to Reflection," for instance, with Archbishop Leighton's vague pieties all twisted into the jargon of a spiritualistic philosophy. But sometimes "the pulse of the God's blood" does transmute it, kindling here and there a spot that begins to live; as in that beautiful fragment at the end of the "Church and State,"* or in the distilled and concentrated beauty of such a passage as this,—

"The first range of hills, that encircles the scanty vale of human life, is the horizon for the majority of its inhabitants. On its ridges the common sun is born and departs. From them the stars rise, and touching them they vanish. By the many, even this range, the natural limit and bulwark of the vale, is but imperfectly known. Its higher ascents are too often hidden by mists and clouds from uncultivated swamps, which few have courage or curiosity to penetrate. To the multitude below these vapours appear now as the dark haunts of terrific agents, on which none may intrude with impunity; and now all

a-glow, with colours not their own, they are gazed at as the splendid palaces of happiness and power. But in all ages there have been a few who, measuring and sounding the rivers of the vale at the feet of their furthest inaccessible falls, have learned that the sources must be far higher and far inward; a few who, even in the level streams, have detected elements which neither the vale itself nor the surrounding mountains contained or could supply."—*Biographia Literaria*, vol. I. p. 247.)

"I was driven from life in motion to life in thought and sensation." So Coleridge sums up his childhood with its delicacy, its sensitiveness, and passion. (From his tenth to his eighteenth year he was at a rough school in London. Speaking of this time, he says:—

"When I was first plucked up and transplanted from my birth-place and family, Providence, it has often occurred to me, gave me the first intimation that it was my lot, and that it was best for me, to make or find my way of life a detached individual, a *terras filius*, who was to ask love or service of no one on any more specific relation than that of being a man, and as such to take my chance for the free charities of humanity."*)

Even his fine external nature was for years repressed, wronged, driven inward—"at fourteen I was in a continual state of low fever." He becomes a dreamer, an eager student, but without ambition.

This depressed boy is nevertheless, on the spiritual side, the child of a noble house. At twenty-five he is exercising a wonderful charm, and has defined for himself a peculiar line of intellectual activity. (He had left Cambridge without a degree, a Unitarian. Unable to take orders, he determined through Southey's influence to devote himself to literature. When he left Cambridge there was a prejudice against him which has given occasion to certain suspicions. Those who knew him best discredit these suspicions. What is certain is that he was subject to fits of violent, sometimes fantastic, despondency. He retired to Stowey, in Somersetshire, to study poetry and philosophy. In 1797 his poetical gift was in full flower; he wrote "Kubla Khan," the first part of "Christabel," and the "Ancient Mariner." His literary success grew in spite of opposition.) He had a strange attractive gift of conversation, or rather of monologue, as De Stael said, full of *bizarrie*, with the rapid alternations of a dream, and here and there a sudden summons into a world strange to the hearer, abounding with images drawn from a sort of divided, imperfect life, as of one to whom the external world penetrated only in part, and blended with all this passages of the deepest obscurity, precious only for their musical cadence, the echo in Coleridge of the eloquence of the older English writers, of whom he was so ardent a lover. All through this brilliant course we may discern the power of the Asiatic temperament, of that voluptuousness which is perhaps connected with his appreciation of the intinacy, the almost mystical rap-

port between man and nature. "I am much better," he writes, "and my new and tender health is all over me like a voluptuous feeling."

And whatever fame, or charm, or life-inspiring gift he has had is the vibration of the interest he excited then, the propulsion into years that clouded his early promise of that first buoyant, irresistible self-assertion: so great is even the indirect power of a sincere effort towards the ideal life, of even a temporary escape of the spirit from routine. (Perhaps, the surest sign of his election—that he was indeed, on the spiritual side, the child of a noble house—is that story of the Pantisocratic scheme, which at this distance looks so grotesque. In his enthusiasm for the French Revolution, the old communistic dream with its appeal to nature (perhaps a little theatrical), touched him, as it had touched Rousseau, Saint-Pierre, and Chateaubriand. He had married one, his affection for whom seems to have been only a passing feeling; with her and a few friends he was to found a communistic settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna—"the name was pretty and metrical." It was one of Coleridge's lightest dreams; but also one which could only have passed through the liberal air of his earlier life. The later years of the French Revolution, which for us have discredited all such dreams, deprived him of that youthfulness which is the preservative element in a literary talent.)

In 1798, he visited Germany. A beautiful fragment of this period remains, describing a spring excursion to the Brocken. His excitement still vibrates in it. Love, all joyful states of mind, are self-expressive; they loosen the tongue, they fill the thoughts with sensuous images, they harmonise one with the world of sight. We hear of the "rich graciousness and courtesy" of Coleridge's manner, of the white and delicate skin, the abundant black hair, the full, almost animal lips, that whole physiognomy of the dreamer already touched with fanaticism. One says of the text of one of his Unitarian sermons, "his voice rose like a stream of rich distilled perfumes;" another, "he talks like an angel, and does—nothing." (Meantime, he had designed an intellectual novelty in the shape of a religious philosophy. Socinian theology and the philosophy of Hartley had become distasteful. "Whatever is against right reason, that no faith can oblige us to believe." Coleridge quotes these words from Jeremy Taylor. And yet ever since the dawn of the Renaissance, had subsisted a conflict between reason and faith. From the first, indeed, the Christian religion had affirmed the existence of such a conflict, and had even based its plea upon its own weakness in it. In face of the classical culture, with its deep wide-struck roots in the world as it permanently exists, St. Paul asserted the claims of that which could not appeal with success to any genuinely human principle. Paradox as it was, that was the strength of the new spirit; for how much is there at all times in humanity which cannot appeal with success for encouragement or tolerance to any gen-

uinely human principle. In the Middle Ages it might seem that faith had reconciled itself to philosophy; the Catholic church was the leader of the world's life as well as of the spirit's. Looking closer we see that the conflict is still latent there; the supremacy of faith is only a part of the worship of sorrow and weakness which marks the age. The weak are no longer merely a minority, they are all Europe. It is not that faith has become one with reason; but a strange winter, a strange suspension of life, has passed over the classical culture which is only the human reason in its most trenchant form. Glimpse after glimpse, as that pagan culture awoke to life the conflict was felt once more. It is at the court of Frederick II. that the Renaissance first becomes discernible as an actual power in European society. How definite and unmistakable is the attitude of faith towards that! Ever since the Reformation all phases of theology had been imperfect philosophies, reluctant philosophies—that is, in which there was a religious *arrière pensée*; philosophies which could never be in the ascendant in a sincerely scientific sphere. The two elements had never really mixed. Writers so different as Locke and Taylor have each his liberal philosophy, and each has his defence of the orthodox belief; but, also, each has a divided mind: we wonder how the two elements could have existed side by side; brought together in a single mind, but unable to fuse in it, they reveal their radical contrariety. The Catholic church and humanity are two powers that divide the intellect and spirit of man. On the Catholic side is faith, rigidly logical as Ultramontanism, with a proportion of the facts of life, that is, all that is despairing in life coming naturally under its formula. On the side of humanity is all that is desirable in the world, all that is sympathetic with its laws, and succeeds through that sympathy. Doubtless, for the individual, there are a thousand intermediate shades of opinion, a thousand resting-places for the religious spirit; still, *τὸ διαφέρειν οὐκ ἔστι τῶν πολλῶν*, fine distinctions are not for the majority; and this makes time eventually a dogmatist, working out the opposition in its most trenchant form, and fixing the horns of the dilemma; until, in the present day, we have on one side Pius IX., the true descendant of the fisherman, issuing the Encyclical, pleading the old promise against the world with a special kind of justice; and on the other side, the irresistible modern culture, which, as religious men often remind us, is only Christian accidentally.

The peculiar temper of Coleridge's intellect made the idea of reconciling this conflict very seductive. With a true speculative talent he united a false kind of subtlety and the full share of vanity. A dexterous intellectual *tour de force* has always an independent charm; and therefore it is well for the cause of truth that the directness, sincerity, and naturalness of things are beyond a certain limit sacrificed in vain to a factitious interest. A method so forced as that of Coleridge's religious philosophy is from the first doomed to

be insipid, so soon as the temporary interest or taste or curiosity it was designed to meet has passed away.) Then, as to the manner of such books as the "Aids to Reflection," or "The Friend:"—These books came from one whose vocation was in the world of art; and yet, perhaps, of all books that have been influential in modern times, they are farthest from the classical form—bundles of notes—the original matter inseparably mixed up with that borrowed from others—the whole just that mere preparation for an artistic effect which the finished artist would be careful one day to destroy. Here, again, we have a trait profoundly characteristic of Coleridge. He often attempts to reduce a phase of thought subtle and exquisite to conditions too rough for it. He uses a purely speculative gift in direct moral edification. Scientific truth is something fugitive, relative, full of fine gradations; he tries to fix it in absolute formulas. The "Aids to Reflection," or "The Friend," is an effort to propagate the volatile spirit of conversation into the less ethereal fabric of a written book; and it is only here and there that the poorer matter becomes vibrant, is really lifted by the spirit.

At forty-two, we find Coleridge saying, in a letter:—

"I feel with an intensity unfathomable by words my utter nothingness, impotence, and worthlessness in and for myself. I have learned what a sin is against an infinite, imperishable being such as is the soul of man. The consolations, at least the sensible sweetness of hope, I do not possess. On the contrary, the temptation which I have constantly to fight up against is a fear that, if annihilation and the possibility of heaven were offered to my choice, I should choose the former."*

What was the cause of this change? That is precisely the point on which, after all the gossip there has been, we are still ignorant. At times Coleridge's opium excesses were great; but what led to those excesses must not be left out of account. From boyhood he had a tendency to low fever, betrayed by his constant appetite for bathing and swimming, which he indulged even when a physician had opposed it. In 1803, he went to Malta as secretary to the English Governor. His daughter suspects that the source of the evil was there, that for one of his constitution the climate of Malta was deadly. At all events, when he returned, the charm of those five wonderful years had failed at the source.

De Quincey said of him, "he wanted better bread than can be made with wheat." Lamb said of him that from boyhood he had "hungered for eternity." Henceforth those are the two notes of his life. From this time we must look for no more true literary talent in him. His style becomes greyer and greyer, his thoughts *outré*, exaggerated, a kind of credulity or superstition exercised upon abstract words. Like Clifford, in Hawthorne's beautiful romance—the born Epicurean, who by some strange wrong has passed the best of

his days in a prison—he is the victim of a division of the will, often showing itself in trivial things: he could never choose on which side of the garden path he would walk. In 1808, he wrote a poem on "The Pains of Sleep." That unrest increased. Mr. Gillman tells us "he had long been greatly afflicted with nightmare, and when residing with us was frequently aroused from this painful sleep by any one of the family who might hear him.")

That faintness and continual dissolution had its own consumptive refinements, and even brought as to the "Beautiful Soul," in "Wilhelm Meister," a faint religious ecstasy—that singing in the sails which is not of the breeze. Here, again, is a note of Coleridge's:—

"In looking at objects of nature while I am thinking, as at yonder moon, dim-glimmering through the window-pane, I seem rather to be seeking, as it were asking, a symbolical language for something within me that already and for ever exists, than observing anything new. Even when that latter is the case, yet still I have always an obscure feeling, as if that new phenomenon were the dim awakening of a forgotten or hidden truth of my inner nature." Then, "while I was preparing the pen to write this remark, I lost the train of thought which had led me to it."

What a distemper of the eye of the mind! With an almost bodily distemper there is in that!

Coleridge's intellectual sorrows were many; but he had one singular intellectual happiness. With an inborn taste for transcendental philosophy, he lived just at the time when that philosophy took an immense spring in Germany, and connected itself with a brilliant literary movement. He had the luck to light upon it in its freshness, and introduce it to his countrymen. What an opportunity for one reared on the colourless English philosophies, but who feels an irresistible attraction towards metaphysical synthesis! How rare are such occasions of intellectual contentment! This transcendental philosophy, chiefly as systematized by Schelling, Coleridge applies with an eager, unwearied subtlety, to the questions of theology and art-criticism. It is in his theory of art-criticism that he comes nearest to true and important principles; that is the least fugitive part of his work. Let us take this first; here we shall most clearly apprehend his main principle.

What, then, is the essence of this criticism? On the whole it may be described as an attempt to reclaim the world of art as a world of fixed laws—to show that the creative activity of genius and the simplest act of thought are but higher and lower products of the laws of a universal logic. Criticism, feeling its own unsuccess in dealing with the greater works of art, has sometimes made too much of those dark and capricious suggestions of genius which even the intellect possessed by them is unable to track or recall. It has seemed due to their half-sacred character to look for no link between the process by which they were produced and the slighter processes of the mind. Coleridge assumes that the highest phases of thought must be more, not less, than the lower subjects of law.

With this interest, in the "Biographia Literaria," he refines Schelling's "Philosophy of Na-

* Quoted in Gillman's "Life of Coleridge."

ture" into a theory of art. "Es giebt kein Plagiat in der Philosophie," says Heine, alluding to the charge brought against Schelling of unacknowledged borrowing from Bruno;* and certainly that which is common to Coleridge and Schelling is of far earlier origin than the Renaissance. Schellingism, the "Philosophy of Nature," is indeed a constant tradition in the history of thought; it embodies a permanent type of the speculative temper. That mode of conceiving nature as a mirror or reflex of the intelligence of man may be traced up to the first beginnings of Greek speculation. There are two ways of envisaging those aspects of nature which appear to bear the impress of reason or intelligence. There is the deist's way, which regards them merely as marks of design, which separates the informing mind from nature as the mechanist from the machine; and there is the pantheistic way, which identifies the two, which regards nature itself as the living energy of an intelligence of the same kind as, but vaster than, the human. Greek philosophy, finding indications of mind everywhere, dwelling exclusively in its observations on that which is general or formal, on that which modern criticism regards as the modification of things by the mind of the observer, adopts the latter, or pantheistic way, through the influence of the previous mythological period. Mythology begins in the early necessities of language, of which it is a kind of accident. But at a later period its essence changes; it becomes what it was not at its birth, the servant of a genuine poetic interest, a kind of *vivification* of nature. Played upon by those accidents of language, the Greek mind becomes possessed by the conception of nature as living, thinking, almost speaking to the mind of man. This unfixed poetical prepossession reduced to an abstract form, petrified into an idea, is the conception which gives a unity of aim to Greek philosophy. Step by step it works out the substance of the Hegelian formula: "Was ist, das ist vernünftig; was vernünftig ist, das ist" —Whatever is, is according to reason; whatever is according to reason, that is. A science of which that could be the formula is still but an intellectual aspiration; the formula of true science is different. Experience, which has gradually saddened the earth's colour, stiffened its motions, withdrawn from it some blithe and debonair presence, has moderated our demands upon science. The positive method makes very little account of marks of intelligence in nature; in its wider view of phenomena it sees that those incidents are a minority, and may rank as happy coincidences; it absorbs them in the simpler conception of law. But the suspicion of a mind latent in nature, struggling for release and intercourse with the intellect of man through true ideas, has never ceased to haunt a certain class of minds. Started again and again in successive periods by enthusiasts on the antique pattern, in each case the thought has seemed paler and more evanescent amidst the growing consistency and sharpness of outline of other and more positive forms of know-

ledge. Still, wherever a speculative instinct has been united with extreme inwardness of temperament, as in Jakob Böhme, there the old Greek conception, like some seed floating in the air, has taken root and sprung up anew. Coleridge, thrust inward upon himself, driven from "life in thought and sensation" to life in thought only, feels in that dark London school a thread of the Greek mind vibrating strangely in him. At fifteen he is discoursing on Plotinus, and has translated the hymns of Synesius. So in later years he reflects from Schelling the fitting tradition. He conceives a subtle co-ordination between the ideas of the mind and the laws of the natural world. Science is to be attained not by observation, analysis, generalization, but by the evolution or recovery of those ideas from within by a sort of *ἀνάμνησις*, every group of observed facts remaining an enigma until the appropriate idea is struck upon them from the mind of Newton or Cuvier, the genius in whom sympathy with the universal reason is entire. Next he supposes that this reason or intelligence in nature gradually becomes reflective—self-conscious. He fancies he can track through all the simpler orders of life fragments of an eloquent prophecy about the human mind. He regards the whole of nature as a development of higher forms out of the lower through shade after shade of systematic change. The dim stir of chemical atoms towards the axes of a crystal form, the trance-like life of plants, the animal troubled by strange irritabilities, are stages which anticipate consciousness. All through that increasing stir of life this was forming itself; each stage in its unsatisfied susceptibilities seeming to be drawn out of its own limits by the more pronounced current of life on its confines, the "shadow of approaching humanity" gradually deepening, the latent intelligence working to the surface. At this point the law of development does not lose itself in caprice; rather it becomes more constraining and incisive. From the lowest to the highest acts of intelligence there is another range of refining shades. Gradually the mind concentrates itself, frees itself from the limits of the particular, the individual, attains a strange power of modifying and centralizing what it receives from without according to an inward ideal. At last, in imaginative genius, ideas become effective; the intelligence of nature, with all its elements connected and justified, is clearly reflected; and the interpretation of its latent purposes is fixed in works of art.

(In this fanciful and bizarre attempt to rationalize art, to range it under the dominion of law, there is still a gap to be filled up. What is that common law of the mind of which a work of art and the slighter acts of thought are alike products? Here Coleridge weaves in Kant's fine-spun theory of the transformation of sense into perception. What every theory of perception has to explain is that associative power which gathers isolated sensible qualities into the objects of the world about us. Sense, without an associative power, would be only a threadlike stream of colours, sounds, odours—each struck upon one for a moment and then withdrawn. The basis of this association may be represented as a material one, a kind of many-coloured "etch-

* "Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland," buch 3.

ing" on the brain. Hartley has dexterously handled this hypothesis. The charm of his "theory of vibrations" is the vivid image it presents to the fancy. How large an element in a speculative talent is the command of these happy images! Coleridge, by a finer effort of the same kind, a greater delicacy of fancy, detects all sorts of slips, transitions, breaks of continuity in Hartley's glancing cobweb. Coleridge, with Kant, regards all association as effected by a power within, to which he gives a fanciful Greek name.* In an act of perception there is the matter which sense presents, colour, tone, feeling; but also a form or mould, such as space, unity, causation, suggested from within. In these forms we arrest and frame the many attributes of sense. It is like that simple chemical phenomenon where two colourless fluids uniting reflect a full colour. Neither matter nor form can be perceived asunder, they unite into the many-coloured image of life. This theory has not been able to bear a loyal induction. Even if it were true, how little it would tell us; how it attenuates fact! There, again, the charm is all in the clear image; the image of the artist combining a few elementary colours, curves, sounds into a new whole. Well, this power of association, of concentrating many elements of sense in an object of perception, is refined and deepened into the creative acts of imagination.)

29 We of the modern ages have become so familiarized with the greater works of art that we are little sensitive of the act of creation in them; they do not impress us as a new presence in the world. Only sometimes in productions which realize immediately a profound emotion and enforce a change in taste, such as "Werther" or "Emile," we are actual witnesses of the moulding of an unforeseen type by some new principle of association. By imagination, the distinction between which and fancy is so thrust upon his readers, Coleridge means a vigorous act of association, which, by simplifying and restraining their natural expression to an artificial order, refines and perfects the types of human passion. It represents the excitements of the human mind, but reflected in a new manner, "excitement itself imitating order." "Originally the offspring of passion," he somewhere says, "but now the adopted children of power." So far there is nothing new or distinctive; every one who can receive from a poem or picture a total impression will admit so much. What makes the view distinctive in Coleridge are the Schellingistic associations with which he colours it, that faint glamour of the philosophy of nature which was ever influencing his thoughts. That suggested the idea of a subtly winding parallel, a "rapport" in every detail, between the human mind and the world without it, laws of nature being so many transformed ideas. Conversely, the ideas of the human mind would be only transformed laws. Genius would be in a literal sense an exquisitely purged sympathy with nature. Those associative conceptions of the imagination, those unforeseen types of passion, would come not so much of the artifice and invention of the

understanding as from self-surrender to the suggestions of nature; they would be evolved by the stir of nature itself realizing the highest reach of its latent intelligence; they would have a kind of antecedent necessity to rise at some time to the surface of the human mind.

It is natural that Shakspeare should be the idol of all such criticism, whether in England or Germany. The first effect in Shakspeare is that of capricious detail, of the waywardness that plays with the parts careless of the impression of the whole. But beyond there is the constraining unity of effect, the unfaceable impression of "Hamlet" or "Macbeth." His hand moving freely is curved round by some law of gravitation from within; that is, there is the most constraining unity in the most abundant variety. Coleridge exaggerates this unity into something like the unity of a natural organism, the associative act that effected it into something closely akin to the primitive power of nature itself. "In the Shakspearian drama," he says, "there is a vitality which grows and evolves itself from within." Again,

"He, too, worked in the spirit of nature, by evolving the germ from within by the imaginative power according to the idea. For as the power of seeing is to light, so is an idea in mind to a law in nature. They are correlatives which suppose each other."

Again,

"The organic form is innate; it shapes, as it develops, itself from within, and the fulness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such as the life is, such is the form. Nature, the prime genial artist, inexhaustible in diverse powers, is equally inexhaustible in forms; each exterior is the physiognomy of the being within, and even such is the appropriate excellence of Shakspeare, himself a nature humanised, a genial understanding, directing self-consciously a power and an implicit wisdom deeper even than our consciousness."

There "the absolute" has been affirmed in the sphere of art; and thought begins to congeal. Coleridge has not only overstrained the elasticity of his hypothesis, but has also obscured the true interest of art. For after all the artist has become something almost mechanical; instead of being the most luminous and self-possessed phase of consciousness, the associative act itself looks like some organic process of assimilation. The work of art is sometimes likened to the living organism. That expresses the impression of a self-delighting, independent life which a finished work of art gives us; it does not express the process by which that work was produced. Here there is no blind ferment of lifeless elements to realize a type. By exquisite analysis the artist attains clearness of idea, then by many stages of refining clearness of expression. He moves slowly over his work, calculating the tenderest tone, and restraining the subtlest curve, never letting his hand or fancy move at large, gradually refining flaccid spaces to the higher degree of expressiveness. Culture, at least, values even in transcendent works of art the power of the understanding in them, their logical process of

* Esemplastic, *εἰς τὴν πλάττειν*.

construction, the spectacle of supreme intellectual dexterity which they afford.

Coleridge's criticism may well be remembered as part of the long pleading of German culture for the things "behind the veil." (It recalls us from the work of art to the mind of the artist; and after all, this is what is infinitely precious, and the work of art only as the index of it. Still, that is only the narrower side of a complete criticism. Perhaps it is true, as some one says in Lessing's "Emilie Galotti," that, if Michael Angelo had been born without hands, he would still have been the greatest of artists. But we must admit the truth also of an opposite view: "In morals as in art," says M. Renan, "the word is nothing—the fact is everything. The idea which lurks under a picture of Raphael is a slight matter; it is the picture itself only that counts.")

What constitutes an artistic gift is first of all a natural susceptibility to moments of strange excitement, in which the colours freshen upon our threadbare world, and the routine of things about us is broken by a novel and happier synthesis. These are moments into which other minds may be made to enter, but which they cannot originate. This susceptibility is the element of genius in an artistic gift. Secondly, there is what may be called the talent of projection, of throwing these happy moments into an external concrete form—a statue, or play, or picture. That projection is of all degrees of completeness; its facility and transparency are modified by the circumstances of the individual, his culture and his age. When it is perfectly transparent, the work is classical. Compare the power of projection in Mr. Browning's "Sordello," with that power in the "Sorrows of Werther." These two elements determine the two chief aims of criticism. First, it has to classify those initiative moments according to the amount of interest excited in them, to estimate their comparative acceptability, their comparative power of giving joy to those who undergo them. Secondly, it has to test, by a study of the artistic product itself, in connexion with the intellectual and spiritual condition of its age, the completeness of the projection. These two aims form the positive, or concrete side of criticism; their direction is not towards a metaphysical definition of the universal element in an artistic effort, but towards a subtle gradation of the shades of difference between one artistic gift and another. This side of criticism is infinitely varied; and it is what French culture more often achieves than the German.

Coleridge has not achieved this side in an equal degree with the other; and this want is not supplied by the "Literary Remains," which contain his studies on Shakspeare. There we have a repetition, not an application, of the absolute formula. Coleridge is like one who sees in a picture only the rules of perspective, and is always trying to simplify even these. Thus, "Where there is no humour, but only wit, or the like, there is no growth from within." "What is beauty?" he asks. "It is the unity of the manifold, the coalescence of the diverse." So of Dante:—"There is a total impression of infinity; the wholeness is not in vision or con-

ception, but in an inner feeling of totality and absolute being." Again, of the "Paradise Lost":—"It has the totality of the poem as distinguished from the *ad oco* birth and parentage or straight line of history."

That exaggerated inwardness is barren.¹ Here, too, Coleridge's thoughts require to be thawed, to be set in motion. He is admirable in the detection, the analysis and statement, of a few of the highest general laws of art-production. But he withdraws us too far from what we can see, hear and feel. Doubtless, the idea, the intellectual element, is the spirit and life of art. Still art is the triumph of the senses and the emotions; and the senses and the emotions must not be cheated of their triumph after all. That strange and beautiful psychology which he employs, with its evanescent delicacies, has not sufficient corporeity. Again, one feels that the discussion about Hartley, meeting us in the way, throws a tone of insecurity over the critical theory which it introduces. Its only effect is to win for the terms in which the criticism is expressed the associations of one side in a metaphysical controversy.

The vagueness and fluidity of Coleridge's² theological opinions have been exaggerated through an illusion, which has arisen from the occasional form in which they have reached us. Criticism, then, has to methodize and focus them. They may be arranged under three heads: the general principles of supernaturalism, orthodox dogmas, the interpretation of Scripture. With regard to the first and second, Coleridge ranks as a Conservative thinker; but his principles of Scriptural interpretation resemble Lessing's; they entitle him to be regarded as the founder of the modern liberal school of English theology. By supernaturalism is meant the theory of a divine person in immediate communication with the human mind, dealing with it out of that order of nature which includes man's body and his ordinary trains of thought, according to fixed laws, which the theologian sums up in the doctrines of "grace" and "sin." Of this supernaturalism, the "Aids to Reflection" attempts to give a metaphysical proof. The first necessity of the argument is to prove that religion, with its supposed experiences of grace and sin, and the realities of a world above the world of sense, is the fulfilment of the constitution of every man, or, in the language of the "philosophy of nature," is part of the "idea" of man; so that when those experiences are absent all the rest of his nature is unexplained, like some enigmatical fragment, the construction and working of which we cannot surmise. According to Schelling's principle, the explanation of every phase of life is to be sought in that next above it. This axiom is applied to three supposed stages of man's reflective life: Prudence, Morality, Religion. Prudence, by which Coleridge means something like Bentham's "enlightened principle of self-preservation," is, he says, an inexplicable instinct, a blind motion in the dark, until it is expanded into morality. Morality, again, is but a groundless prepossession until transformed into a religious recognition of a spiritual world, until, as Coleridge says in his

rich figurative language, "like the main feeder into some majestic lake, rich with hidden springs of its own, it flows into and becomes one with the spiritual life." A spiritual life, then, being the fulfilment of human nature, implied, if we see clearly, in those instincts which enable one to live on from day to day, is part of the "idea" of man.

35 The second necessity of the argument is to prove that "the idea," according to the principle of the "philosophy of nature," is an infallible index of the actual condition of the world without us. Here Coleridge introduces an analogy:

"In the world, we see everywhere evidences of a unity, which the component parts are so far from explaining, that they necessarily presuppose it as the cause and condition of their existing as those parts, or even of their existing at all. This antecedent unity, or cause and principle of each union, it has, since the time of Bacon and Kepler, been customary to call a law. This crocus for instance; or any other flower the reader may have before his sight, or choose to bring before his fancy; that the root, stem, leaves, petals, &c., cohere to one plant is owing to an antecedent power or principle in the seed which existed before a single particle of the matters that constitute the size and visibility of the crocus had been attracted from the surrounding soil, air, and moisture. Shall we turn to the seed? there, too, the same necessity meets us: an antecedent unity must here, too, be supposed. Analyze the seeds with the finest tools, and let the solar microscope come in aid of your senses, what do you find?—means and instruments; a wondrous fairy tale of nature, magazines of food, stores of various sorts, pipes, spiracles, defences; a house of many chambers, and the owner and inhabitant invisible."—"Aids to Reflection," p. 68. }

39 Nature, that is, works by what we may call intact ideas. It co-ordinates every part of the crocus to all the other parts; one stage of its growth to the whole process; and having framed its organism to assimilate certain external elements, it does not cheat it of those elements, soil, air, moisture. Well, if the "idea" of man is to be intact, he must be enveloped in a supernatural world; and nature always works by intact ideas. The spiritual life is the highest development of the idea of man; there must be a supernatural world corresponding to it.

One finds, it is hard to say how many, difficulties in drawing Coleridge's conclusion. To mention only one of them—the argument looks too like the exploded doctrine of final causes. Of course the crocus would not live unless the conditions of its life were supplied. The flower is made for soil, air, moisture, and it has them; just as man's senses are made for a sensible world, and we have a sensible world. But give the flower the power of dreaming, nourish it on its own reveries, put man's wild hunger of heart and susceptibility to *ennui* in it, and what indication of the laws of the world without it would be afforded by its longing to break its bonds?

40 In the theology people are content with analogies, probabilities, with the empty schemes of arguments for which the data are still lacking;

arguments, the rejection of which Coleridge tells us implies "an evil heart of unbelief," but of which we might as truly say that they derive all their consistency from the peculiar atmosphere of the mind which receives them. Such arguments are received in theology because what chains men to a religion is not its claim on their reason, their hopes or fears, but the glow it affords to the world, its "beau ideal." Coleridge thinks that if we reject the supernatural, the spiritual element in life will evaporate also, that we shall have to accept a life with narrow horizons, without disinterestedness, harshly cut off from the springs of life in the past. But what is this spiritual element? It is the passion for inward perfection with its sorrows, its aspirations, its joy. These mental states are the delicacies of the higher morality of the few, of Augustine, of the author of the "Imitation," of Francis de Sales; in their essence they are only the permanent characteristics of the higher life. Augustine, or the author of the "Imitation," agreeably to the culture of their age, had expressed them in the terms of a metaphysical theory, and expanded them into what theologians call the doctrines of grace and sin, the fluctuations of the union of the soul with its unseen friend. The life of those who are capable of a passion for perfection still produces the same mental states; but that religious expression of them is no longer congruous with the culture of the age. Still, all inward life works itself out in a few simple forms, and culture cannot go very far before the religious graces reappear in it in a subtilized intellectual shape. There are aspects of the religious character which have an artistic worth distinct from their religious import. Longing, a chastened temper, spiritual joy, are precious states of mind, not because they are part of man's duty or because God has commanded them, still less because they are means of obtaining a reward, but because like culture itself they are remote, refined, intense, existing only by the triumph of a few over a dead world of routine in which there is no lifting of the soul at all. If there is no other world, art in its own interest must cherish such characteristics as beautiful spectacles. Stephen's face, "like the face of an angel," has a worth of its own, even if the opened heaven is but a dream.

Our culture, then, is not supreme, our intellectual life is incomplete, we fail of the intellectual throne, if we have no inward longing, inward chastening, inward joy. Religious belief, the craving for objects of belief, may be refined out of our hearts, but they must leave their sacred perfume, their spiritual sweetness, behind. This law of the highest intellectual life has sometimes seemed hard to understand. Those who maintain the claims of the older and narrower forms of religious life against the claims of culture are often embarrassed at finding the intellectual life heated through with the very graces to which they would sacrifice it. How often in the higher class of theological writings—writings which really spring from an original religious genius, such as those of Dr. Newman—does the modern aspirant to perfect culture seem to find the expression of the in-

most delicacies of his own life, the same yet different! The spiritualities of the Christian life have often drawn men on little by little into the broader spiritualities of systems opposed to it—pantheism, or positivism, or a philosophy of indifference. Many in our own generation, through religion, have become dead to religion. How often do we have to look for some feature of the ancient religious life, not in a modern saint, but in a modern artist or philosopher! For those who have passed out of Christianity, perhaps its most precious souvenir is the ideal of a transcendental disinterestedness. Where shall we look for this ideal? In Spinoza; or perhaps in Bentham or in Austin.

Some of those who have wished to save supernaturalism—as, for instance, Theodore Parker—have rejected more or less entirely the dogmas of the Church. Coleridge's instinct is truer than theirs; the two classes of principles are logically connected. It was in defence of the dogmas of the Church that Coleridge elaborated his unhappy crotchet of the diversity of the reason from the understanding. The weakness of these dogmas had ever been not so much a failure of the authority of Scripture or tradition in their favour, as their conflict with reason that they were words rather than conceptions. That analysis of words and conceptions which in modern philosophy has been a principle of continual rejuvenescence with Descartes and Berkeley, as well as with Bacon and Locke, had desolated the field of scholastic theology. It is the rationality of the dogmas of that theology that Coleridge had a taste for proving.

Of course they conflicted with the understanding, with the common daylight of the mind, but then might there not be some mental faculty higher than the understanding? The history of philosophy supplied many authorities for this opinion. Then, according to the "philosophy of nature," science and art are both grounded upon the "ideas" of genius, which are a kind of intuition, which are their own evidence. Again, this philosophy was always saying the ideas of the mind must be true, must correspond to reality; and what an aid to faith is that, if one is not too nice in distinguishing between ideas and mere convictions, or prejudices, or habitual views, or safe opinions! Kant also had made a distinction between the reason and the understanding. True, this harsh division of mental faculties is exactly what is most sterile in Kant, the essential tendency of the German school of thought being to show that the mind always acts *en masse*. Kant had defined two senses of reason as opposed to the understanding. First, there was the "speculative reason," with its "three categories of totality," God, the soul, and the universe—three mental forms which might give a sort of unity to science, but to which no actual intuition corresponded. The tendency of this part of Kant's critique is to destroy the rational groundwork of theism. Then there was the "practical reason," on the relation of which to the "speculative," we may listen to Heinrich Heine:—

"After the tragedy comes the farce. (The tra-

gedy is Kant's destructive criticism of the speculative reason.) So far Immanuel Kant has been playing the relentless philosopher; he has laid siege to heaven." Heine goes on with some violence to describe the havoc Kant has made of the orthodox belief—"Old Lampe,* with the umbrella under his arm, stands looking on much disturbed, perspiration and tears of sorrow running down his cheeks. Then Immanuel Kant grows pitiful, and shows that he is not only a great philosopher but also a good man. He considers a little; and then, half in good nature, half in irony, he says, 'Old Lampe must have a god, otherwise the poor man will not be happy; but man ought to be happy in this life, the practical reason says that; let the practical reason stand surety for the existence of a god; it is all the same to me.' Following this argument, Kant distinguishes between the theoretical and the practical reason, and, with the practical reason for a magic wand, he brings to life the dead body of deism, which the theoretical reason had slain."

Coleridge first confused the speculative reason with the practical, and then exaggerated the variety and the sphere of their combined functions. Then he has given no consistent definition of the reason. It is "the power of universal and necessary convictions;" it is "the knowledge of the laws of the whole considered as one;" it is "the science of all as a whole." Again, the understanding is "the faculty judging according to sense," or "the faculty of means to mediate ends;" and so on. The conception floating in his mind seems to have been a really valuable one; that, namely, of a distinction between an organ of adequate and an organ of inadequate ideas. But when we find him casting about for a definition, not precisely determining the functions of the reason, making long preparations for the "deduction" of the faculty as in the third volume of "The Friend," but never actually starting, we suspect that the reason is a discovery in psychology which Coleridge has a good will to make, and that is all; that he has got no farther than the old vague desire to escape from the limitations of thought by some extraordinary mystical faculty. Some of the clergy eagerly welcomed the supposed discovery. In their difficulties they had often appealed in the old simple way to sentiment and emotion as of higher authority than the understanding, and on the whole had had to get on with very little philosophy. Like M. Jourdain, they were amazed to find that they had been all the time appealing to the reason; now they might actually go out to meet the enemy. Orthodoxy might be cured by a hair of the dog that had bitten it.

Theology is a great house, scored all over with hieroglyphics by perished hands. When we decypher one of those hieroglyphics, we find in it the statement of a mistaken opinion; but knowledge has crept onward since the hand dropped from the wall; we no longer entertain the opinion, and we can trace the origin of the mistake. Dogmas are precious as memorials of a class of sincere and beautiful spirits, who in a past age of humanity struggled with many tears, if not for true knowledge, yet for a noble

* The servant who attended Kant in his walks.

and elevated happiness. That struggle is the substance, the dogma only its shadowy expression; received traditionally in an altered age, it is the shadow of a shadow, a mere *εἰκὼν*, twice removed from substance and reality. The true method then in the treatment of dogmatic theology must be historical. Englishmen are gradually finding out how much that method has done since the beginning of modern criticism by the hands of such writers as Baur. Coleridge had many of the elements of this method: learning, inwardness, a subtle psychology, a dramatic power of sympathy with modes of thought other than his own. Often in carrying out his own method he gives the true historical origin of a dogma, but with a strange dulness of the historical sense, he regards this as a reason for the existence of the dogma now, not merely as reason for its having existed in the past. Those historical elements he could not envisage in the historical method, because this method is only one of the applications, the most fruitful of them all, of the relative spirit.

47 After Coleridge's death, seven letters of his on the inspiration of Scripture were published, under the title of "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit." This little book has done more than any other of Coleridge's writings to discredit his name with the orthodox. The frequent occurrence in it of the word "bibliolatry," borrowed from Lessing, would sufficiently account for this pious hatred. From bibliolatry Coleridge was saved by the spiritualism, which, in questions less simple than that of the infallibility of Scripture, was so retarding to his culture. Bibliolators may remember that one who committed a kind of intellectual suicide by catching at any appearance of a fixed and absolute authority, never dreamed of resting on the authority of a book. His Schellingistic notion of the possibility of absolute knowledge, of knowing God, of a light within every man which might discover to him the doctrines of Christianity, tended to depreciate historical testimony, perhaps historical realism altogether. Scripture is a legitimate sphere for the understanding. He says, indeed, that there is more in the Bible that "finds" him than he has experienced in all other books put together. But still, "There is a Light higher than all, even the Word that was in the beginning. If between this Word and the written letter I shall anywhere seem to myself to find a discrepancy, I will not conclude that such there actually is; nor on the other hand will I fall under the condemnation of them that would lie for God, but seek as I may, be thankful for what I have—and wait." Coleridge is the inaugurator of that *via media* of Scriptural criticism which makes much of saving the word "inspiration," while it attenuates its meaning; which supposes a sort of modified inspiration residing in the whole, not in the several parts. "The Scriptures were not dictated by an infallible intelligence," nor "the writers each and all divinely informed as well as inspired." "They refer to other documents, and in all points express themselves as sober-minded and veracious writers under ordinary circumstances are

known to do." To make the Bible itself "the subject of a special article of faith, is an unnecessary and useless abstraction."

His judgment on the popular view of inspiration is severe. It is borrowed from the Cabbalists; it "petrifies at once the whole body of Holy Writ, with all its harmonies and symmetrical gradations;—turns it at once into a colossal Memnon's head, a hollow passage for a voice, a voice that mocks the voices of many men, and speaks in their names, and yet is but one voice and the same;—and no man uttered it and never in a human heart was it conceived." He presses very hard on the tricks of the "routiniers of desk and pulpit;" forced and fantastic interpretations; "the strange—in all other writings unexampled—practice of bringing together into logical dependency detached sentences from books composed at the distance of centuries, nay, sometimes a millennium, from each other, under different dispensations, and for different objects."

Certainly he is much farther from bibliolatry than from the perfect freedom of the humanist interpreters. Still he has not freed himself from the notion of a sacred canon; he cannot regard the books of Scripture simply as fruits of the human spirit; his criticism is not entirely disinterested. The difficulties he finds are chiefly the supposed immoralities of Scripture; just those difficulties which fade away before the modern or relative spirit, which in the moral world as in the physical traces everywhere change, growth, development. Of historical difficulties, of those deeper moral difficulties which arise for instance from a consideration of the constitutional unveracity of the Oriental mind, he has no suspicion. He thinks that no book of the New Testament was composed so late as A.D. 120.

Coleridge's undeveloped opinions would be hardly worth stating except for the warning they afford against retarding compromises. In reading these letters one never doubts what Coleridge tells us of himself: "that he loved truth with an indescribable awe," or, as he beautifully says, "that he would creep towards the light, even if the light had made its way through a rent in the wall of the temple." And yet there is something sad in reading them by the light which twenty-five years have thrown back upon them. Taken as a whole, they contain a fallacy which a very ardent lover of truth might have detected.

The Bible is not to judge the spirit, but the spirit the Bible. The Bible is to be treated as a literary product. Well, but that is a conditional, not an absolute principle—that is not, if we regard it sincerely, a delivery of judgment, but only a suspension of it. If we are true to the spirit of that, we must wait patiently the complete result of modern criticism. Coleridge states that the authority of Scripture is on its trial—that at present it is not known to be an absolute resting-place; and then, instead of leaving that to aid in the formation of a fearless spirit, the spirit which, for instance, would accept the results of M. Renan's investigations, he turns it into a false security by anticipating the judgment of an undeveloped

criticism. Twenty-five years of that criticism have gone by, and have hardly verified the anticipation.

The man of science asks, Are absolute principles attainable? What are the limits of knowledge? The answer he receives from science itself is not ambiguous. What the moralist asks is, Shall we gain or lose by surrendering human life to the relative spirit? Experience answers, that the dominant tendency of life is to turn ascertained truth into a dead letter—to make us all the phlegmatic servants of routine. The relative spirit, by dwelling constantly on the more fugitive conditions or circumstances of things, breaking through a thousand rough and brutal classifications, and giving elasticity to inflexible principles, begets an intellectual finesse, of which the ethical result is a delicate and tender justness in the criticism of human life. Who would gain more than Coleridge by criticism in such a spirit? We know how his life has appeared when judged by absolute standards. We see him trying to apprehend the absolute, to stereotype one form of faith, to attain, as he says, "fixed principles" in politics, morals, and religion; to fix one mode of life as the essence of life, refusing to see the parts as parts only; and all the time his own pathetic history pleads for a more elastic moral philosophy than his, and cries out against every formula less living and flexible than life itself.

"From his childhood he hungered for eternity." After all, that is the incontestable claim of Coleridge. The perfect flower of any elementary type of life must always be precious to humanity, and Coleridge is the perfect flower of the romantic type. More than Childe Harold, more than Werther, more than René, Coleridge, by what he did, what he was, and what he failed to do, represents that inexhaustible discontent, languor, and home sickness, the chords of which ring all through our modern literature. Criticism may still discuss the claims of classical and romantic art, or literature, or sentiment; and perhaps one day we may come to forget the horizon, with full knowledge to be content with what is here and now; and that is the essence of classical feeling. But by us of the present moment, by us for whom the Greek spirit, with its engaging naturalness, simple, chastened, debonair, *την φύσιν, ἀβρότητα, χλιδής, χαρίτων, μέτρον, πόθον πατρίδος*, is itself the Sangraal of an endless pilgrimage; Coleridge, with his passion for the absolute, for something fixed where all is moving, his faintness, his broken memory, his intellectual disquiet, may still be ranked among the interpreters of one of the constituent elements of our life.

THE correspondence which many of our readers will remember to have taken place in 1863 on the subject of physiological experiments upon living animals, or vivisection, as it is commonly called, was remarkable in many particulars. The subject was one the discussion of which was especially well-calculated to bring out into a strong light both the progress which has been made of late years in the general enlightenment of the newspaper-reading classes and also the very considerable amount of ignorant bigotry which still finds place among them.

Soon after that correspondence had been closed, the public was informed, by numerous advertisements, that a valuable prize would be awarded by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, for the best essay upon the subject; and we, in common with other people, awaited the enlightenment which thus appeared to be promised to us. Several months, however, have now passed since the prize was adjudged, yet the successful essay has not yet seen the light; and we therefore recur to the recent edition of Mr. Rowell's clever pamphlet on the sense of pain in animals, for the purpose of offering to our readers some considerations upon physiological experiments involving so-called vivisection. The subject is one of very considerable difficulty. The opinions which have been and still are held upon it vary to the very utmost; and it is a matter in which a person's feelings are apt to be very closely bound up with his opinions. The man of refinement and sensibility finds his whole being stirred to the very utmost with indignation when he hears of what seems to him only the cruel and cold-blooded torture of innocent and gentle creatures. The scientific man, on the other hand, is wont to feel something very like contemptuous impatience when he is told that his best-directed and most laborious efforts to improve the condition of his fellow-men by extending the sphere of their knowledge, are to be checked and thwarted by what is, in his eyes, either mere morbid sentiment, or, at best, an utterly disproportionate valuation of animal life as such. But in this, as in other matters, it is not by insisting on extreme views that any progress can be made towards a real uniformity of opinion. The subject is one in which very complex relations are involved, and which cannot be settled off-hand by sentimental or contemptuous declamation.

In order to impose some limits upon the extent of our investigation, we must begin by the assumption that the destruction of animal life by man for his own food and for other purposes, is necessary, and therefore justifiable—a proposition which may possibly be disputed in the abstract, but which is, at least, irrefragable in so far as regards our own country and our present stage of civilization.

It may be said, indeed, that death and pain are not inseparable; and that a right or a necessity of inflicting one will not imply, even if it be proved to exist, a justification of the infliction of the other; but a very slight consideration of the facts of our social life will suffice to show that no distinction of the kind is observed in practice.

ART. V.—PHYSIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTS: VIVISECTION.

1. *The Beneficent Distribution of the Sense of Pain.* By G. A. ROWELL. 2nd Edition. London: Williams and Norgate. 1862.
2. *Report of the British Association for 1863.*

The subject of pain, as it exists among the lower animals, is one upon which it is impossible to doubt but that a vast amount of misconception exists, not among the ignorant only, but also among the refined and highly educated. It is one the investigation of which is very difficult, and leads to results which are matters of inference only, and do not admit of rigid demonstration, and which may seem at first sight to tend towards the encouragement of cruelty rather than its repression. But on this point, as on others, it is well to remember that truth can never be immoral, or, in the long run, even inexpedient. It is certain, however, that in any attempt to estimate the degree to which animals of various grades in creation are sensitive to pain, we must go beyond mere appearances or we shall be grossly misled. What are commonly spoken of as "the ordinary indications of pain" are all of them more or less fallacious. Every surgeon has seen men writhe and heard them groan under operations when he has known well that chloroform had rendered them perfectly insensible before they were begun. We have, many of us, too, seen persons afflicted with epilepsy writhe and wriggle apparently in the extremest agony; but yet there is evidence in plenty, that however distressing a disease epilepsy may be, from its effects upon both body and mind, almost the first step in the train of phenomena which constitute a fit or convulsion, is the complete loss of consciousness, and all the subsequent contortions are performed without pain, or even sensation, on the part of the sufferer.

Our readers will find this subject followed out with equal thoughtfulness and ingenuity and at greater length than we have space to pursue it here, in the essay the title of which stands at the head of this article. In this essay Mr. Rowell argues, with a force which must carry conviction to the mind of any unprejudiced person, that the sense of pain, even in the most highly-organized animals, is very much lower in intensity than it is in man; and that in many of the lower creatures it can scarcely exist at all. He shows further, that the acknowledgment of this truth, so far from affording any encouragement to cruelty, only enables us to form a more correct notion of what cruelty really is, and would, if it became general, lead to a great improvement in the relations between man and the lower animals. Thus, for instance, Mr. Rowell shows that there is good reason for believing that hunger, even when not felt in an extreme degree, is a source of more uneasiness to an animal so highly organised even as the horse than is a severe bodily injury. He quotes several cases—pp. 22, 23—in which horses have met with accidents on the road of such severity that their leg bones have been found producing through the skin, and actually in contact with the ground, as they walked along; yet in all these cases the animals began to graze, standing on their wounded extremities, almost as soon as they were left to themselves. Now, it is not pretended that under such circumstances as these the creatures feel *no* pain at all; but it may very reasonably be argued that the degree

of pain which they do feel must be almost immeasurably short of what a human being endures in a similar case. We do not generally see a man sit quietly down to dinner within half an hour after his leg has been crushed by a waggon—even although he may not have to stand upon the wounded limb while he eats it. It will be doubtless a new idea to many a man who fancies himself humane, that if he keeps a horse upon a short allowance of food, there is at least some reason to fear that he inflicts more misery upon the animal than does the cab-driver whom he has himself perhaps threatened with prosecution for cruelly flogging his horse. Nevertheless, it is clear that the consideration of this probability will tend rather to induce the humane man to see that his horse gets enough to eat than to encourage the cab-driver in the habit of brutal flogging. This is but one among innumerable instances which might be given in order to demonstrate the truth of the proposition which we are now discussing. That the proposition itself is an unpopular one we are fully aware; but if it happens to be true, its admission will be followed, and can be followed, by no ill result, but only by a good one. The distinction between that which is true and that which is edifying, is one which the English public has not yet learned to appreciate. We will mention but two more facts in support of this view. It occurs not unfrequently to fly-fishers to take a salmon or other fish, which has already one or more hooks fastened in its jaw, but which does not seem to have suffered in health or condition in consequence; yet compare with this the effect of any injury of similar magnitude upon a human being, and the contrast will be striking enough. Another instance, even more to our present purpose, is to be found in the different effects of similar surgical operations, when performed on the lower animals or on the human subject. Thus it is a well-known fact that any operation upon the human subject which entails the opening of the cavity of the peritoneum is attended with the most serious danger. Inflammation of that membrane is very commonly the result, and is a most dangerous affection. In the dog, on the contrary, and in other animals, the same membrane may be cut into with comparatively little fear of any such result; yet it would trouble any physiologist to assign an intelligible reason for this difference, unless it is to be found in the immeasurably greater susceptibility of the nervous system in man than in the lower animals.

The proposition, then, that the animal creation, not excepting even its higher classes, is immensely less sensitive to pain than is mankind, is one which we believe will not admit of serious dispute; but it is worthy of notice in this connection that the degree of sensibility to pain even in mankind varies directly with the increase of civilization, and that to a degree which superficial observers will not be very ready to admit. It would be easy to bring forward a number of facts in proof of this, were it needful; but one will suffice for the present. Mr. Palgrave, in his recent work upon Arabia, gives the following instance of extreme

insensibility to pain in the case of a young Arab:—

"What is really remarkable among them (the Arabs) is a great obtuseness in the general nervous sensibility. On more than one occasion I had to employ the knife or caustic, and was surprised at the patient's cool endurance. While at Riad, a young fellow presented himself with a bullet lodged deep in the forearm; it gave him some annoyance, and he insisted on having it cut out. The operation was, for my inexpertness, a difficult one; the muscular fascia had to be divided down to the bone. Meanwhile the Nejdean held out the limb steady and inflexible, as though it belonged to a third party, and never changed colour, except it were a flush of excited pleasure on his face when I finally drew out the ball through the incision and placed it in his hand. After a short interval of bandaging and repose he got up and walked home, carrying his leaden trophy along with him. Much similar I saw and heard; the Arabs are not a nervous or excitable race."

The questions hitherto considered and the principles laid down do but clear the way for a right view of the two propositions which it is our proper business to discuss. They do not pretend to do more than this, for since there can be no doubt that animal life is of high value, as we may learn from the many contrivances existing in nature for its preservation, and since, too, in depriving any animal of life we are taking away that which we can never restore, it follows clearly enough that we can have no right to do so wantonly. Since, too, no one in his senses can doubt that all the higher classes of animals possess some degree of feeling, however much it may be below the standard attained by man, we can find no justification for torturing an animal which possesses any sensation on the grounds that it feels but little, any more than a pickpocket can defend his robbery of a five-pound note from a millionaire on the score that the latter has so many such that he will never feel the loss. But the real force of this preliminary discussion is simply this: that whereas it is as much a crime to sit idly by and permit an evil which it is within a man's power to prevent as to become oneself the agent in the mischief; so it becomes necessary in certain cases for a man to consider whether by the artificial production of suffering and death in animals he may ward off similar suffering and death from men: and inasmuch as we are clearly of opinion that men are "of more value than many sparrows," it seems to follow that surgeons and physiologists are not only justified, but positively bound to inflict suffering upon the lower animals, if it can be shown that it is necessary or greatly advantageous so to do for the purpose of saving human life or mitigating human suffering. If a man conscientiously believes that he can by a certain course of vivisection obtain the means of curing a disease hitherto intractable, or of materially improving upon the treatment of one as at present practised, we do not scruple to say that he neglects his duty if he neglects to perform such vivisections. For what such a man does is really to set a higher value on a few dogs or rabbits than on an indefinite number of

his fellow-men. Does any reasonable man, for instance, doubt that he may lawfully ride a horse to death to save a human life, whether his own or another's? But those who deny that vivisection can in any case be justified should hold, in order to be consistent, that an aid-de-camp is to consider the life and suffering of his horse when the safety of a whole army depends upon the rapidity with which he delivers his despatches.

From the considerations thus far adduced, it would appear that in attempting to form a judgment as to the justifiable character of vivisections, we must be guided by the following general principles: viz., that while wanton cruelty can in no case be excusable, on the other hand that suffering, and even very severe suffering, not only may be, but must be, inflicted upon the lower animals, where any adequate benefit is thereby to be secured for mankind, or any considerable evil to be averted from them. To these two principles a third must also be added: viz., that in judging of all matters of the kind regard must be had to the existing grade of civilization; that is to say, we must take into consideration the habits of society as it exists around us, in order that we may not attempt to begin reforms, necessary or desirable in themselves, at the wrong end of our social system.

It may be well, perhaps, before proceeding to the consideration of the necessity or otherwise of vivisection for the general progress of physiological science, to say a few words as to the other purpose for which its utility has been alleged, that, viz., of giving skill to the operator. This portion of the subject is, however, one which need not detain us long. Our readers will doubtless remember that it was in connection with this question that the whole newspaper discussion upon vivisection arose. It was in consequence of the habitual use of vivisection in the French veterinary schools that the agitation of the question was begun, and their sole and avowed purpose in so employing it was that of rendering their students skilful operators, and, by accustoming them to retain their coolness in the presence of animals struggling under torture, to enable them to avoid accidents in the course of their subsequent practice. Now, without following the French professors through the whole course of an ingenious but not very convincing defence of their practices made before the Imperial Academy of Medicine, we may be permitted to remark that the superiority of their veterinarians as operators to those of other countries, where such a course of education happily neither is nor is likely to be tolerated, is a matter which it requires more than the mere *ipse dixit* of the said professors to establish. It is, moreover, not very obvious that the good to be effected by extra skill in the performance of veterinary operations is at all commensurate with the evil of the demoralization which cannot but be produced in ignorant or ill-educated persons by the mere fact of habitual vivisection. It can be but a money advantage, and that, considering the small number of horses which require to undergo severe operations, but a very

slight one. With regard to the question of accidents, it may be sufficient to remark, that where they occur in veterinary practice it is quite as likely that the victim should be one of the grooms, stable-boys, or idlers who serve as temporary assistants to the veterinarian, as that functionary himself; and hence, unless all these persons are also to be practically instructed in the art of "maintaining their composure throughout the struggles of tortured animals," the art itself will be found to go very little way in the prevention of accidents. On the whole, we cannot think that any case has been made out in defence of habitual vivisection for the purpose of imparting operative skill. That the very highest degree of skill can be attained without its aid the present position of English surgery will suffice to show; and the course of instruction which is enough to produce that skill in human surgery might surely suffice for the veterinary art as well; and a trifling amount of additional dexterity is attained—if indeed it be at last attained—at too great a sacrifice, when it gives rise to the amount of animal suffering which was formerly the case in the victims at Alfort and elsewhere, and to the degree of brutalization among the students which cannot but be inseparable from its habitual and therefore familiar and thoughtless infliction.

If we come now to the more interesting and far more important question of the relation of vivisection to the general progress of physiology, we shall find that the opinions of men of science are much divided. One school of physiologists sets up vivisection as the one great means for the investigation of biological facts, and have accordingly employed it extensively and remorselessly; another school bases its hopes of the progress of the science almost exclusively upon anatomical and chemical investigation, and holds vivisection accordingly to be almost as useless as it is repulsive. A very few instances, taken from the history of science, will probably do more than a volume of argumentation to place the matter in its proper light. In entering upon this portion of the subject, however, we must guard against a misconception into which the use of the word "vivisection" is not unlikely to betray the reader. The word, if strictly used, means, of course, the dissection of animals during life; but it is hardly necessary to say that, for the purposes of our present argument, as well as indeed of every discussion upon the subject, its meaning must be extended so far as to include all experiments upon living animals which are of a kind calculated to inflict pain upon them. It would be absurd to raise an objection to the infliction of a wound, however slight, and to justify the administration of an irritant poison, which is capable of inflicting the most frightful torments. This very subject, then, of the administration of poisons and of medicines (for no line of demarcation can be drawn between them) to animals, for the purpose of learning their effects upon mankind, is the first to which we will call attention in relation to the matter now in hand. The objects with which drugs

are administered to animals are two: viz., either to ascertain whether any particular drug is capable of destroying animal life, and if so, in what manner; or, secondly, to learn whether a reputed remedial agent has any definite physiological action, and how that action is modified by its administration in different quantities or combinations. Of the second of these objects it is needless here to speak; but the first, as is well known, is pursued not only with the view of advancing Toxicology as a branch of science, but, on certain very important occasions, for purposes of legal inquiry also; and our present business is to determine whether, in these cases, experiment upon animals is capable of affording indispensable or valuable information.

Professor Taylor, who is by no means disposed to over-value evidence derived from physiological experiments, and who agrees with other modern authorities in the opinion that its importance has been exaggerated, uses nevertheless the following language concerning it:—

"There is, however, one instance* where evidence from experiments upon animals cautiously performed may be of some importance on a criminal trial. I allude to the case in which a poisonous substance is not of a nature readily to admit of a chemical analysis, as, for example, in substances belonging to the neurotic class of poisons. . . . In the case of *Reg. v. Dove* (York Autumn Assizes, 1856), the proof of the presence of strychnia in the stomach of the deceased was partly based on the effect produced on animals by a prepared extract of the contents. A sufficient quantity was procured to kill several animals under the usual tetanic symptoms produced by the poison. This evidence was conclusive, and more satisfactory than the application of chemical tests to extracts of organic matter containing the poison."

And again on the very next page:—

"A woman named Sherrington was tried at the Liverpool Spring Assizes, in 1838, for the attempt to administer poison to one Mary Byres. The evidence showed that the prisoner had sent to the prosecutrix a pudding by two young children. On the way the children tasted it, and finding that it had an unpleasant taste, the prosecutrix was put on her guard. The pudding was sent to a surgeon to be analysed, but he could detect no poison in it. He suspected, however, that it contained a vegetable narcotic poison. He gave a piece about the size of an egg to a dog. In twenty minutes the dog became sick, in forty minutes it lost the use of its limbs, and died in three hours. The prisoner was convicted. Cases in which evidence of this kind, accidentally obtained, has been made available on charges of criminal poisoning, are now very numerous."

Now, in the former of these cases, it is clear that had physiological experiments been deemed unlawful, one of the most atrocious criminals that was ever brought to trial would have escaped scot-free, and might have continued his course of crime to this day. Yet, here, *several* animals were sacrificed, and that under circum-

* "Treatise on Poisons," p. 211. Second edition. Churchill: 1859. It is evident from the context that the learned professor means here one "class of instances."

stances of torment which can scarcely be over-estimated. It is obvious, also, that in the case of the discovery or the first use for criminal purposes of any new poison, we could never become thoroughly acquainted with its nature, so as to be able either to detect crime or to remedy accidental poisoning, unless a course of experiments upon animals formed a part of our investigation into its properties.

It may, perhaps, be maintained that means may justifiably be used for the purpose of judicial investigation, involving the issues of life and death, which no less important matters would excuse; and, therefore, it is necessary to go further than thus showing that, for judicial purposes, physiological experiments are indispensable, and to prove that they are also necessary for the progress of science, and through its means for the relief of human suffering. For this purpose we will proceed to examine only a single point in the history of our knowledge of the physiology of the nervous system. The progress of knowledge in this branch of physiology, has been so great since the days of Unzer and Prochaska, as to leave no doubt in the mind of any one acquainted with its history, that it is on the side of physiology, much more than that of empiricism, that we both have attained to our present improved practice in many of the most fearful forms of disease that afflict humanity, and that we may expect hereafter to treat them with still greater success.

It can hardly be necessary to insist, in the year 1865, upon the importance of the study of physiology as a branch of science. It is acknowledged on all hands, and has obtained such a hold upon the minds of the educated classes, that within the last few years the force of public opinion alone has compelled the Universities to admit this science to a place in their ordinary course of studies; and in the science of physiology the study of the nervous system must always hold the very foremost place. Now, beyond all controversy, the physiologist to whom we owe the most decided advance that has ever been made in this study is the late Sir Charles Bell. He it was who first demonstrated the distinct motor and sensory roots of the spinal nerves, and by a brilliant series of discoveries led the way to the present position of our knowledge of the nervous system. Accordingly, in a letter published in the *Times* of August 13, 1863, the testimony of Sir Charles Bell is quoted as decisive of the fact that nothing is ever learned by vivisection. The words as cited are—

"In a foreign review of my former papers the results have been considered in favour of experiments (on living animals). They are, on the contrary, deductions from anatomy; and I have had recourse to experiments, not to form my opinions, but to impress them on others. It must be my apology that my utmost powers of persuasion were lost while I urged my statements on the ground of observation alone."

And again—

"Anatomy is already looked on with prejudice; let not its professors unnecessarily incur the censures of the humane. *Experiments (vivisections) have*

never been the means of discovery; and the survey of what has been attempted of late years will prove that the opening of living animals has done more to perpetuate error than to enforce the just views taken from anatomy and the natural motions."

The italics are our own. Most unfortunately, the reference to the portion of Sir C. Bell's works from which this extract is taken is not given in the letter, and we have not been fortunate enough to meet with it; consequently, we do not know the date or the occasion upon which these remarks were written. Probably, however, they had reference to the attempts which were made by some Continental physiologists to subvert Bell's conclusions by means of a series of experimental vivisections. However this may be, there is evidence enough elsewhere in Bell's works both of his humane reluctance to employ vivisection and also of the fact that he felt himself compelled to resort to it, and did resort to it frequently. Thus, for example, in a general view of the nervous system prefixed to the third edition of his collected memoirs,* he states, in explaining his great discovery of the separate functions of the roots of the spinal nerves—

"It was necessary to know whether the phenomena exhibited on injuring the separate roots of the spinal nerves corresponded with what was suggested by their anatomy. After refraining long, on account of the unpleasant nature of the operation, I at last opened the spinal canal of a rabbit, and cut the posterior roots of the nerves of the lower extremities," &c.

He goes on to state how the protracted cruelty of the dissection deterred him from repeating the experiment, and how he reflected that an animal recently stunned would serve his purpose. Similarly Sir C. Bell speaks afterwards of cutting across the fifth nerve and the seventh nerve on the face of an ass (p. 26). Again, at pp. 52-3, may be found an elaborate account of some experiments on the facial nerves of the ass; indeed, the whole of this paper, presented to the Royal Society in 1821, is full of vivisectional experiments—asses, dogs, monkeys, being all pressed into the unwelcome service. Again, in the paper on the motions of the eye, there is contained a whole section entitled "Experimental Inquiry into the Action of these Muscles,"† i.e., muscles of the eye, which is, as its name implies, occupied mainly with a detail of the results produced by experiments on living animals.

It is thus sufficiently evident that Sir C. Bell had recourse not unfrequently to experiments upon animals, and these, too, of a very painful nature; and we are persuaded, moreover, that an unprejudiced consideration even of the passage above cited, as proving his low opinion of experiment as a means of discovery, will show that it bears a somewhat different interpretation. In the first place, the passage taken as it stands, has somewhat the air of being written by a philosopher standing in some sort on his defence

* "Nervous System of the Human Body," pp. 24-5. Renshaw: 1844.

† Op. cit. p. 156, *et seq.*

against a charge which, if admitted, might endanger the popularity of his doctrines; he speaks, for instance, of "anatomy" as being "looked on with prejudice," just as any man might do who, in a generation less enlightened than our own, stood in awe of the babble of a half-educated society, which was ready enough to twit the medical profession with ignorance and slowness of progress, while it would, in deference to an ignorant sentimentalism, deny to its members the only practicable means of acquiring extended and accurate knowledge. Moreover, it is to be observed, that in this apology, as he calls it, for his experiments, Sir C. Bell gives a reason for their performance which, in point of fact, amounts to the assertion that they were absolutely necessary in the case of his own discoveries, and will be so in those of other physiologists. He states that he found himself unable, except by their aid, to prove his deductions from anatomy to the satisfaction of other minds; and what, we may ask, is the value of a discovery unless it can be made plain to others besides the discoverer? And yet, in the case before us, it is clear to the most limited intelligence, that by experiment alone could Bell's deductions from anatomy be proved. He had examined the spinal cord, and he found two distinct roots to each nerve, and these roots entering the spinal cord in two distinct places. The nerves themselves, too, having two distinct endowments, those of sensation and motion. He felt no doubt, that of the two roots each subserved one of these faculties. But such a conclusion as this could never have been raised above the region of mere hypothesis otherwise than by experiment. It was open to any other anatomist to maintain any other imaginable view as to the functions of the two roots; as, for instance, that they were intended by nature merely as a measure of precaution, that in case of the destruction of one, the powers of the nerve trunk might still be exercised by means of the other; or that one root was intended to exercise an influence upon the nutrition of the nerve itself, while its special powers resided in the other, or any other hypothesis of the kind. But when the experiment had been tried, when it had been shown that upon dividing the anterior roots of the nerves of a limb in a living animal, its power of motion was lost while the capacity of sensation remained, and *vice versa*; when these had been repeated upon several different animals, always with the same result, then, and not till then, the discovery became a real discovery; thus, and thus alone was made the greatest advance in our knowledge of physiology which has been achieved since the days of Harvey. But the history of physiology will carry us yet one step further in this matter. Bell, as we have seen, was sparing of experiment, and delighted in deductions from that minute and careful anatomical investigation of which he was so great a master. He found that he could trace all the anterior or motor roots of the spinal nerves into a distinct double tract of nerve-matter forming the front portion of the spinal cord, and well known to anatomists as its "anterior columns," and the

posterior or sensory roots, similarly into the middle or lateral columns of the spinal cord. These columns he traced up into the brain, and concluded that the anterior ones were the channels of motor power, or of the orders of the will, so to speak, and the lateral the channels by which sensory impressions are conveyed to the brain itself. Now, more legitimate deductions from anatomy than these two it is not easy to conceive. It was admitted on all hands that in the brain is the seat of sensation and of volition; it was proved to demonstration that the anterior nerve-roots subserved the purposes of voluntary motion, and the posterior those of sensation, and the anterior and middle columns of the cord seemed to supply the exact link wanting to complete the chain of evidence, and to enable us approximately to comprehend the marvellous apparatus by which our minds are brought into relation with the external world around us.

It is to be noted, however, before proceeding further, that the view of the connection of the nerve roots with the cord and through it with the brain, which we have just described as being held by Sir Charles Bell, was only that at which he finally arrived. He had previously believed that the posterior roots of the nerves were connected, not with the middle columns of the spinal cord, but with another distinct tract of nerve-matter called the posterior columns. This opinion was afterwards maintained by the distinguished French physiologist M. Longet, and, what is somewhat remarkable, continued to be popularly represented as the theory of Sir Charles Bell long after he had himself given it up in favour of that above described.

The fact, then, that different physiologists were thus at variance upon a point of anatomical fact, viz., whether the posterior roots of the spinal nerves are connected with the posterior or with the lateral columns of the spinal cord, is of itself sufficient to show that anatomy alone is quite incompetent of itself to lead us to satisfactory conclusions in regard to the physiology of the nervous system; and this becomes all the more obvious when we discover, as we pursue the history of this branch of science, that later and more minute observers, such as Stilling, Lockhart-Clarke, and Schroeder Van der Kolk, have ascertained that the posterior nerve roots are not directly connected with either of these parts of the spinal cord, but with another portion, viz., the grey-coloured nerve-matter which exists in the centre of all the columns. The whole question of their connection is, in truth, one of extreme difficulty and intricacy, and is yet far from being satisfactorily solved; and did we depend upon anatomy alone for our knowledge of nervous physiology, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that there would have been till very recently almost as much to be said for any one of the three views now enumerated as for any other. But exactly at the point at which anatomy becomes helpless vivisection steps in, and in a very great degree clears up the difficulty. There is certainly no living physiologist, probably none since the days of Bell himself, to whom this branch of science is so deeply indebted as to Dr. Brown-Séquard. Yet

it is as an experimenter—a vivisector, if you will, that he is chiefly known to fame. He has shown conclusively, amongst other facts most important to the advancement of physiological science, that the views of Bell and Longet upon the subject of the course of sensory impressions in the spinal cord, are alike untenable, and that they in reality pass from the posterior roots to the brain itself, mainly by the instrumentality of the grey matter of the spinal cord. This he has done chiefly by means of an extensive series of experiments upon living animals.*

It is quite true, indeed, that Dr. Brown-Séquard's conclusions are not based upon experiment alone; they derive important support from a careful record of cases of disease, of which the symptoms were accurately observed during life, and the morbid appearances noted after death; but it is by means of the experiments alone that the diseases could be interpreted. Cases of disease have been occurring and being recorded for generations and centuries, but they could not, and as a matter of fact have not, led us to the point at which we now stand in our knowledge of physiology. Those who are familiar with the symptoms of disease and with the traces which it leaves upon the body after death, know only too well the disproportion which exists between them, and feel only too keenly the necessity which exists for a knowledge of physiology—a knowledge, that is, of the natural functions as well as natural structures of the organs in health, as the only possible foundation for a rational knowledge of disease, and for that scientific treatment of it to which it is the object of all but mere empirics ultimately to attain. We have been compelled, in the discussion of this portion of our subject, to enter into somewhat more technical details than we could have wished; but this was rendered necessary, in order to demonstrate, not from any merely theoretical instance, but from actual facts in the recent history of science, a proposition which we believe is admitted by almost every one who is practically acquainted with physiology and in any way engaged in advancing its boundaries, viz., this: that there are three different methods by which physiological knowledge can be pursued, viz., by anatomical and chemical investigation, by observation of diseases, and by physiological experiment; and that, in so complicated and difficult a science, we cannot afford to discard any one of these methods; on the contrary, we can only hope for any considerable advance by persistently working at all the three; and it is only in those cases in which discoveries arrived at by one method are corroborated by evidence afforded by the others that real and substantial advances have been made. We have thus seen that there are certain instances, at least, in which science has attained to its present position partly by the help of vivisection, and in which it is not easy to see how it could have done so without that help. It is obvious that legal investigations in cases of poisoning could not be properly conducted without experiments upon animals; and

in regard to Sir C. Bell's discoveries in the physiology of the nervous system, it has been shown, (1) that they could not have been proved without experiment; (2) that certain errors into which their discoverer fell were due to his very sparing use of vivisection; and (3) that later physiologists have been enabled to correct these very errors, because they have not been equally sparing in its use. It is needless to multiply examples, or we might cite further cases referred to by Professor Rolleston in his address to the Physiological Subsection of the British Association, delivered at the meeting of 1863; of the researches of Drs. Brown-Séquard, Pavy, and M'Donald, upon the subject of epilepsy and diabetes, as showing how in certain instances the knowledge gained by vivisection can be applied directly to the benefit of the human race. These diseases are two of the most terrible evils which afflict humanity, and anything which enables us to combat them to advantage is no mere addition to theoretical knowledge, but a relief of the direst and most hopeless forms of human misery, and so far surely worth the infliction of some amount of pain upon the lower creatures.

"Vivisection," says Professor Rolleston, "produces a certain amount of pain; but in this pain, voluntarily and of deliberate purpose produced is a few laboratories, greater in amount, in intensity, in duration, than the mental pain, moral distress, and bodily agony endured in many a cottage and many a palace by the victims of the very two diseases which in these last years vivisection has most assisted medicine to combat?"*

We arrive thus, however unwillingly, at the conclusion that vivisection is necessary for the general purposes of science; and if, as we most undoubtingly believe, the advancement of science, and more especially of physiology, is of very great importance to the interests of mankind, it follows that vivisection must be permitted to go on. It is doubtless a sorry necessity, but not on that account to be ignored.

We come, in the next place, to speak of the limitations under which vivisection should be carried on, and the means which are to be used to mitigate its severities; and in so doing, we hope to be able both to meet some of the objections commonly made to its practice, and to clear up some of the misconceptions which are current upon the subject. And here, we cannot probably better convey what we believe to be the true and the really humane doctrine upon this matter, than by adopting the sentiments expressed by Professor Rolleston in his address above referred to. The Professor theret reminds his hearers, firstly, that in a large number of vivisections, the very first step of the experiment destroys the life of the animal, and that more quickly and less painfully than is the case where animals are killed by the butcher or the sportsman; and, secondly, that where such is not the case, in a very large number of instances chloroform, or some other anæsthetic, can be

* "Newcastle Daily Chronicle," Friday, Aug. 28, 1863.

* See his Lect. on Phys. &c., of Nervous System, delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons, 1858.

† See "Report of British Association for 1863," p. 110.

and is employed, and the pain of the operation thus avoided. The cases, therefore, in which really painful vivisection is necessary for the advancement of science are thus reduced to a minimum, and consist almost exclusively of those in which the subject-matter of the investigation is the physiology of the nervous system. In these instances, such experiments are, as we have shown, sometimes indispensable; but we will proceed further to show that such cases arise but comparatively seldom, and ought to be restricted within very narrow limits. There is a sense in which the words above quoted from Sir Charles Bell, that "experiment or vivisection has never been the means of discovery," are quite indisputable, and it is, we think, this sense which he must have intended to convey, viz., that the only fitting use of vivisection is for the purpose of proof and confirmation of a discovery otherwise arrived at; and that it is no more scientifically reasonable than it is morally justifiable to perform a number of experiments upon animals without a sufficient guide derived from previous investigation, and, in fact, without a clear and definite end in view. For instance, if Sir C. Bell himself had *begun* his investigations with vivisection, he would never in all probability have made the discoveries which raised him to the very first rank amongst physiologists. In so complicated and delicate a piece of mechanism as the animal body, one, too, in which the separate parts are so dependent upon each other and upon the harmonious action of the whole, for the power of duly performing their own offices, it is in the highest degree unreasonable to attempt to remove one organ or set of organs in order to learn, by the effect of such removal, what the functions of those organs are, until, by a long and careful course of observation during the action of the machine (*i.e.*, during life), and of examination of the parts when inactive (*i.e.*, after death), the experimenter has learned as far as possible what are the relations of the parts which he proposes to remove to the other parts, and to the organism as a whole.

Again, it may be further safely asserted, and in this we know that we are but repeating the opinion of distinguished living physiologists, that the work of vivisection in the matter, at any rate of the nervous system, is in great part already completed. We know now, thanks to the labours of a few great discoverers, the cardinal points in nervous physiology, and beyond such points it may well be doubted whether vivisection can ever carry us. Even the most skillful operator can never be sure of the exact distance to which his knife penetrates, and the extent and violence of the operation required before the brain or the spinal column of a living animal can be brought within reach of the knife at all is such as utterly to do away with anything like minute accuracy of experiment.* Even Dr. Brown-Séquard, himself the very prince of experimenters, says on this subject:—

"I must say that it is impossible to know *while* we make a section of parts of the spinal cord what is the precise depth of the injury; it is mere guess-work.

But if we study well the phenomena, and then, after having killed the animal, if we put the spinal cord in alcohol we render it hard, and we can ascertain what is the extent of the incision."

By minute we mean therefore microscopical accuracy, and we repeat that it is impossible by vivisectional experiment to know which microscopical elements of the nervous tissues of the animal we destroy. But any one who is acquainted with the present position of physiology is aware that it is upon questions of the minute structure and arrangement of the elements of the nervous tissues that the points most in dispute amongst physiologists now rest, questions therefore which it is quite beyond the province of vivisection to decide. Hence experiments of a really painful character can be required only in exceptional cases, and need be performed, indeed can be properly performed, only by experienced physiologists engaged in original researches designed to extend the boundaries of their science. It is true, indeed, that a question may be and has been raised, as to how far it is necessary or expedient to demonstrate to students the main facts in the physiology of the nervous system by means of vivisection. To this question we have no hesitation in answering that such a proceeding is in no case necessary, and therefore in no case justifiable. Those facts could, no doubt, as we have shown above, be originally proved to the satisfaction of physiologists only by means of vivisection, but when they have become admitted and received, there is no need to prove them over and over again to every successive class of students. It is true that the sight of some of the effects—for instance, of a section of some part of the spinal cord in a living animal—is likely to impress the physiology of that organ upon a student's mind much more forcibly than is the mere dissection of it after death, and the reading or being lectured upon the functions of its different parts; but there does not seem to be any reason why it should be necessary to bring this particular portion of physiology directly under his eyes any more than many others, which, as a fact, nobody ever attempts to demonstrate to students in a similar way—such, for instance, as the functions of the kidneys or the salivary glands. It is indeed very much less necessary, inasmuch as but few students can carefully attend on the practice of a large hospital for a single year without seeing cases of disease or injury which will serve the purpose of demonstration perfectly well. Such cases might be, as we have said above, quite insufficient to establish any physiological doctrine not otherwise demonstrated, and yet suffice perfectly to illustrate it when once proved and admitted. If experiments could be performed without pain to their subjects, it might be the teacher's duty to perform them before his class; but since such is not the case, the mere purpose of proving to students doctrines which it is their business as students not to judge of, but rather to learn and understand, and which can be perfectly well understood without any such experiments, cannot be considered an adequate reason for their performance. But there is a further reason also why experiments should not be performed for the instruction of classes of medical

* Op. cit. p. 42, note.

students. As a rule, they require not only great skill on the part of their performer, but also a large expenditure of patience and of time; though there is about them a certain degree of morbid excitement, they are, as a rule, both repulsive and tedious. A course of physiological lectures, if illustrated by means of experiments, would certainly occupy much more time than one not so illustrated, and the requirements now made of medical students during their three or four years' course of professional study are such that any additional calls upon their time, especially for the purposes of those subjects which are but indirectly useful to them in their future practice, is very much to be deprecated. It is quite impossible, and happily quite unnecessary, to make the great body of medical practitioners accomplished physiologists, and no one who does not aspire to become an accomplished physiologist has any need whatever either to perform or to witness vivisection. And it is hardly necessary to say, that when either performed or witnessed without necessity, they are entirely without advantage, and do but tend to demoralize those who are engaged in them. In speaking thus, we do not intend to confine the remark to experiments on the nervous system. For though it is true that these only are necessarily painful, yet the fact of witnessing such vivisections as only apparently give pain can have nothing but an ill effect upon the mind of the spectators, unless they be performed for a good and sufficient purpose, and one, moreover, in the prosecution of which all the persons engaged are thoroughly in earnest. We may find here a reason why there is a wide distinction between the performance of vivisection by a physiologist in his laboratory, with merely the one or two assistants who may be necessary, and who will be in most cases persons themselves engaged in similar investigations, and their performance by a professor for the instruction of his class; in the former case, all the persons concerned are thoroughly in earnest, they are engaged in their business, and, in fact, their duty; in the latter, however intent on labour and duty the professor himself may be, a large proportion of his class will be the merest dilettanti, and the effect upon their minds will be about as elevating as is that of witnessing an execution upon those who habitually attend such spectacles.

We must conclude, then, upon a review of the whole question, that vivisections are not justifiable for the mere instruction of ordinary students; that they should be performed only by accomplished physiologists; that when performed by them they need be of a painful character only when the nervous system is the subject of investigation; and finally, that, even in this last case, in the present position of physiological science, vivisections are but very seldom necessary. It thus becomes clear that the limits within which vivisection ought to be permitted are the narrowest possible; and it remains to consider only what means should be used in order to restrain its practice within those limits. Now, in this country and at the present time, there are two means by which the actions of individuals are restrained within

the boundaries necessary for the preservation of public morality: one is law as expressed in Acts of Parliament; the other is that unwritten law, which is of greater force than any Act of Parliament, and which has power in regions which no Act of Parliament can reach, viz., enlightened public opinion. We do not hesitate to say that it is to the latter that we must look for the enforcement of a due moderation in the matter now before us. This might probably be shown without even taking into consideration the intense antipathy entertained by most Englishmen towards over legislation in all forms. Yet this is not a consideration to be overlooked. Let any one consider the number and magnitude of the evils which this very antipathy persuades Englishmen to endure, and he will be able to judge in some measure how formidable an obstacle it would place in the way of any legislation which should propose to hamper in any way the actions of scientific men in the pursuit of knowledge. If Englishmen are unwilling, as they undoubtedly are, to interfere by legislation with the liberty of the subject to perform actions which can admit of no defence of any kind, much more are they likely to decline to interfere with the liberty of a small class of men, whose actions, whether good or not, are at least capable of apology, and are not thrust obtrusively before the public eye. But quite apart from the general dislike of meddling legislation, there is among all classes in this country, and more particularly among the better educated of the middle classes, a strong special feeling in favour of the prosecution of physical science, and against any interference with its professors. If there is any one thing in which the mass of educated, and even half-educated, Englishmen undoubtedly believe, it is the connection of their material prosperity with the progress of science, and though many of them have scarcely shaken off the old mediæval horror of anatomy and anatomists, yet they would, we believe, be very slow to put any new obstacle in the way even of these unpopular branches of knowledge. The lessons, moreover, of history are not entirely thrown away; and one of these lessons most undoubtedly is the utter futility, as well as the impolicy, of putting legislative restraints upon the progress of knowledge. If we except, perhaps, the last half century, it may well be doubted whether the study of anatomy was ever so enthusiastically pursued as in times when its cultivation was attended with positive personal danger; and in days, which some now alive may remember, the necessity of "body-snatching," as it was vulgarly called, stimulated, much more than it hindered, the practice of *post-mortem* examinations. How greatly the feeling of the masses on such subjects has changed of late years is well known to medical men, to most of whom it has no doubt happened, as in several instances which have come under our own knowledge, that after the fatal termination of an uncommon case of disease, even among working people, the first suggestion that the body should be examined has come from the friends of the deceased.

In the earlier part of this paper, we have

laid it down as a principle to be observed in judging of the questions before us, that we must take into our consideration the grade of existing civilization, that is to say, the general habits of society, as they respect the relation subsisting between man and the lower animals; and with a few remarks upon this subject, as it affects the desirability of legislation on the subject of vivisection, we will conclude the present essay.

The suffering inflicted in physiological experiments, we must once more remind our readers, is at least not wantonly inflicted. It is, at least, not inflicted causelessly or carelessly, or as a mere matter of convenience or amusement, but deliberately for a set purpose, and as part of a toilsome and generally ill-rewarded course of study, and by a small class of men who, as a rule, are certainly not deficient either in humanity or enlightenment. The physiologist, in this country at least, is generally also a physician or a surgeon, who spends a considerable portion both of his time and his labour in the unrequited service of the poor and suffering. Let us see whether the same can be said of the sufferings endured by the lower animals at the hands of other classes of mankind: we omit the stock instances of cruelty—the crimping of fish, the skinning of eels, and many similar customs; merely remarking that, though we believe nobody defends them, yet nobody thinks it worth his while to go out of his way to attempt to abolish them. But we are confident that any man who will use his eyes and his understanding as he goes about the world, will find that, *as a rule*, the relation subsisting between man and the lower animals is simply that of cruel oppression on the one hand, and helpless suffering on the other; or, more correctly speaking, that the welfare of the animal creation is simply not taken into account by the major part of mankind, when brought into relation with it. Of course, exceptional instances in plenty will occur to the mind of any educated man, and on the first view, as he calls to mind chiefly his own friends and their conduct towards their domestic animals, he may be disposed to repudiate the charge as too sweeping; but, we believe, a little further consideration will convince him that it is not so. Sights, to which we have been accustomed all our lives, do not awaken any special associations in our minds until we come to look at them from a special point of view. Let any man go into a market or a fair, in almost any town in England, and he will soon see that the one matter considered is the convenience of the buyers and sellers, and that the comfort and even the freedom from torment of the animals exposed for sale, does not seem to enter into consideration in the slightest degree. In one corner he may see a drove of Welsh or Irish ponies driven together in a mass, while one fellow cracks a long whip about the drove in all directions, and crams the frightened and half-starved creatures into a space so small that it is matter of wonder that any of them come out with whole limbs, and another seizes on one unfortunate brute that is to be shown to a customer, drags about

its mouth, and kicks and drives it hither and thither, precisely as if it were a machine quite incapable of feeling. In another direction he may see a herd of oxen goaded into pens, in which all movement is impossible, and standing sweltering in the heat of an August sun, with bloodshot eyes and sore feet, and lips clogged with mucous, and suffering all the agonies of unslaked thirst. He may leave the fair in disgust, or more probably because he has finished his business and wants to get home to dinner, and as he drives along he will pass cart after cart containing two or three, or half a dozen, wretched calves, placed on their backs, with their feet tied tightly together with cords, and their heads hanging over the tail-board of the cart; and he may, if it so please him, reflect upon the almost unspeakable agony which is implied in the forcible retention of one position, and that an unnatural and painful one, for many hours in succession. Such examples crowd upon the memory upon the very slightest consideration of the subject, and we have even now said nothing of the fate of costermongers' donkeys, or of the methods employed by butchers for destroying life—though on the latter subject there is plenty to be said—or of a hundred other matters of the kind. But to take an apparently milder instance; let any of our readers reflect, the next time his convenience compels him to hurry to a railway station, as he hears the swish, swish, thwack, thwack, of the cabman's whip, in relation to how much bodily pain that must stand, when it hardly serves to force along the aching limbs and half-filled stomach of the unhappy horse at the rate of some six or seven miles per hour, and he will perceive how very slight account we mostly take in the commonest transactions of life of mere animal suffering. We do not say that these things are as they should be, nor do we even assert that some of them, at least, might not well be checked by legislative enactment; we merely bring them forward in this place, in order to show how continually the ordinary machinery of our lives produces animal suffering, and how much of this is brought about from mere wantonness or as a mere matter of convenience, and how, for the most part, in our present stage of civilization, we are habitually indifferent to it.

There is, however, one other custom, or class of customs, which is looked upon as peculiarly English, to which we must refer in illustration of this matter, viz., sporting and game preserving. Fox-hunting, the first of English field sports, is certainly also the least cruel, and may probably with justice be acquitted of the charge of cruelty altogether. For while no one who has had any experience of it can doubt the correctness of the old huntsman's opinion, that "the horses and the dogs like the sport as well as the gentlemen," there is some reason to hope, if the principles laid down by Mr. Rowell be correct, that the fox, if he does not "like it too," has at least no very valid reason to object to it, inasmuch as it is almost the only way in which, in the present day, he can meet his inevitable death, in what Mr. Rowell has shown to be the most natural and least painful man-

ner. The only cruelty therefore remaining is the constructive cruelty of preserving foxes for the purpose of the chase. Horse-racing occupies a somewhat more exceptionable position, since it is hard to justify the severe and cruel punishment so often inflicted on horses towards the end of a race. But whether this can be defended or not is a matter of little importance; for most undoubtedly the typical form in which the modern English sporting instinct develops itself, at least among the wealthier classes, is that of shooting; and the cruelty of shooting cannot well be questioned. The birds that are shot and bagged are killed out of hand, and it makes but little difference for our present purpose, if an animal is to be killed for the table, whether it is shot as it flies over a stubble-field or has its neck wrung in a farm-yard; but not all the birds that are shot, it must be remembered, are bagged. There are birds with broken legs and broken wing-bones, which flutter down into the cover, and which the retriever fails to find. And what is the condition of these? Why, they may be picked up, as we are told by sportsmen, days and days after they have been shot, and you may find the broken limbs in every stage of inflammation, swollen and red, and tender and suppurating, and the animal dragging itself about with what limbs it has remaining, and suffering all the time the additional agony of starvation—an agony probably in its case much more severe than that arising from its wounds. It is to be observed, too, that by keeping down, as we commonly do, all beasts of prey in our woods, except, perhaps, an occasional fox, we deprive the wounded creatures, in most cases, of their rightful refuge in a natural and merciful death. The case of a winged bird is, in fact, precisely that of an animal submitted to vivisection without any provision being made either for the extinction of sensibility during the process or of life at its termination; except, indeed, that in the one case the experiment is made carefully and for a definite and useful purpose, in the other carelessly and for sport; the one is performed perhaps once, where the other occurs a thousand times.

Now, we do not intend from all this to proceed to the conclusion that it is expedient, or even desirable, that we should immediately make an attempt to put down the cruelty of shooting and gamekeeping by legislation; but we do consider that even this hasty and imperfect survey of facts is sufficient to show that, whether rightly or wrongly, it is not the habit of our present age to put the sufferings of the lower animals into serious competition with the convenience, or even with the pleasures, of mankind; and that while for these purposes suffering is inflicted habitually and as it were wholesale, and without care or check, by all classes of men, gentle and simple alike, it would be the very height of absurdity to endeavour to check by legislative enactment its infliction by a small class of enlightened and laborious men by whom it is practised but rarely, and even then not wantonly or for amusement, but with care and pains, and for no less a purpose than to extend the empire of

human knowledge, and to diminish the amount of human suffering. Surely, to make any such attempt were indeed to begin our reforms at the wrong end of our social system, to strain at a gnat after swallowing innumerable camels.

ART. VI.—THE POLISH INSURRECTION OF 1863.

The Private History of a Polish Insurrection. From official and unofficial Sources. By H. SUTTERLAND EDWARDS, late Correspondent of the *Times* in Poland. London: 1865.

THE insurrection which ended so disastrously not quite two years ago has left the Polish question as far from a solution as ever. Though for the moment thoroughly subdued, the Poles show no disposition to be reconciled to their conquerors, and the next European complication will doubtless raise in them new hopes and again call the attention of the world to their patriotism and their wrongs. Their political condition is, indeed, so entirely exceptional, and so intimately connected with the distribution of power on the Continent, that it is scarcely possible to conceive of any great political convulsion taking place in Europe in which they would be not more or less directly concerned. The position of their country, divided politically between the great monarchies of the North, yet as much united in customs, language, and national feeling as in the most prosperous days of its independence, is in itself an anomaly, and cannot be regarded otherwise than as a provisional and abnormal state of things, maintained by sheer violence, and therefore certain to be disturbed by the first modification of the forces which alone uphold it. Nor is it easy to see how the conditions of the Polish problem can under present circumstances be altered. The title of "the most unfortunate of nations" which has been given to Poland ill describes the peculiarity which distinguishes her from the other nations of Europe. If the Poles had had nothing but misfortune to complain of, we should have heard the last of them long ago. It is not because she is the most unfortunate, but because she is the most wronged of the European nations, that Poland has persisted for nearly a century in rejecting the rule of the foreigner and keeping open her "question" for the terror of despots and the vexation of diplomatists. No nation in history with anything like so long and glorious an independent existence has been treated with such indignity, or seen the rights conferred upon it by charters and treaties so unscrupulously violated; and, in a patriotic and high-spirited race like the Poles, the sense of such wrongs must always keep alive the desire of independence, however hopeless it may appear.

Among the many insurrections by means of which the Poles have striven to extricate themselves from their intolerable position, the last

has certainly been the most important in its bearings on European politics and the most significant in its results. Its rise and progress, however, were involved in so much mystery, that very vague ideas regarding it prevailed at the time, not only among the general public, but also among the statesmen whose business it was to inform themselves of the real facts of the case, and whose mistakes exposed us to the alternative of war or humiliation. The mendacious telegrams and biased pamphlets and newspaper articles published by the partisans of both sides of course only added to the confusion already existing in the public mind. According to the writers of the school of the *Opinion Nationale*, Poland was a nation of heroes, who had risen as one man, from the Dnieper to the Vistula, to expel the Russians from their country; a national army of 92,000 men, completely equipped, and recruited from all classes, had been levied to do the patriotic work, and peasants as well as nobles in all parts of the country strictly obeyed the orders of the National Government. The friends of Russia, on the other hand, never tire of telling us* that Poland is not a nation at all, that the insurgents were a set of cowards and vagabonds, that the peasants ardently desire to be incorporated with Russia, and that the insurrection was the work of a dissolute and reactionist nobility, who strove to interest Europe in the sufferings of an imaginary Poland in order to free themselves from the civilising influence of Russia, and enable them to bring back their country to the state of misery and ignorance in which it was before its partition. It is refreshing to turn from these extravagant vagaries of a blind partisanship to the lucid and singularly conscientious and impartial work of Mr. Edwards. The peculiar value of his book consists in the spirit of fairness and moderation in which it is written, and his evident anxiety to represent the origin and nature of the insurrection in their true light. His visits to the country, both before and during the struggle, enabled him to study the question on the spot, and he has done this with an amount of care and discrimination which is very seldom to be met with in the productions of a "special correspondent." The two volumes of which his work is composed form decidedly the best and most complete book which has yet appeared on the insurrection. The letters sent by him to the *Times* in 1863, most of which are reprinted in the second volume, give a faithful and animated picture, by an acute observer, of the state of feeling in Poland and Russia during the struggle; and the two together contain a mass of information which for the first time furnishes the materials for a clear and impartial judgment on the subject.

The cause of the late insurrection has been explained in many ways. Lord Russell, with characteristic simplicity, attributed it to the bad government of the Emperor Nicholas; Mr. Edwards thinks it was caused by an idea among

the Poles that Russia was exhausted, and that France would help Poland as it had helped Italy. We are inclined to agree with the Pole quoted by Mr. Edwards in his second volume (p. 216), that it was a "patriotic eruption"—a movement begun, no doubt, by a few desperate and misguided men, but which would at once have died away of itself had it not been taken up and carried on by every man in the country who was capable of political feeling of any kind. The movement was essentially an impulsive one; for every sensible Pole condemned it, and saw its folly, though he felt he could not refrain from joining it. The nation had been insulted and provoked beyond endurance, and sprang blindly on its oppressor regardless of consequences, as a spirited boy would spring on a strong man under the same circumstances, though perfectly aware that he would, in all probability, be beaten in the end. Whatever may have been the justice of the reasons which prevented the Poles from rising during the Crimean war, it is evident that the case at that time was very different. It is true that the system of Nicholas was a deliberate attempt to crush out the Polish nationality, and that his government in Poland was an unmitigated despotism; but he did not set up, like Alexander, for a liberal and benevolent monarch; he did not encourage hopes which he afterwards treated with contempt, or flaunt in the face of Europe reforms which in Poland were known to have no real existence. An insurrection in Poland during the Crimean war would have been a deliberate attempt to throw off the yoke of Russia; and certainly, if we consider that instead of striking at once at the most vulnerable point of the empire, where they knew well that they would instantly be joined by the whole population, the allied Powers attacked Russia in the Crimea, it is easy to understand that the Poles should have declined to rise unless the allies formally engaged to obtain a certain minimum of concessions for them as one of the conditions of peace. There can be little doubt that, though France and England would have been glad of an insurrection in Poland, as a means of diverting the attention of Russia during their operations in the Crimea, they never seriously intended to give any support to such an insurrection, and that it was because this was the belief of the Poles, and not because there were a hundred thousand Russian soldiers in their country, that they determined not to risk embarking in an enterprise the failure of which would have been at least as disastrous to them as was that of the last insurrection.

In order clearly to understand the state of feeling in Poland when the insurrection broke out, we must go back to the period of the accession of the present Emperor. When the news of the death of Nicholas reached Warsaw, every Pole felt as if an immense weight had been removed from his breast, and the reaction produced in the nation a buoyancy of spirits and a readiness to receive impressions which were the natural results of the removal of the grinding tyranny it had suffered for the last five-and-twenty years. It was while the Poles

* See "Situation de la Pologne." Par L. Moller. Paris: 1865; and "Plus de Pologne." Par Lucien Fouque. Paris: 1865.

were in the midst of this sort of mental intoxication that the news came of proposals having been made in their favour during the Paris Conference, and of a promise from Count Orloff to the representatives of the Powers that the Emperor would grant an amnesty and certain liberal reforms to Poland. Shortly afterwards the Emperor visited Warsaw, and the Poles, whose hopes had now risen to a pitch of feverish excitement, determined to give him a splendid reception. The greatest attentions were paid him during his stay in the city, and a magnificent ball was given to him by the nobility; but all the enthusiasm in his favour was chilled in a moment by the famous speech in which he informed the Poles that he would allow "no dreams," and that he would maintain what his father did. Mr. Edwards tells a curious story apropos of this speech, which we do not remember to have seen before. It appears that during his journey from Kieff to Warsaw, the Emperor called on Count Jezierski, the delegate from the Polish Diet who during the revolution of 1830 went to St. Petersburg with prince Lubecki to propose to the Emperor Nicholas the union of the ancient provinces of Poland with the kingdom under a constitutional Government, as the only condition on which the Poles would consent to lay down their arms, and who, finding that the Emperor would accept no terms, afterwards recommended the Diet to yield, and was consequently looked upon as a traitor by the Poles and as a friend by the Russian Government. What passed between Alexander and the Count is not known, but it is said that the harsh words about the "dreams" of the Poles, which the Emperor uttered, as if by an afterthought, at the end of a complimentary speech to the nobles, seemed to be addressed especially to Jezierski. Mr. Edwards infers from this that, at the interview between the Emperor and Jezierski, the latter renewed the proposal he had made to the Emperor Nicholas in 1830; and that it was to this proposal that Alexander alluded when he spoke of the dreams of the Poles, and of his determination to maintain what his father had established—i. e., the substitution of a Russian for a Polish administration in the Polish provinces incorporated with the Russian Empire. This is certainly the only intelligible explanation of the Emperor's conduct on this occasion, as, even if he had intended to maintain the cruel and tyrannical system of Nicholas (which his subsequent acts show he did not), there could have been no reason for brutally reminding the Poles of their past sufferings, treating their hopes of an amelioration of their condition as "dreams," and informing them that he would continue to persecute and oppress them as his father did. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the Poles understood his words in this sense, and that such is their obvious meaning, whatever may have been the intention with which they were said. The "dreams" of Poland were at that time of a very vague character, and had not yet assumed the form of any definite demand or wish. All the Poles felt was that they had been cruelly ill-treated and trampled on; that a new monarch, with a reputation for liberal intentions,

was now their ruler; and that there was a hope of their condition being considerably bettered, both politically and morally. At the bottom of these feelings was, of course, an ardent desire for national independence; but every reasonable man in the country knew well that the time for the realisation of such a desire must be far distant, and that all that could be done in the meanwhile was to raise the material prosperity of the country and fit it for political life. This was the programme of Count Andrew Zamoyski; and for a time he had all the intelligence of the country with him. Had the Russian Government accepted the situation—had it strictly adhered to its own laws* and the reforms it introduced, allowing the Poles to take full advantage of the concessions made to them, but not to advance a step beyond the limit of what was granted them by the laws of the country—the insurrection, we are persuaded, would not have taken place, as the Government would have had the support of the only men who could have made it formidable; and Russian Poland would now have presented a picture of quiet prosperity such as it has never shown since it came under foreign rule. Of course, directly an opportunity presented itself, the Poles would none the less have striven to regain their independence; but this result was inevitable and was certainly not to be retarded or prevented by misgovernment and insult. The only alternative for Russia, while the Poles are under her rule (and they will do their best to escape from it in any case,) is either to keep them turbulent and discontented, at a vast expense of blood and money to herself, or to make them peaceful and obedient subjects by the same means as are adopted by every civilized Government that wishes to secure the goodwill of the people. Unfortunately, this was not the course taken by the Government of the Emperor Alexander. His first step was to grant an amnesty to the Polish exiles on his accession, which was saddled with the humiliating condition of expressing repentance for the "guilty error" of fighting for one's country, and did not return to the exiles their confiscated estates, though it was doubtless a substantial benefit to the thousands of Poles who were wearing away their hopeless lives in Siberia. An act equally ungracious, and far more galling to the national feeling, was the refusal of the Emperor, on his second visit to Warsaw with the Empress in 1857, to receive any Polish lady not dressed in the Russian costume, or any Polish gentleman not in the Government service. The establishment of the Agricultural Society in 1858, and the replacement, in 1859, of the old system of conscription by designation by the French system of conscription by ballot, were two real and valuable reforms; but their subsequent withdrawal by the Russian Government was felt by Poland the more deep-

* The Poles resemble the English and the Americans in their almost pedantic adherence to law. "The country," to use the language of the official report on the condition of the kingdom of Poland presented to the Emperor in March, 1861, "is radically imbued with the sense of law."

ly that they were so real and valuable. As for the material condition of the Poles, under the mild rule of Prince Gortchakoff, it was, no doubt, considerably improved. Until the national demonstrations began there was no political persecution or yearly conscription, as in the days of Nicholas, and the price of foreign passports was reduced so low as to enable a large number of Poles to visit foreign countries.

The era of "demonstrations" began in October, 1860, when the three northern sovereigns met—for the purpose, as was generally supposed, of renewing the Holy Alliance and plotting against France and the newly-liberated kingdom of Italy—in the capital of the country which their predecessors had dismembered. This proceeding naturally provoked the Poles to the utmost; the principal Polish families left Warsaw, and the stay of the Emperor and his allies in that city was made so uncomfortable by numerous petty vexations got up by the inhabitants, that the fêtes given on the occasion were suddenly broken off, and the monarchs returned prematurely to their respective capitals. This was another of the many instances of gratuitous insult offered to the Poles by their rulers, who seem to think that the best mode of extinguishing the feeling of nationality in Poland is to outrage it in every possible way. It is a favourite and plausible argument of writers on the Russian side, that it is useless to grant any concessions to the Poles, as they only employ them for the purpose of achieving their independence, and that Russia cannot be expected to give up her share of Poland now, because she was perhaps not quite blameless in seizing it a hundred years ago; but it is impossible to test this argument by practical experience, for Russia has never given the Poles an opportunity of becoming reconciled to her rule, but, on the contrary, has provoked them by constant insult to resist and detest her. It is not by insulting, but by paying the greatest respect to their feeling of nationality, that the Scotch have been turned into Englishmen, the Lithuanians into Poles, and the Norwegians into Swedes; and it is but natural that the Poles, with their unparalleled grievances and fiery patriotism, should bitterly resent such outrages to their nation from a race less civilized, and with a far shorter and less glorious history than their own. The meeting of the three sovereigns in the Polish capital was so deeply felt, that it was determined to organize a series of patriotic demonstrations as a sort of protest against the conduct of the Government. On the 29th of November, the anniversary of the outbreak which preceded the insurrection of 1830, an immense procession paraded the streets of Warsaw, singing the national hymn; and this demonstration was followed in the next few months by a great number of similar ones, until that of the 25th February, 1861, (the anniversary of the battle of Grochow,*) was dispersed by force. This procession was, like

the others, composed of unarmed men, and it was stopped by the troops, who, finding that they could not approach the torch-bearers in the procession, who directed the flames of their torches towards the nostrils of the chargers, drew their swords and sabred many persons in the crowd. The affair of the 27th February was still more serious. A funeral procession, passing along the chief street of the town on its way to the cemetery, was attacked by the Cossacks, apparently under the impression that it was another demonstration. As it did not break up, the Cossacks were called back and replaced by a detachment of infantry, who fired on the unarmed crowd without warning, and killed five men, whose bodies were taken charge of by the Poles, and carried in procession to the cemetery three days afterwards. The Government on this occasion appears to have lost all presence of mind, and it was so apprehensive of the consequences of its acts that for the moment it abdicated its functions, and left the city entirely in the hands of the Poles. The result showed that this confidence was not misplaced, for although the procession which followed the bodies of the victims was more than three miles long, the whole of the Polish population of Warsaw having joined in it, the proceedings passed off in the greatest tranquillity.

It was during the above demonstrations, and especially after the massacres of February, that a revolutionary party began to organize itself in Warsaw. It so happened that these massacres followed immediately upon the resolutions passed by the Agricultural Society (20th February), with the object of making the peasants freeholders, and the moment was therefore thought ripe by Mieroslawski and the few adherents he then had in Warsaw to prepare for an insurrection, as the peasantry would be more likely to take an interest in political matters, and to unite with the nobles in an armed movement, when they became landowners and citizens themselves. The plan of Mieroslawski was to carry out a gigantic propaganda in Russia and Poland, of which the instruments in Russia would be the Polish officers and civil functionaries, and in Poland the proprietors, the former spreading seditious and revolutionary opinions among the Russians, in order to produce a revolution, and the latter cultivating the good-will of the peasants, and filling them with patriotic sentiments, so as to make them ready to rise when the proper moment arrived. The sympathies of Europe were in the meantime to be enlisted by continual attacks on Russia in the press and by accounts of Russian atrocities, real or invented. This plan, like its author, found few supporters in Poland, either at the time it was conceived or subsequently. Some of Mieroslawski's adherents, indeed, went even farther than Mieroslawski himself, for they were too impatient to wait for the execution of his scheme, and conceived the mad project of beginning the insurrection on the day of the funeral of the five men shot in the massacre of the 27th of February. The fact that there was not the smallest disturbance on that day showed how little the ideas of these enthusiasts were shared by the people. The truth is, that at

* Grochow is a town near Warsaw, where the Polish insurgents of 1830 fought their first great battle, and gained their first great victory against the Russians.

that time not only would the Poles as a body have nothing to do with Mirosławski's plan—one part of which, as Mr. Edwards well observes, "could only have been carried out by a nation of scoundrels, another only by a nation of brave and generous men"—but that they were not disposed to encourage or carry out any plan at all with the object of preparing an insurrection. If the Government had quietly but firmly taken its stand on its legal rights, making no opposition to harmless demonstrations, but severely punishing any infraction of the law, it would not have been even then too late to obtain the respect, if not the support, of the Poles. But the Government only irritated and strengthened the discontent which was already deepening into open hostility. The events of the 25th and 27th produced so profound an impression in Poland, that the whole nation went spontaneously into mourning, and adopted all the outward tokens of deep and sincere grief. "The unanimity," says Mr. Edwards, "of all Poles capable of national feeling of any kind in presence of the acts of ferocity committed by the Russians was shown, not only in the adoption of mourning, but also in the wearing of Polish mementoes, the abandonment of dancing and of public amusements of all kinds, and in the crowded attendance at the churches wherever a service was to be performed in honour of some Polish patriot, or in commemoration of some great day in the history of Poland. If all this was contrived by the men who aimed only at bringing about an appeal to arms, it was certainly contrived most cunningly." This silent protest of the nation was worthily seconded by the conduct of those who acted as its representatives. Not only did the marshals of the nobility wait upon Prince Gortchakoff to protest against the violence of the troops, but eight members of the Polish Agricultural Society, together with the principal members of the municipality, the heads of the clergy of all denominations, and other notabilities of the capital, sent an address to the Emperor, exposing the grievances of the nation, but making no specific demand. "A country once on a level with the civilization of its Christian neighbours cannot," so said the address, "grow morally or materially, so long as its church, its legislation, its public instruction, and its whole social organization are forcibly subjected to foreign innovation, and withdrawn from the national influence. . . . All confidence has ceased between the governing and the governed; repression, however violent, however obstinate, can never recall it." This address was signed by the Archbishop of Warsaw, the President of the Evangelical Consistory, the Chief Rabbi, and all the principal persons of Warsaw, besides a vast number of private persons of all classes, and from all parts of the country; yet the Emperor, in his answer to this document, contemptuously described it as the petition "of a few individuals," and added that he ought to treat it as if it had never existed, but that, nevertheless, he would grant certain reforms, the principal of which were the formation of a Polish Council of State and of elective district and municipal councils. The indigna-

tion produced among the Poles by this reply was still further increased by the dissolution of the Agricultural Society—the body to which the people were accustomed to look as a sort of national representation, and which, from the moderation of its views and the high position of many of its members, would have been the least likely to act in factious opposition to the Government. The day after the dissolution, an immense crowd of persons proceeded to the house of Count Andrew Zamoyski, the president of the society, to protest against it, and the day after another crowd assembled in front of Prince Gortchakoff's palace. On the first occasion the troops did not interfere; but on the second they made a deliberate attack on the people, which Mr. Edwards thus graphically describes:—

"The procession, after leaving the cemetery, made its way to the Sigismund-square, and there stationed itself in front of the palace occupied by the Imperial Lieutenant. The national hymn was sung; newspapers containing the Emperor's reply to the Warsaw address were burned; the crowd, summoned by several officers, and called upon and entreated by Prince Gortchakoff himself to withdraw, refused to move; and, ultimately, when full warning had been given—but also when no act of violence had been committed—the Russians fired upon the unarmed people, and from time to time renewed the slaughter until at last the square was evacuated. On this, as on so many other occasions of the same kind, the utmost fortitude was displayed by the Poles. Very few left the square in obedience to the summons of the Russian officers. The vast majority knelt down, and sang the patriotic hymn. The leaders of the manifestations exhorted the timid to be firm, and here and there joined hands to prevent their departure. Some were actually attracted to the spot by the first discharge. Among others, a Jewish student named Landé joined the crowd after the firing had begun, and was raising a wounded man from the ground when he was himself struck to the heart. Thus the people of Warsaw protested with terrible earnestness against the dominion of Russia in Poland."

It was about this time that a distinct difference of opinion began to manifest itself between the various parties in Poland. From the 2nd of March to the 7th of April (the day before the massacre above described) the city had been perfectly quiet, having been entirely given up to the Poles, and order having been preserved by the exertions of Polish special constables. The Emperor's reply to the address, however, and the dissolution of the Agricultural Society, added considerably to the numbers of those who thought that it was useless to negotiate with Russia any longer, and the result was that a regular system of passive resistance was entered upon. The great majority of this party (which Mr. Edwards calls the "party of action"), though they aimed at ultimately bringing about a rising, were opposed to any precipitate measures, and wished to postpone the movement until a sufficient quantity of arms should be obtained, and the aid of the peasants secured by making them freeholders. The latter step had been already proposed by the Agricultural Society, which, however, had added to its pro-

posal the recommendation that the landlord should be partly compensated for the loss of his land by a series of yearly payments, made by the peasant for a certain number of years. The party of action, on the other hand, wished to relieve the peasant from making any payment at all to the landlord, whom it proposed to compensate out of the State treasury, after the country had recovered its independence. The other great party in Poland was the White or moderate party, chiefly consisting of the landowners, as the Reds or democrats chiefly belonged to the class of workmen and small traders. It desired the independence of Poland as ardently as the Reds, but it was opposed to forcible measures, being of opinion that an insurrection at that time would have no chance of success, and that the best course for the Poles to pursue was to improve the material condition of their country as much as possible, and take advantage of any concessions the Government might be disposed to make; at the same time continuing to press the demand for a national administration for the whole of Russian Poland. These opinions were, in fact, those of the great majority of the country, until the Government strengthened the "Reds" by its policy of incessant provocation. Count Andrew Zamoyski, popularly known as "Mr. Andrew," was the chief of the moderate party, whose opinions he fully shared, and the influence which he possessed over the people of all classes was strikingly shown by the marvellous order and tranquillity with which tens of thousands of Poles followed the funeral procession of the victims of the massacre of the 27th of February, after he had given his word to the Government that the funeral should take place without disturbance. So great, indeed, was his influence, that many believe that if he had been allowed to remain in Poland he would have prevented the insurrection, for both the Whites and Reds were agreed that the outbreak was premature, and the small party of revolutionists who originated it were at first its only supporters.

The "reforms" introduced by the Russian Government in March, 1861, consisted of the following measures:—First, the department of ecclesiastical affairs was separated from that of the interior, and a commission of public worship and instruction was established—an administrative reform which was a mere matter of official convenience. Second, a Council of State, composed of Poles nominated by the Emperor, was instituted, whose function it was to deliberate privately on measures submitted to it by the Government, but which had no power either of initiative or decision. Third, elective district and municipal councils were established, whose functions were also restricted to deliberation on matters laid before them by the Government commissioners. These concessions, which, it must be confessed, went but a very little way towards fulfilling the desire of the country for a national representation, were nevertheless accepted by the Poles; the only party that urged their rejection was the insignificant one of the revolutionists. The municipal elections took place in September, 1861,

in perfect order, and most of the members chosen belonged to the moderate party; yet the Government, with its usual perverseness, proclaimed Poland in a state of siege a fortnight afterwards, for the reason, among others, that persons hostile to the Russian authorities had been returned in the elections. Then came the siege of the churches by the soldiery on the anniversary of the death of Kosciuszko, when the congregations were shut up for eighteen hours without food, and afterwards marched off to the citadel. The popular indignation had now reached its highest pitch, and the two great parties organised themselves into political societies, with a common fund, a secret journal which was the organ of each, and directing committees. Mr. Edwards gives the following interesting account of the organisation of the two parties:—

"The organisation of the White party was based on that of the late Agricultural Society. It had groups of members among the landed proprietors of every district in the kingdom, and its affairs were directed by a committee of three, sitting at Warsaw. This party had already considerable funds at its disposal, including the subscriptions received from the members of the Agricultural Society, the proceeds of various collections made after religious celebrations in the churches at Warsaw and in the provinces, as well as contributions from other sources. . . . At their meeting of October 17, 1861, the extreme men of the party of action resolved to organise a National Committee, which was the origin of the 'Central National Committee,' which, after the appeal to arms, united with the directing committee of the moderate or White party, out of which combination the first 'National Government' was formed. A plan was drawn up in writing, in which it was specified that the committee should be divided into three sections—one for the propagation of patriotic ideas, and for making known the general decisions of the committee; a second for financial matters, and for the preparation of circulars and addresses; a third for enrolling and arming intending combatants. Each of these sections was directed by a chief, to whom an assistant was attached, capable, if necessary, of replacing him. . . . When the formation of the National Committee was first decided upon, the party of action, which the committee was to represent, had only a sum of from five to six hundred pounds at its disposal. Of this, a little more than half had been collected after a religious service ordered by some government officials in memory of those who fell in the massacres, and the remainder after two similar services ordered respectively by the association of hackney coachmen and the association of house porters. The Polish insurrection of 1863 has been called an aristocratic movement; but the porters and cab-drivers of Warsaw were getting up subscriptions in furtherance of the insurrection at a time when the prudent landed proprietors were doing all in their power to stop it."

The establishment of this secret committee naturally gave rise to a great many abuses, some of which, such as the assassinations, were universally deplored in the country. This was especially the case with regard to the attempt on the Grand Duke Constantine, who was wounded by a misguided fanatic on the day after his arrival at Warsaw as the Emperor's lieutenant (July 8, 1863). There can be no doubt that this appointment was made with the intention of conciliating

the people; but the excitement was already too great in the country for it to be pacified merely by the Emperor's brother coming to rule over it as viceroy. No reforms were introduced, or even promised, during the first two months of his government, the state of siege was maintained in all its rigour, a number of vexatious decrees about costume were issued, and the leaders of the national demonstrations were stigmatised in official proclamation, as "a band of malefactors." At length, on the 27th of August, the Grand Duke issued a manifesto, in which he assured the Poles that he did not consider them responsible for the acts of an individual malefactor, and called upon them to support his Government. In consequence of this appeal, between 300 and 400 of the principal landed proprietors met at the Hôtel de l'Europe, and drew up an address, in which they stated that they did not refuse their support to the new institutions given to the Kingdom, but strongly recommended their extension to the rest of Russian Poland—i.e., the Polish provinces seized by Russia at the first, second, and third partitions. They further represented that the only mode of securing the loyal and cordial co-operation of the Poles with the Russian Government would be to unite the whole of Russian Poland under a Polish administration and with a constitution. It will be remarked here that the Poles had not yet finally broken with the Russian Government, since they offered to accept terms which were very far from the fulfilment of their desire for national independence, but, on the contrary, were rather calculated to prevent it, by opening the door to a reconciliation with Russia. The danger to Russia of giving the Kingdom of Poland, even with its provinces, a constitution, would certainly not have been greater than that which already existed from the revolutionary organization which spread its ramifications over the provinces as well as the Kingdom, and which would have been paralyzed by the establishment of a national Polish government with the Emperor of Russia at its head as King of Poland. Even supposing that the organization would have been maintained after the cessation of all just cause of discontent, the Russian troops and police would have had quite as much power over it under the new state of things as under the old, for a Polish government could as little have suffered the existence of an illegal society as a Russian one. That the small party of Liberals in Russia would have asked for a constitution if one were given to Poland is probable; but they had already done this when there was no thought of giving Poland a constitution, and the Emperor would have had no difficulty in acting as he thought fit about the matter in the present case, as he did on the former occasion. The truth is, that a constitutional movement in Russia is easily put down, for it is sure to be confined only to a very small section of the population, the great bulk of the people neither understanding nor caring about what we call freedom. "The Pole," says Mr. Edwards, "with all his wrongs and all his sufferings, is still a freer man than the Russian. His soul is free, and in certain supreme cases he will, without reference to the innumerable *ukases* and *prikases* directed

against him, do what, in accordance with the liberal traditions of a thousand years, he feels to be just and proper. The Russian, on the other hand, feeling that in his country there is not and never has been any such thing as legality, dares not, and, morally speaking, cannot, take his stand even upon such rights as are plainly given to him by the written law." The Emperor could, therefore, without any great danger to his empire, and with a good chance of pacifying the Poles, have granted the concessions they asked for. The main difficulty of the matter no doubt was, that the Russians have been lately taught by official falsifications of history to look upon the Polish provinces as originally Russian, and that the administrative union of those provinces with the kingdom would have seemed to them an abandonment of Russian territory.* It is pretty certain, however, that if the Government, which was the original promoter of this error, had allowed the union, the Russian people would not at that time have made any serious objection to it, whatever may have been the case when the interference of the Western Powers made the question appear one of national honour. At any rate, the Poles of Lithuania and Ruthenia are not to be blamed for remaining Poles, in spite of the assertion of the Russian Government that they are Russians; and the framers of the Warsaw address were quite right to say that the Russian Government could not be supported by the Polish people unless the institutions given to the Kingdom were also given to the provinces, for they knew well that liberal institutions restricted to the Kingdom alone would be no satisfaction to the rest of Russian Poland. The national agitation was as great in the ancient provinces of Poland as in the Kingdom, and the desire for administrative union was as strong, as was proved by the petitions of the landowners of Podolia and Minsk. The Government, however, not only rejected the demand of the Poles, but did so in a manner which could only add to the detestation that it already inspired in all parts of the country. Although the Warsaw address had not been presented, nor even signed, the fact of its having been placed in the hands of Count Andrew Zamoyiski was deemed sufficient to justify the removal of that eminent patriot from the country; and the landowners of Podolia, who in presenting their address only exercised a right which is granted to them by the Russian law, were banished in a body into Russia. The Government had now, in fact, cleared the way for the insurrection, for it had alienated the class which by its position would naturally be most disposed to support it, and had turned out of Poland the only man who was sufficiently moderate in his views to be willing to accept any

* "The civilization of both Lithuania and Ruthenia is entirely Polish—as that of Brittany is French, that of Wales English. . . . The astonishing discovery was made, during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, that the provinces seized by Russia at the three partitions of the eighteenth century were not Polish at all, but Russian. Neither the Emperor Alexander I., nor the Emperor Paul, nor the Empress Catharine II., had the least suspicion of this."—*Edwards*.

real overtures for a reconciliation, and at the same time sufficiently popular in the country to ensure their acceptance by the people.

While doing full justice to the barbarous cruelty of the Russians, and the wonderful fortitude and heroism displayed by the Poles during the two eventful years which preceded the insurrection, Mr. Edwards does not, we think, give enough prominence to the radical badness of the system of government under which Poland was ruled during that period. The impression left on the mind by his book is, that the state of feeling which made the Poles so easily stirred up into insurrection was caused, not by misgovernment, but by the comparative liberty which they had enjoyed since the accession of Alexander to revive their patriotism by national demonstrations, and by the hopes of a foreign intervention in their favour; that the Russian Government was doing its best to reconcile them by reforms, which they declined to accept, as nothing would satisfy them but complete independence; and that they did wrong in not accepting the policy of Wielopolski. We must express our entire dissent from this view. We have already shown that the conduct of the Russian authorities towards the Poles was insulting and irritating in the last degree, and was in itself sufficient to provoke insurrection, even if it had not been a foreign government that thus treated them. The patriotism of the Poles, their desire to throw off the yoke of the foreigner, and their hope of a foreign intervention, no doubt contributed to produce the insurrection; but it is a mistake to ascribe it to those causes only. As for the reforms offered by the Russian Government, some of which were no doubt valuable, though they were mostly only reforms in name, apparently introduced in order to give the Emperor a reputation for Liberalism in Europe, they were all accepted and used by the Poles until the Government itself thought proper to withdraw them; and so little were the Poles disposed to reject every solution but that of national independence, that they constantly petitioned the Emperor for the concessions which were to be the condition of their becoming loyal and obedient subjects. Much has been said of the valuable reforms introduced by Marquis Wielopolski, but it is difficult to see in what they consisted. He made the administration wholly Polish; but Mr. Edwards tells us it was nearly Polish already. The Council of State and provincial councils were, as we have seen, mere forms of liberal institutions, and were not allowed to exercise any really valuable right. The only great reform connected with the name of the Marquis was that introduced in the education of the country—certainly a measure of the highest importance and value in itself, but a poor substitute for the want of every form of political life to a nation which had enjoyed representative institutions for eight centuries. It is true that Wielopolski's projects extended considerably farther than this; but the Poles refused to support them because they knew his object was to make Poland renounce her glorious past, and all she had fought and suffered for during the last century, in order to unite herself indissolubly with Russia. The Poles were ready

to accept any concession that Russia might be disposed to make to them, and even to support the Russian Government if it ceased to provoke and insult them; but they were not ready to barter their national honour and their patriotic aspirations for an alliance with their enemy with the object of revenging themselves on the Western Powers for having abandoned them. For this was generally believed to be the real aim of the Marquis, whose proud spirit had been stung to the quick by the indifference with which he had been received in London when he was sent there on a mission by the Polish National Government of 1831, and who in his well-known "Letter from a Polish Nobleman to Prince Metternich" had recommended the Poles to adopt a policy of this kind. The reforms proposed by the Marquis thus appeared to be only a sop thrown to his countrymen in order to reconcile them to a permanent union with Russia; and the Poles naturally declined to commit themselves to his policy by supporting him in proposing these reforms, although they accepted them when they were offered by the Russian Government. What was really Wielopolski's policy it was almost impossible for the Poles to ascertain, as he was extremely uncommunicative, and scarcely treated his Polish visitors with ordinary politeness; but his conduct certainly bore out the impression which generally prevailed on the subject. He sedulously avoided from the beginning associating himself with any of the phases of the national movement, even declining to be a member of the Agricultural Society; and he was quite ready to throw over the claims of the Polish provinces attached to Russia so long as the Kingdom was given an autonomy. His feeling with regard to his country was, in fact, not so much patriotism as wounded pride. It galled him to think that he belonged to a nation which was the object of universal pity, and he determined at all hazards to place it in such a position as to inspire very very different feelings. His object was above all things to throw in the lot of Poland with that of Russia, and for this he worked with all the energy of his powerful mind. Finding that the Russians would not hear of national institutions for the Polish provinces, he confined his demands to the Kingdom; and when his plans were balked by the Red party, he attempted to get rid of it by the conscription.

When the Grand Duke Constantine was appointed Viceroy, with Marquis Wielopolski as chief of the civil government, the National Committee had for some months been in full activity. In May, 1862, the Committee already felt itself so strong that it issued papers, stamped with the arms* of the ancient Polish republic, in all parts of Poland, calling on the Poles to recognise its authority and pay a general tax for the purposes of the movement; and,

* These are, the white eagle of Poland and the mounted knight of Lithuania, to which was afterwards added the archangel of Ruthenia. The only mistake worth noticing that we have found in Mr. Edwards's book is the peculiarly English one of calling the patron saint of Ruthenia St. George instead of St. Michael.

about the same time, provincial committees were formed in communication with and under the direction of the National Committee, which was afterwards (October, 1862) altered into a "Central National Committee." When this became known to the Government, Wielopolski proposed to paralyse the national organization by removing all that were known or suspected to belong to it from the country, under the pretence of a conscription. This barbarous and utterly unjustifiable measure has been duly appreciated by the world, and will cover with lasting infamy the name of its author. It was not an attempt to "kidnap the opposition," as Lord Napier called it—for the opposition constituted the whole of the country—but to frighten the nation into adopting Wielopolski's policy. The Marquis openly declared that he wanted to bring the national eruption in the country "to a head;" he wished to produce an abortive insurrection, which would enable him to remove and discredit the revolutionists, and at the same time strike terror into the hearts of the moderate party. The way in which the conscription was carried out—the soldiers breaking into the houses at midnight, and tearing from them the men marked out by the vengeance of the Government, or, in their absence, their fathers, sons, or friends, and the official paper declaring four days after that the conscription had been received with joy and good will by the country—plainly points to the fact that it was intended to provoke an outbreak, though, of course, Wielopolski never suspected that the latter would assume the proportions it did. Unfortunately, the dissolution of the Agricultural Society and the exile of Count Zamoyski had completely disorganized the moderate party, and considerably strengthened the extreme Reds, who alone desired an insurrection. On the first of January, eleven members of this party held a meeting, at which it was resolved to begin the insurrection on the 15th (the day of the conscription). The central committee, on the other hand, which now included several members of the moderate party, considered that the time for a rising had not yet arrived, and rejected the proposal made by the committee of eleven. The day after the conscription, however, the central committee resolved to commence the insurrection on the 22d, and on that day it broke out simultaneously in all parts of the country.

We shall not here recapitulate the moving incidents of the insurrection, of which an animated and picturesque description is given in Mr. Edwards's second volume. Before concluding, however, we would say a few words on the much-debated question of the foreign intervention. Although it is certain that, even if the Poles had had no hope of foreign aid, the insurrection would have broken out all the same, we quite agree with Mr. Edwards that the chief cause of its having been prolonged and supported by all classes of Poles was the encouragement which they received from abroad. For nearly two months after the insurrection began, the moderate party held aloof from the movement, and endeavoured to persuade its authors to give it up. "The diplomacy of France and

England," says Mr. Edwards, "first gave it a serious character. . . . The insurrection grew by the enthusiasm of the townspeople and of the young men of all classes; but the general sanction and co-operation of the landowners, without which it could not possibly have lasted, were not secured until the intervention of Poland's traditional friends (and also traditional betrayers) took away from the struggle that character of utter hopelessness which it had at first presented." The leadership of the movement was at first in the hands of the extreme Reds, who attempted to make their friend Mieroslawski dictator, but only succeeded in obtaining the appointment for him conditionally on his making a position for himself in Poland before the 10th of March. By that time, however, the extreme party had lost much of its power over the affairs of the insurrection. On the 4th of March, a meeting took place at Cracow between deputies of the Red and White parties, at which a union between those parties was effected, and Mieroslawski having as yet done nothing except fighting one battle, in which he was defeated, and after which he immediately left Russian Poland, it was determined to elect Langiewicz as dictator from the 10th of March, the day on which Mieroslawski's probation was to expire. We cannot better explain the accession of the White or moderate party to the revolutionary committee than in the clear and forcible language of Mr. Edwards:—

"The *Constitutionnel* published its article declaring that, through the signing of the Prussian Convention, the Polish question had become a European question, on the 17th February; and three days afterwards, February 20th, Prince Ladislas Czartoryski telegraphed from Paris to Warsaw that the insurrection must be kept up. The words '*qu'il fallait durer*' passed from mouth to mouth, and it was understood that, if the insurrection lasted long enough, France would support it by force of arms. . . . 'Keep up the fighting, and I will do my best for you,' was what the advice given to the Polish leaders in Paris really amounted to; and, considering all the circumstances; considering that the insurrection was growing naturally of itself; that the Russians were behaving most feebly, though at the same time very cruelly in their attempts to suppress it; that the Austrians were scarcely guarding the frontier at all, and were allowing detachments to be formed in the Galician woods, and arms and ammunition to be conveyed from Galicia into the Kingdom of Poland; that sympathy for the Poles was being loudly expressed in England as well as in France, and that both the English and French Governments were about to engage in diplomatic representations on behalf of Poland: considering all this, the moderate party could scarcely hold back any longer without causing their moderation to be mistaken for want of courage and want of patriotism. The White, or moderate party, were, at the last moment, obliged by circumstances, and induced by the hopes held out to them, to join the insurrection."

The Russian Government, too, far from attempting to gain the support of the moderate party, continued to provoke it into open hostility. On the 3rd of March, the anniversary of the Emperor's accession, which it was thought would be made the occasion of offering a general amnesty,

the Polish members of the Council of State, who belonged to the most moderate section of the Whites, attended the Grand Duke's levee, but not the slightest notice was taken of them; and on the 6th an order was published in the official journal of Warsaw, calling upon the peasantry to assist in re-establishing tranquillity, and empowering them to arrest all "suspicious" persons living in or passing through their villages, which "looked too much like an invitation to commence a *Jacquerie* for the most moderate of the moderate party to give their countenance any longer to the acts of the Government." The result was that the independent members of the Council of State resigned their seats. The moderate party having thus definitively broken with the Russian Government, a new civil government for Poland was established by the combined White and Red Committee at Cracow. This Government was to act under the name and responsibility of the Dictator, whose duties were confined to the command in the field, and two secretaries of the Government were to be attached to his person and to countersign all decrees submitted to and approved by him. The Government was composed of four departments: war, interior, finance, and foreign affairs, the latter of which only was placed in the hands of the moderate party. The dictatorship, as is known, lasted only nine days, Langiewicz having been made prisoner by the Austrians on the 19th of March; but three days before, the *Moniteur* had published the first French despatches, treating the Polish question as a European one, and the Poles were not likely to put an end to the insurrection just at the moment when France seemed to be taking up their cause; besides which, the defeat had not been sufficiently complete to justify them in giving up the struggle after having once committed themselves to it. Lord Russell, too, had endeavoured, in his despatch to Russia of March 2nd, to obtain a national Diet for Poland, and they naturally believed that, after once making such a proposition, he would not withdraw from it, so long as they continued their armed protest, without taking some serious step against Russia. Accordingly, they rejected the amnesty offered by the Emperor (which merely promised pardon to those who would lay down their arms), and continued the struggle under their national Government. There can be no question, therefore, that the continuance of the insurrection, with all its disastrous results, is chargeable to the foreign intervention. Should the intervention, then, have taken place at all? We think that, considering the grave disturbances which the insurrection was likely to produce in Europe, the pressure of public opinion in England and France, and the right given to the Powers by the Treaty of Vienna to insist on the fulfilment of the conditions under which they sanctioned the partition of Poland, it was both their duty and their interest to interfere, if there was a chance of their interference being successful. But in this matter England and France acted much as the revolutionists who began the outbreak did; they rushed blindly into action without calculating the consequences. "The chapter of

accidents" was at least as much trusted to by the Western Powers as the insurgents, and was found equally deceptive by both. England hoped that Russia would yield to "moral pressure;" France hoped to drag England into a war of which Poland would be the pretext, if not the cause; Austria hoped to secure the "guarantees" she is always seeking, and never obtaining, as the price of her accession to the alliance of the West. But amid all these hopes no settled plan of action was decided upon. England opened the diplomatic campaign by boldly reproaching Russia with her violation of the treaty of Vienna, and was followed more hesitatingly by France and Austria; then, without arranging as to their future course in case of a refusal, the three Powers proposed to Russia the famous "six points," and when the refusal came, quarrelled about what they should do, and ended in doing nothing. Mr. Edwards characterises these six points in an epigrammatic sentence which will be often quoted, but which, like many such sentences, does not express the whole truth:—"Lord Russell thought he could tell the Russian Government how to pacify the Poles without destroying the Russian Empire. Give them a few things that they already had, and a few more that they didn't want, and not one particle of what they asked for, and Lord Russell was quite sure that they would be contented." A national Diet, which constituted one of the "points," was certainly not what they had, or what they didn't want, and it was a very large particle of what they asked for; and had the Powers pressed this, and their other demands (which related to institutions that had already existed, it is true, but that had been withdrawn during the insurrection), with the distinct understanding that they would ask for nothing more, and that unless their demands were granted they would retort upon Russia with some serious act of hostility, such as the withdrawal of their ambassadors, it is probable that Russia would have yielded at once, and that the insurgents, finding there was no more hope of foreign aid, would have ceased their resistance. As it was, the uncertainty of the designs, and the vagueness of the threats of the allies, only encouraged the hopes of the insurgents, and roused the Russian nation to such a degree of irritation, that the Government felt itself perfectly safe in insulting the Western Powers, and oppressing the Poles more than ever. Finally, by receiving Prince Gortchakoff's rebuff in silence, instead of either breaking off diplomatic relations or carrying out Lord Russell's abortive project of declaring that Russia had forfeited her rights to Poland because she had violated the conditions on which they were acquired, the Powers deprived themselves of the opportunity of making terms with Russia for the Poles after the insurrection, and have left them infinitely worse off than when they took them under their protection.

On this point, of the conditions by which Poland holds Russia under the Treaty of Vienna, we are surprised to see that Mr. Edwards holds Prince Gortchakoff's view, namely, that these conditions were not stipulated for by the

Western Powers, but by Russia herself. He says that she "desired most ardently at the Congress of Vienna, not only that the Kingdom of Poland should enjoy a constitution, national institutions, and all possible advantages short of complete independence, but also that this novel position for a conquered people should be guaranteed by the whole of Europe." Now, it is quite true that the Emperor Alexander desired to give a constitution to the kingdom of Poland; but it was not to the constitution, but to the "forced annexation of nearly the entire of so important and populous a territory as the Duchy of Warsaw" that Lord Castlereagh so strongly objected. Alexander's proposal was to make *this territory* into a Kingdom of Poland, with national institutions; and it is to this that Lord Castlereagh alluded when he said the Western Powers wished to avoid "that species of measure which, under the title of higher import, may create alarm both in Russia and the neighbouring States." When, however, the Emperor of Russia agreed to give up Posen to Prussia, and Galicia to Austria, the danger of a Kingdom of Poland which would be formidable to the neighbouring States was removed, and the Western Powers not only no longer objected to the formation of a Kingdom of Poland out of the small part of the Duchy of Warsaw which was left, but *insisted* on the Poles being granted national institutions as a compensation for the security Europe had lost by the partition. Thus, Prince Metternich, in his despatch to Prince Hardenberg of the 10th December, 1814,* said:—

"The Emperor not having found in your Highness's verbal note anything relative to the constitutional question of Poland, nor to that of the reunion of the ancient Ruthenian provinces to the new acquisitions of Russia, his Imperial Majesty directs me to call the attention of the Prussian Cabinet to an object so essential. The demands which we have a right to make in this respect to Russia result from the engagements which the Emperor Alexander had spontaneously, of his own accord, taken towards us, in order to compensate us in a degree for his pretensions to territorial acquisitions."

Lord Castlereagh and Prince Talleyrand also declared that they regarded the grant of national institutions to the Poles as the only guarantee, next to the complete restoration of an independent Poland, for the security of Europe; and the three partitioning Powers were accordingly required † to give assurances regarding their intentions in this respect. The fact of Alexander

having at that time been well disposed towards the Poles was certainly no security for either himself or his successors continuing to have the same sentiments under other circumstances, as the event fully proved. The truth is, that in this matter the plenipotentiaries of the Western Powers had two objects in view: they wished to prevent Russia from annexing the whole of Poland; and they wished, for their own protection, to maintain the Polish nationality in such a manner as both to pacify Poland and make her act, as a nation, independently of any other Power. Their objection to the formation of a large Kingdom of Poland was made with the first of these objects; the conditions relative to Poland in the Treaty were imposed upon Russia and the two other partitioning Powers.

Mr. Edwards is of opinion that the only definite solution of the Polish question must be the restoration of the whole of Poland to independence, and that the Poles will not be satisfied with less. In this we quite agree with him; but the time for such a solution is probably very far distant, and are the inhabitants of Russian Poland to endure a renewal of the horrors of the government of Nicholas in the meanwhile? The last unhappy insurrection seems to have created a belief in Russia that it is impossible to hold Poland except by the sword, and that the Poles only make use of concessions and reforms to turn them against their rulers. We think the events which preceded the insurrection teach a very different lesson. They show that the Poles were ready to accept concessions from Russia, even when the offer was accompanied by every kind of insult and provocation, and that they rose, not because they obtained reforms, but because the reforms were given with one hand and taken away with the other—because they were treated at one moment like a civilized and intelligent nation, at another, like the savage subjects of an African king—because their national feelings were insulted, and relief seemed to be coming to them from abroad. In Posen and Galicia the desire of independence is not less strong than in the kingdom; yet Polish deputies sit in the Prussian Parliament and the Galician Diet, and the Poseners and Galicians live peacefully, if not contentedly, under the rule of those Germans whom they are said to detest even more than the Russians. The duties of the Emperor Alexander towards the Poles of Russian Poland are, to say nothing of treaties, the same as those of every other ruler towards his subjects. No sophistical arguments can excuse the horrible condition to which the Poles under Russia are now reduced; their estates constantly impoverished by ruinous contributions, their best and most respectable citizens in banishment, their religion persecuted and derided, and their only Government a brutal and capricious tyranny. Such a state of things is a disgrace to Russia, and it cannot be her interest to maintain it.

* "Correspondence relating to the Negotiations of the years 1814 and 1815 respecting Poland. Presented to the House of Commons by command of Her Majesty. 1863."

† Lord Castlereagh based this demand on the following ground: "In order to obviate, as far as possible, such consequences" (i.e., the disturbance of the tranquillity of the North and the general equilibrium of Europe,) "it is of essential importance to establish the public tranquillity throughout the territories which formerly constituted the kingdom of Poland upon some solid and liberal basis of common interest, by applying to all, however various may be their political institutions, a congenial and conciliatory system of administration."

ART. VII.—DR. LIVINGSTONE'S RECENT TRAVELS.

Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, 1858-64. By DAVID and CHARLES LIVINGSTONE. With Map and Illustrations. 1865.

THE expedition, of which the present volume of Dr. Livingstone's travels gives an account, was, as it were, a flank movement against the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, such as had already been made on its Western. The success in the latter case is reported to have been great. Piracy and the slave-trade were extinguished, and lawful commerce was increased from an annual total of £20,000 in ivory and gold-dust, to above two millions, one million of which was in palm-oil to England. Twelve thousand pupils were to be found in the schools attached to the twenty missions which had been established, and life and property were rendered secure along the coast. Such, according to Dr. Livingstone's own observation, has been the effect of what is called "Lord Palmerston's policy," that, namely, of endeavouring to excite a demand for legitimate commerce, and thus of extinguishing the slave-trade. But the chief advantage expected on this occasion, as declared in the instructions of her Majesty's Government, was from the "moral influence that might be exerted on the minds of the natives by a well-regulated and orderly household to all who might witness it; treating the people with kindness and relieving their wants; teaching them to make experiments in agriculture; explaining to them the more simple arts; imparting to them religious instruction as far as they are capable of receiving it, and inculcating peace and goodwill to each other." To carry out this purpose, the expedition left England on the 10th of March, 1858, in her Majesty's steamer *Pearl*, and after touching at Capetown made its way to the East Coast the following May, for the purpose of exploring the Zambesi, and determining its capacity for being turned into a commercial highway into the interior of the country. The first difficulty was to find which of the four mouths through which the river mingles with the ocean, that is, the Milambe, or, one most to the west, the Kongone, Luabo, and the Timbwe (or Muselo) would furnish the easiest access to it. For though the Portuguese Government assumes a power over 1860 miles of coast from English river to Cape Delgado, and interdicts all foreign commerce, except at a very few points, they were quite in the dark respecting the entrance to this important river. After an unsuccessful attempt up the Luawe, which turned out to be not a branch, a careful examination showed that the Kongone, five miles to the eastward of the Milambe, promised to be the best entrance. They therefore proceeded to ascend the stream through this mouth. It is so difficult to shake off our early impressions respecting the general character of Africa; our tendency to regard it as anything but a wilderness of sun-scorched lifeless sand, with its occasional but rare oases—supplying water to

wayfarers and metaphors to poets—that we have a feeling of strangeness while following the travellers along an African river, with its banks rank with luxuriant vegetation or bordered by mountains covered with verdure and forests to their very tops. Thus, for the first twenty miles of the Kongone, the river passes through a mangrove jungle. Then follow ferns and date-palms, and clusters of the tall pandanus, or screw-palm, tapering up in the distance, and having so much the appearance of steeples as to draw from an old sailor the sympathetic though unpicturesque remark, that but one thing was wanting to complete the picture—"a grog-shop near the church." As the river is ascended it winds through vast plains covered with gigantic grasses, towering above a man's head, which are burnt off every July after they become dry. Here and there, peeping out from bananas and cocoa-palms, are native huts, built upon piles driven into the damp ground, and entered by ladders. Large crops of rice, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, tomatoes, cabbage, shalots, peas, with a little cotton and some sugar-cane, are to be found. It is the opinion of Dr. Livingstone that this district, extending from the Kongone Canal—a natural canal running from the Kongone to Quillimane along the coast—to beyond Mazaro, about eighty miles in length and fifty in width, is so well suited to the growth of the sugar-cane that, were it in the hands of the people at the Cape, it would furnish *sugar enough for the supply of Europe*. The few inhabitants seen seemed tolerably well fed and scantily clothed, showed no fear of the white man, and appeared anxious to establish a trade, offering their fowls, and baskets of rice and meal, shouting out, "Malonda! malonda!"—"Things for sale." No difficulty presented itself in the navigation until reaching the Isle of Simbo, when the *Pearl's* draught proving too great, she was dismissed, after first discharging the goods of the expedition on a grassy island about forty miles from the bar. They had henceforth to depend upon a small steam-launch brought from England in three sections on the deck of the *Pearl*, and which was christened *Ma-Robert*, after Mrs. Livingstone, whom the natives formerly styled "Ma-mother of her eldest son." Here part of the expedition was employed in carrying the goods up to Shupanga and Senna, the rest remaining on the island from the 18th of June to the 18th of August. Fever now began to touch some of them, while others found time to grumble for Sunday rest and full meal hours, which draws from Dr. Livingstone the very sensible remark:—"It is a pity some people cannot see that the true and honest discharge of the common duties of every-day life is Divine service." On nearing Mazaro they found the country in a state of disturbance, the Portuguese being at war with Mariano, a half-caste, a keen slave-hunter, sending out armed parties among the tribes of the North-east, and conveying the captives in chains to Quillimane, to his brother-in-law, who shipped them as "free" emigrants to the French island of Bourbon. He seems to have been a rare scoundrel, who, for the purpose of creating ter-

ror, amused himself with spearing captives with his own hands, and is said on one occasion to have destroyed in this way forty unfortunates standing in a row before him. The party, coming into contact with a number of the well-armed "rebels," were at first sharply challenged, but on declaring themselves English were at once treated with great friendliness and respect. They soon after reached Mazaro, where a battle had been going on, while the crew were taking in wood at a distance of only a mile, of which they heard nothing, owing to a dense fog; and on landing, to see some of his old Portuguese friends, Dr. Livingstone found himself in the midst of the wounded and slain. He was even exposed to some danger; for the governor being ill of fever, and desirous of removal to Shupanga, he gave his arm to the sufferer just as the fight was resumed and the balls were beginning to whistle in all directions.

The explorers now began to feel the full inconvenience of the villanous boat which had been constructed for them. Its furnaces were so bad that it required four hours to get up the steam, and caused a great loss of time in wood cutting. The pace of the *Asthmatic*, as she was nicknamed, was so slow that she could only keep pace with the heavy-laden canoes, and was easily outsped by the light ones. Being unable to get up to Senna on account of a shoal, they walked across the country, and met on their way men armed with spears, bows, or muskets, and women carrying hoes on their way to work, all extremely civil, stepping aside, "the men bowing and scraping, and the women, even with heavy loads on their heads, curtsying." "A curtsy," adds the Doctor, "from bare legs, is startling!" We should think so too; we wonder how they came by it. The two leading features of Senna, a Portuguese convict settlement, are said to be the certainty of taking fever there on the second day, if it is escaped on the first, and the presence of a most hospitable and benevolent gentleman, whose generosity to the natives when in any kind of trouble is munificent. To the residents, the fever, we presume, can be no objection, if we may judge by the fact that when the Portuguese Government, on the discovery of the Kongone, proposed to remove the inhabitants of Quillimane, a fever-stricken place, to a new town near the bar of that stream, they declared they would resign all offices rather than go there. At length the ship anchored off Tette on the 8th of September, 1858, where Dr. Livingstone's old companions and servants the Makololo received him again with great joy. This Tette, which is a Portuguese station, is a miserable place on the right bank of the Zambesi here 960 yards wide. The houses are built on the ridges of shallow ravines parallel with the river, which form the streets, and are, with the exception of their narrow footpaths, overgrown with self-sown indigo, three or four feet high, and also with the senna plant. Curious to see the Kebrabasa rapids while the water of the Zambesi would allow of their being seen uncovered, the party set out and reached them on the 9th of November. The approach to them was through a singularly

wild scene, the stream passing between huge blocks of granite of a pinkish tinge and metamorphic rocks twisted into every possible position, and flowing, in this, the dry season, at the bottom of a "narrow and deep groove, whose sides are polished and fluted by the boiling action of the water in flood, like the rims of ancient Eastern wells by the drawropes." The masts of the steamboat, thirty feet high, did not reach to the level of the flood water-line, while no bottom was found at ten fathoms. Having explored about ten miles of the rapids they were obliged to give it up, and returned to get provisions and make a new attempt on foot from the point they were stopped at. After some days of extreme toil, either clambering over huge boulders, so hot as to blister the feet of the Makololo, at the rate of a mile an hour, or forcing their way over slopes of mountains through dense thorn-bush with such dogged perseverance as to beget a notion in the minds of some of the native followers that their leader was mad, they were able to ascertain that the river was navigable only during the highest floods, when it rises eighty feet perpendicularly. After a complete survey of the Kebrabasa they returned to Tette. On their arrival, they heard that in consequence of the river's rising a foot and becoming turbid, a native Portuguese had with much anxiety said to the governor, "That Englishman is doing something to the river," which sapient remark is given as a fair sample of the ignorance and superstition common to the inhabitants of Tette.

It being found impossible for a vessel of so little power as their steamer to force its way up the river, an application was made to Government for another vessel, and meanwhile Dr. Livingstone determined to explore the Shire, which flows into the Zambesi from the north at about a hundred miles from the sea. From all that could be learnt, this river had never been explored by any European. A vague impression existed that a Portuguese had attempted to ascend it and been foiled by impenetrable masses of duckweed, or, as some knowingly hinted, by the poisoned arrows of the natives. In January, 1859, the expedition entered the Shire, and for the first twenty-five miles met with a good deal of the formidable duckweed, but not in sufficient amount to impede even the lightest canoe. The lower part of the river had a depth of two fathoms, and though shallower higher up, it was found, from the absence of sand-banks, of easy navigation. After winding up the river for 200 miles, equivalent to 100 in a straight line, their progress was arrested, in 5° 55' south, by some superb cataracts, which, as a tribute to a distinguished name and in grateful remembrance of kind services rendered, they called "The Murchison." As the natives kept watch on the river banks, it was deemed imprudent to land; Dr. Livingstone therefore determined to return to Tette. In the middle of March of the same year he again set out on a trip to the Shire. The natives, it seems, but for what reason is not told us, were this time friendly, bringing rice, corn, and fowls for sale. The party now determined on a land excursion, leaving their boat anchored

off a village about ten miles below the cataract, belonging to a native chief, Chibisa. This chief is described as a shrewd, intelligent person, who had a high idea of his office, for, as he told Dr. Livingstone, on succeeding to the chieftainship he was but an ordinary man, but immediately on that event "he was conscious of power passing into his head and down his back." The Doctor remarks that he mentioned this as he would any fact in natural history. We believe this phenomenon to be common enough among the civilized, and we have met in our time more than one person whose back has become considerably stiffer when the sense of newly-acquired authority had got into his head. Taking with them a number of the Makololo, Drs. Livingstone and Kirk set out on foot in quest of Lake Shirwa. After being awhile misled by ignorant guides, they mended matters by putting themselves under the care of crazy ones, the "madmen" of the different villages, who, either through sympathy with them, from hearing them styled, like themselves, mad, or from the absence of any feeling of aversion to them as strangers, faithfully guided them where no native in his senses could be induced to go. At length, on the 18th of April, they came in sight of Lake Shirwa, an expanse of bitter water filled with fish, crocodiles, hippopotami, and leeches, the last of which so abounded that when they attempted to wade to a sand-bank, they were so formidably assailed by these creatures as to be forced to return. It was now thought they had done enough for one trip, their object being rather to gain the confidence of the natives than to explore; and having found the good policy of a second visit on the Shire, Dr. Livingstone, reserving his researches for another trip, returned to Tette, which he reached on the 23rd of June; and after some repairs to his vessel, proceeded to Kongone to receive provisions from one of her Majesty's cruisers. Here the unfortunate *Ma Robert* was beached, when it was discovered that the patent steel plates of which she was built were in a state of decomposition. By some chemical action a minute hole had been made in each, from which branches, like little stars seen in thawing ice, radiated in all directions, converting themselves into holes, until the bottom became like a fine sieve. The vessel, indeed, was a perfect swindle, and though patched up as well as possible, was a serious hamper to the expedition as long as they used her. Passing up the Zambesi, they again ascended the Shire, with the intention of establishing closer relations with the natives, and making another journey on foot to the north of Lake Shirwa, in search of Lake Nyassa, or, as it was sometimes called, Nyenyesi, that is, "the stars." The Shire, less wide, is of a greater depth than the Zambesi, and more easily navigated; for the first twenty miles the banks are hemmed in by hills, terminated by the Morambala, that is, the "Lofty Watch Tower," a detached mountain rising steeply up 500 yards from the river's brink to a height of 4000 feet, beautifully wooded to the top. Beyond this mountain, which extends seven miles in length, the Shire runs through an im-

mense marsh, at the end of which it borders a vast forest of palm-trees for many miles; the country then becomes again more elevated. On the 25th, they reached Dakanamoio island, opposite the steep bluff on which Chibisa's village stands. Leaving the ship, they set off with a party forty-two in number—four of themselves, thirty-six Makololo, and two guides, on the 27th of August, 1859, on their way to Lake Nyassa, which they reached on the 16th of September following. Staying but a short time at the Lake, Dr. Livingstone again had recourse to his favourite policy of a second visit; and he and his friends returned to the ship, reaching it, after a land journey of forty days, in a bad plight, either from an overdose of mullagatawny in their soup, or more probably from the injudicious way in which their cook had prepared the cassava root, and by which the poisonous matter in it was not thoroughly extracted.

Dr. Livingstone had now been a year in the country, passing and re-passing to and from various points, without having had much personal intercourse with the natives. In this excursion, however, to Lake Nyassa, some opportunity presented itself. In traversing the Manganja hills he found the people generally living in villages, the sites of which were judiciously selected near to flowing streams, in the midst of shady trees, and enclosed by impenetrable hedges of poisonous euphorbia, which has the double advantage of casting so deep a shade as to protect the villagers from the aim of hostile bow-men, and of killing the grass beneath it, thus preventing its being set fire to and communicating with the huts. At the entrance of each is the *boalo*, or "spreading place," about thirty yards wide, overshadowed by trees, where the men sit working during the day, smoking tobacco and bang, or singing, dancing, and beer drinking, on moonlight nights. This, too, is the reception place for strangers; their arrival being reported to the chief, he either comes, or, if suspicious, waits till his warriors are collected, when "he makes his appearance," and then—

"All the people begin to clap their hands in unison, and continue doing so until he sits down opposite to us. His counsellors take their places beside him. He makes a remark or two, and is then silent for a few seconds. Our guides then sit down in front of the chief and his counsellors, and both parties lean forward, looking earnestly at each other; the chief repeats a word, such as 'Ambuiatu' (our father or master), or 'Moio' (life), and all clap their hands. Another word is followed by two claps, a third by still more clapping, when each touches the ground with both hands placed together. Then all rise, and lean forward with measured clap; and sit down again with clap, clap, clap, fainter and still fainter, till the last dies away, or is brought to an end by a smart loud clap from the chief. They keep perfect time in this species of court etiquette."—pp. 109, 110.

This imposing ceremony over, the conference begins, which is always conducted through spokesmen on either side; the chief rarely holding direct communication with the head of the visiting party. It is much to be regretted that

we are not furnished with the matter of some one of these conferences which would serve as a clue to the intelligence and impressions of the natives. The Manganja are described as industrious, cultivating largely, and also working in iron, cotton, and basket-making. The produce of the district is of great variety,—large crops of *mapira*, together with millet, beans, and ground-nuts; patches of yams, rice, pumpkins, cucumbers, cassava, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and hemp or bang; maize, too, and cotton, are largely grown. Of the latter the *tonje manga*, or foreign cotton, evidently an importation, from its name, has been considered in this country as equal to the best New Orleans; it is a perennial, but requires transplanting once in three years. Most families at all well off have a small patch, from an acre to half an acre, which is cultivated with great care. The *tonje calja*, or indigenous cotton, is shorter in the staple, and has a woolly feel, but as it makes stronger cloth is preferred by the natives. Everywhere,

"We met with it, and scarcely entered a village without finding a number of men cleaning, spinning, and weaving. It is first carefully separated from the seed by the fingers, or by an iron roller, on a little block of wood, and rove out into long soft bands without twist; then it receives its first twist in the spindle, and becomes about the thickness of coarse candle-wick. After being taken off and wound into a large ball, it is given the final hard twist, and spun into a firm cop on the spindle again, all the processes being painfully slow."

The staple trade of the southern highlands, in which the iron ore is found, is the manufacture of various iron implements or ornaments, axes, spears, needles, arrow-heads, bracelets and anklets. Every village is described as having its smelting-house, charcoal-burners, and blacksmiths. The iron is well worked up, and not dear, a hoe over two pounds in weight being exchanged for calico about the value of fourpence. Nor have we yet exhausted the industrial occupations of the Manganja. In the villages near Lake Shirwa there is a considerable manufacture, literally *manufacture*, of pottery, such as cooking, water, and grain pots, which they ornament with plumbago; others, again, weave baskets with split bamboos, or make fish-nets out of the fibre of the buaze found upon the hills, which are exchanged with fishermen for dried fish and salt. The villages keep up a brisk trade with each other in tobacco, salt, dried fish, skins, and iron. This varied industrial activity, so skillfully developed, is certainly very surprising, and is the more so, when we come to learn that the Manganja are anything but a sober people. It appears they brew large quantities of beer, and having no hops or other means of checking fermentation, they are obliged to drink it off as fast as possible to prevent its spoiling. Night and day at this time they go on drinking, drumming, dancing, until the stock is gone; whole villages were found enjoying themselves in this way, and the "veteran traveller" of the party declared he had never met "so much drunkenness during all the sixteen years he had spent in Africa." This beverage is of a pinkish

colour, and is produced by drying the grain which has been made to vegetate in the sun, then pounding it into meal, and gently boiling it until it acquires the consistency of gruel. It has a sweet taste with a slight acidity, and is described as a most grateful beverage, immediately quenching thirst. It is only by long and deep potations that it becomes intoxicating, and even then it seems to produce no bad results on the health of the natives. It is true there is a good deal of skin disease among them, but this may be explained by the saying of an old man, that he remembered having once washed in his life, but so long since he had forgotten when; and by the question put by a woman to one of the Makololo, "Why do you wash? our men never do." Some cases of men pitted with small-pox were found, and on inquiring of a fuddled old chief how he thought the disease had got there, he courteously replied, in his desire to be complimentary, he "supposed it must have come from the English." The Manganja men are described as intelligent looking, with *well-shaped* heads, agreeable faces, and high foreheads, occasionally bearing a resemblance to Englishmen, acquaintances of the party. They lavish much pains upon their persons, twisting their hair sometimes into the shape of buffalo's horns, sometimes coiling it down their backs like an animal's tail, or putting it up in twisted cords, stiffened by winding round each fillets of the inner part of a tree, and thus making the cords radiate from the head in all directions. Occasionally the head is partially shaved, so as to represent ornamental figures. The people of both sexes are covered with ornaments of brass, copper, or iron, either as rings on fingers or thumbs, or as bracelets, throatlets, and anklets. The women are disfigured by that artificial stretching and projection of the upper lip, which is called the *pelele*.

The following is the description of this hideous appendage:—

"But the most wonderful of ornaments, if such it may be called, is the *pelele*, or upper-lip ring of the women (occasionally, as on the banks of the Rovuma, worn by men). The middle of the upper lip of the girls is pierced close to the septum of the nose, and a small pin inserted to prevent the puncture closing up. After it has healed, the pin is taken out, and a larger one is pressed into its place; and so on, successively for weeks, and months, and years. The process of increasing the size of the lip goes on till its capacity becomes so great that a ring of two inches diameter can be introduced with ease. All the highland women wear the *pelele*, and it is common on the Upper and Lower Shire. The poorer classes make them of hollow or solid bamboo, but the wealthier of ivory or tin. The tin *pelele* is often made in the form of a small dish; the ivory one is not unlike a napkin-ring. No woman ever appears in public without the *pelele*, except in times of mourning for the dead. It is frightfully ugly to see the upper lip projecting two inches beyond the tip of the nose. When an old wearer of a hollow bamboo ring smiles, by the action of the muscles of the cheeks, the ring and lip outside it are dragged back and thrown above the eyebrows; the nose is seen through the middle of the ring, and the exposed teeth show how carefully they have been chipped to look like those of a cat or crocodile."—p. 114.

The travellers were less well received by the Manganja than by the tribes on the Zambesi, it being more difficult to convince them that the object was not slave-dealing. Some villages they were not allowed to enter, nor would the inhabitants sell them food. This looked natural enough, as they had now come in contiguity with one of the great slave paths into the interior, and in actual contact with a slave party that offered them children for sale. It appears, however, the Manganja chiefs lend themselves to this traffic, though seeming or affecting to be ashamed when questioned. In exchange for rings, pottery, and sometimes handsome young women, and especially cloth, which is the circulating medium of the country, they connive at their people being stolen away at night. The general prices are four yards of cotton cloth for a man, three for a woman, and two for a boy or girl. They are carried off to the Portuguese at Mosambique, Iboe, and Quillimane. But that the chiefs need not be very nice on this point is obvious from the fact that sometimes one portion of a clan will lay hold upon another, and steal and sell them into slavery. Such are the great and unintelligible contrasts among the Manganja, a highly industrious, agricultural, manufacturing population, exhibiting much skill with very deficient means, and yet addicted to drunkenness, and selling each other into slavery.

The interval between Dr. Livingstone's getting back to the ship in October, 1859, and May 15th, 1860, was consumed in making two voyages to Kongone; the one to receive supplies, which had run short, from her Majesty's ship *Lynx*, and the second to recover some mail-bags, which had been swamped in coming ashore from that vessel, and were subsequently thrown up on the beach. After returning a second time to Tette, preparations were made for the land journey in contemplation, the object of which was to re-convey the faithful Makololo to their native home, and to explore the Zambesi. The party, on the 15th of May, left Tette and again made their way to the Kebra-basa. Forging the Luia, they left the banks of the Zambesi, and struck off in a north-west direction till they reached the little village of Sindabwé; and then, winding up south-west through the lovely valley of Zibah, made their way to Sandia village. Here they were well received, and could purchase plenty of provisions. In this region, the Mapira—which is the Kaffir and Guinea corn of the south and west—the dura of Egypt and the badjery of India—is the "corn" of the country: its grain is round, white or reddish-white, and of the size of a hempseed. It springs up to a height of from eight to eighteen feet on a stalk as thick as a walking-stick, topped by a massive ear containing several hundred grains. During the halt in this place an elephant was shot by some of the men, which seems to have been a cause of great excitement. They danced round her, with shouts and songs of triumph, and when they proceeded to cut the animal up a singular spectacle presented itself.

"The men," says Dr. Livingstone, "stand round the animal in dead silence, while the chief of the

travelling party declares that, according to ancient law, the head and right hind leg belong to him who killed the beast—that is, to him who inflicted the first wound; the left leg to him who delivered the second, or first touched the animal after it fell; the meat round the eye to the English, or chief of the travellers, and different parts to the head men of the different fires or groups of which the camp is composed; not forgetting to enjoin the preservation of the fat and bowels for a second distribution. This oration finished, the natives soon become excited, and scream wildly as they cut away at the carcass with a score of spears, whose long handles quiver in the air above their heads. Their excitement becomes momentarily more and more intense, and reaches the culminating point when, as denoted by a roar of gas, the huge mass is laid fairly open. Some jump inside and roll about there in their eagerness to seize the precious fat, while others run off, screaming, with pieces of the bloody meat, throw it on the grass, and run back for more: all keep talking and shouting at the utmost pitch of their voices. Sometimes two or three, regardless of all laws, seize the same piece of meat, and have a brief fight of words over it. Occasionally an agonized yell bursts forth, and a native emerges out of the moving mass of dead elephant and wriggling humanity, with his hand badly cut by the spear of his excited friend and neighbour; this requires a rag and some soothing words to prevent bad blood. In an incredibly short time tons of meat are cut up, and placed in separate heaps around."—p. 160.

Though this mode of having one's meat prepared was not likely to give a great spur to appetite, yet the next morning, when the elephant's forefoot was served up to Dr. Livingstone and his friends at breakfast, in the shape of a "whitish mass slightly glutinous, and sweet like marrow, it was pronounced delicious." The cooking was simple enough; the foot having been plunged into a hole previously well heated and covered over with hot ashes and earth surmounted by a good fire kept alive throughout the night, was ready to be served. It appears the trunk and tongue, after being long simmered, are also delicacies, resembling the hump of a buffalo and the tongue of an ox; but the rest of the meat is tough and disagreeable, which, however, did not prevent the men from consuming it in enormous quantities, boiled and roast—eating, dancing, singing, sleeping, cooking; in fact, one round of "boil and eat, roast and devour," with snatches of sleep all the night long. Dr. Livingstone pays a compliment to the skill of his cooks, with the exception of their porridge-making, at which his Scotch blood rises, their process being merely to warm and moisten the meal without boiling it, and to serve it in an almost solid mass. Sandia, an elderly person, made his appearance, wearing a wig, black and extremely glossy, made of the fibre of the *Ife* (*Sansevieria*), a plant allied to the aloes, whose thick, fleshy leaves being bruised, afford a strong fibre, which is made into ropes, nets, and wigs. From the back of his neck was suspended the mosamela, or small carved wooden pillow, exactly like the ancient Egyptian one, which, together with a sleeping-mat, is carried by natives on their hunting excursions. The chief on their departure gave them guides. They pushed on for the Chicova plains—after inspecting the whole of Kebra-basa, and again

satisfying themselves that all navigation was impossible, except at high-flood—which they reached on the 7th of June, 1860. These plains, consisting of rich black soil, formerly contained a numerous population, which has been nearly extirpated by wars and slaving. Cotton still mingles with the weeds of the ruined villages. They had now come into the country of lions, which required certain precautions to be taken in the arrangement of the camp and the distribution of the fires. The nights being cold, the men went to bed in a peculiar fashion by plunging themselves into *fumbas*, or sleeping-bags, made of double rectangular mats of palm-leaf six feet by four, with an opening at the top, and thus presented the appearance of a number of sacks scattered about the camp. Neither cold, wet, nor mosquitoes can annoy them under these coverings.

At Chicova they found a seam of coal cropping out on the banks of the Zambesi, the properties of which were explained to the natives, who, on hearing them, shook their heads, and with an incredulous smile, replied, "Kodi!"—that is, "Really!" There was every evidence of their being on an immense coal-field. In passing through the country they found that two miles and a-half an hour in a straight line was a sufficient pace, and five or six hours a sufficient day's march. This, Dr. Livingstone says, is quite as much as a man can comfortably do. The Europeans, it appears, even in the tropics, have a greater power of endurance than the most hardy of the meat-eating Africans, and, in point of fact, after the day's march the gentlemen of the expedition were obliged to go and shoot game for the camp, in which the men were very loth to assist them. This trouble was occasionally saved by their falling in with hippopotami, playing about in the water, which are easily shot. Much large game is taken in the neighbourhood of the Sinjere by means of pits lined with sharp stakes, covered with earth, into which the heavier kind of game falls, and is impaled. It is a curious proof of sagacity that neither elephants nor buffaloes will return to the river for two successive nights by the same path for fear of being trapped; and an old elephant is often seen in advance of the herd uncovering the pits for the security of his party. Passing through plains varying in breadth as the woods approach or recede from the river, covered with open forest, displaying belts of grass, varying in colour from green to yellow, according to the season of the year, in sight of superb mountains from 2000 to 3000 feet in height, their tops fringed with trees, and then through a country to all appearances solitary, but abounding in animal life, they on the 26th of June reached Zumbo, on the left bank of the Loangwa, formerly a Portuguese settlement. Near the ruins of some houses they observed the remains of an old chapel, with a church-bell lying near it. Soon after leaving this place, they quitted the river and proceeded to the Mohango Pass. Though the nights here were so cold that on the 30th of June the thermometer marked only 39° at sunrise, they were horribly pestered by *tsetse* flies

buzzing about their heads in greater numbers than they had ever before observed. This venomous insect falls so delicately on the skin that you have no notion of its presence till its proboscis is thrust into you; the pain, however, is soon over, leaving a little itching behind it; but to all other animals, except men, goats, and donkeys, their bite is fatal. The time of grass-burning having begun, they had the opportunity of witnessing miles of country on fire. They frequently fell in with families moving in file from place to place, the father at the head, leading, carrying nothing but his arms, his sons armed too, but with loads, the wife and daughters heavily burdened with household gear on their heads. In the chiefs of several of the villages Dr. Livingstone recognised some of his old acquaintances. After leaving the river (July 14th) at a point where the mountain ranges form the Kariba gorge, they passed into the fertile country of a tribe of Batoka called Bawe—a kind, hospitable people, among whom many are known as the "Baenda-pezi," or *Go Naked*, their only covering being a coating of red-ochre. The Doctor and his friends endeavoured to shame them by laughter out of this habit, but all in vain, "as they evidently felt no less decent than we did with our clothes on." Of the custom, they could give no explanation. The men carry large shields of buffalo-hide and heavy spears, but, at all events, have the good sense not to use them in their quarrels with each other. The Batoka, to which the Bawe belong, are said to be the only tribe that plants, and does not cut down fruit trees, and that has permanent graveyards, which are placed either on the side of hills or under old trees. They pay respect to their ancestral tombs either by placing the largest elephant tusk they can get at the head of the grave, or else encasing it in the finest ivory. Dr. Livingstone supposes they believe in the continued existence of the soul, and that the spirits of the defunct are affected pleasantly or painfully by the good or evil deeds of those they have left behind. They practise ordeal by the poison of the muave.

Near the confluence of the Kafue they met with the manbo, or chief, together with some of his head men, all with a very downcast air, and having their foreheads smeared with white flour; they had just before purged themselves of a charge of witchcraft by swallowing the muave, which having vomited up, they were declared not guilty. These Batoka are an industrious people: they erect numerous granaries in their villages, and tie up quantities of grain into bundles with grass well plastered over with mud, which, on the subsidence of the Zambesi, they place on low sand islands, to protect them as much as possible from mice and men. It appears that the ravages of the weevil are such that it is impossible to preserve the crop until the following one comes in; what is not consumed is made into beer, that is drunk in large quantities, in spite of which cases of intoxication are rare. They grow a great deal of tobacco, and are said to be the most inveterate smokers in the world. For the edification of amateurs, and possibly as an in-

ducement to settlers, we quote the following passage:—

"The pipe is seldom out of their mouths, and they are as polite smokers as any ever met with in a railway carriage; . . . always asking if we had any objection to their smoking beside us. They think that they have invented an improved method of smoking; a description of which may interest those who are fond of the weed at home. They take a whiff, puff out the grosser smoke, then, by a sudden inhalation, contrive to catch and swallow, as they say, the real essence—the spirit which, in the ordinary way, is entirely lost. The Batoka tobacco is famed in the country for its strength, and is certainly both very strong and cheap; a few strings of beads will purchase enough to last any reasonable man for six months. It caused headache in the only smoker of our party from its strength, but this quality makes the natives come great distances to buy it."—p. 239.

Above Kariba the country had as yet been unvisited by strangers, and Dr. Livingstone had now the painful mortification of discovering that this first and friendly invasion of it was likely to prove a curse. It came to his ears that two native Portuguese scoundrels, who had murdered a chief at Zumbo and taken possession of his lands, were dogging the expedition, declaring themselves to be its "children," purchasing ivory from the Bawe for a few coarse beads, a tusk, as well as canoes to carry it, for half a dozen strings of beads or two fathoms of calico each; including in their purchases a number of good-looking girls at the same rate. Dr. Livingstone does not hesitate to charge the Portuguese Government with conniving at this rascality.

On the 9th of August, 1860, they reached the Victoria Falls, which Dr. Livingstone visited for a couple of days in 1855—accompanied by Sekeletu and his 200 men;—being the first European who had ever seen them. In the opinion of Mr. Charles Livingstone, they were much finer than Niagara, though not seen in all their majesty, as the river was now at its lowest. The causes of the formation of the two falls are very different. Those of Niagara are formed by the wearing away of the rock, whereas the Victoria, or, as the Makololo call it, "Mosi-oa-tunya" or "smoke sounding"—have been caused by some tremendous convulsion, producing a rift across the basaltic rock which forms the bed of the river. The depth of this perpendicular rift is, as nearly as could be ascertained, 360 feet to the water below; its mean width slightly above eighty yards. Into this vast fissure, running from east to west, twice the depth of Niagara, the river, a mile wide, falls with a tremendous roar. The convulsion which caused the transverse fissure, not having affected the level of the river-bed opposite the falls, has provided an escape for the river by another fissure, opening at right angles to the chasm, from between twenty to thirty yards wide, which continues for some time in convolutions nearly parallel with each other, through which the huge mass of water discharges itself, surging and ruffling along this deep, narrow, and sinuous trough. The portions of the ancient bed of the river intercepted between these convolu-

tions are for the most part covered with trees, and have at their rounded angles the appearance of wooded promontories. But, in order to understand this peculiar formation and the aspect it presents, reference must be made to Dr. Livingstone's description, with the illustration annexed to it. To get an idea of the falls we must suppose ourselves standing on one of the foremost promontories facing the western end of the cataract, from which we should see, first, a fall of thirty-six yards in breadth, separated by a small island from a great fall of 573 yards broad, which is again separated by a projecting rock from a second grand fall; making in the whole a cataract 900 yards in breadth, with a depth of 360 feet. Over the sharp edge of the black basaltic rock the water pours down in an unbroken sheet to the depth of ten feet or so, when it assumes the appearance of a mass of driven snow, from which comet-shaped portions of water fly off "with tails streaming behind, till the whole snowy sheet becomes myriads of rushing, leaping, aqueous comets"—a peculiarity Dr. Livingstone attributes to the dryness of the atmosphere, noting that every drop of Zambesi water "seems to have an individuality, runs off the ends of the paddles, and glides in beads along the smooth surface like drops of quicksilver on a table; and here we see them in a conglomeration, each with a train of pure white vapour, racing down until lost in clouds of spray." The immense volume of water carrying down with it a vast body of air into the unfathomed cleft in the river's bed, rushes up again, in from three to six columns, loaded with vapour, glowing with iridescent colours visible twenty miles off. On reaching a height of from 200 to 300 feet above the level of the falls, the vapour re-descends in the shape of the finest rain. A portion of this is showered upon Garden Island, which is in the middle of the river, near the lips of the fall, and only to be approached when the river is very low. It was here that, in 1855, Dr. Livingstone formed the garden from which the island takes its name, planting in it orange trees and sowing cashew-nuts and coffee-seeds. The hippopotami, as he feared and as he found, had completely destroyed the plants. They were renewed on this occasion, and though protected by a strong hedge, they have, according to the report of Sir Richard Glyn, who visited the Falls in 1863, met a similar fate. Wherever there is anything remarkable to see there will always be an Englishman to see it, and, accordingly, Dr. Livingstone found on the spot a Mr. Baldwin, a gentleman from Natal, who had made his way to the Falls by the means of a pocket-compass. He was not, however, at this moment a free Briton, having been impounded by Mashotlane, the representative of Sekeletu in this district, for jumping out of the boat in which he was being ferried over the river, and swimming to shore. Had he been eaten by crocodiles," said Mashotlane, "we should have been blamed for his death, and so he must pay a fine." The temptation of the fine, it is to be feared, suggested the scruple; and so Mr. Baldwin was held in pledge until he could have communication with

his waggons. Of course, he was now at once released. In this country, where beads are so acceptable, the surface of the ground for miles above the Falls is strewn with agates.

From the Falls, Dr. Livingstone proceeded to the village of Sesheke, where he was hospitably received. Sekeletu, the chief of the Makololo, who was living at a little distance suffering from leprosy, refused at first to see anyone but the Doctor, who was, however, finally permitted to visit him in company with his two friends. The most exaggerated accounts were afloat respecting the effects of the disease which had distorted his face, so it was said, while his fingers had become like eagle's claws; whereas, in fact, his face was only a little disfigured by the thickening of the skin at certain points; and though his nails were extremely long, "they were but slightly in excess of what is in fashion among Makololo gentlemen." He was found to be a sensible person of unassuming manners, his weak point being the conviction of his suffering from witchcraft. The native doctors had given him up, and an old doctress had undertaken the case, making seclusion a *sine quâ non*. By the application of lunar caustic externally, and hydriodate of potash inwardly—the only medicines at their command—Drs. Kirk and Livingstone effected considerable improvement. The skin became thinner, the face ceased to be disfigured, and the general health and spirits of the patient improved.

This success would be much admired by the natives, for

"Like other Africans, the Makololo have great faith in the power of medicine; they believe that there is an especial medicine for every ill that flesh is heir to. Mamire is anxious to have children; he has six wives, and only one boy; and he begs earnestly for 'child medicine.' The mother of Sekeletu came from the Barotse valley to see her son; thinks she has lost flesh since Dr. Livingstone was here before, and asks for 'the medicine of fatness.'"—p. 295.

While at Sesheke they received the tidings of the fate of the London missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Helmore, who, with several of their people, had fallen victims to fever. The expedition, after a month's stay in this place, set out on its return to Tette in canoes, taking with them two of the Makololo with their Bakoto servants, who were to bring back medicine for Sekeletu; but the latter, when they got down into the lower country, finding themselves independent, refused to return, and their two masters it seems could not contrive to get back without them. It looks very much as if they were faithless fellows. Four years after this Sekeletu died. On the 23rd of November the expedition again reached Tette, after an absence of six months, having met with a sad accident on the Kebrabasa rapids, where Dr. Kirk's canoe was upset, himself in great danger, and his notes of the journey, and botanical drawings, together with his chronometer and barometer, were swept away and entirely lost. On the 8rd of December they were again off for Kongone, in the *Asthetic*, which, after threatening daily to founder, was good enough to ground

on a sand-bank, from which she could not be removed. They saved, however, the greater part of their property and went on by canoe to Senna. Here they fell in with a native Portuguese trader, Sequasha, who had more than once crossed their path, and among whose followers were two men who had murdered one of the native chiefs. He had brought down with him more than 25,000 lbs. of ivory, purchased for a mere song; his partner about half that amount. On his return to Tette the following year this vagabond was imprisoned, on account of his misconduct in the interior; but after squeezing out of him some tons of ivory, he was let loose for further mischief. At Kongone they found that a flag-staff and custom-house had been erected, and left in charge of a black lance-corporal and three privates, who were nearly starved out. The expedition was itself in a sad lack of stores, when, on the 31st of January, 1861, their new ship, the *Pioneer*, and at the same time two English ships of war arrived, bringing Bishop Mackenzie, and the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to the tribes of the Shire and Lake Nyassa, consisting of six Englishmen, and five coloured men from the Cape. The bishop was ready to proceed at once to his work, but as the *Pioneer* was under orders to explore the Rovuma, it was thought better that the bishop should send the other members of his mission to the island of Johanna, and himself accompany Dr. Livingstone. It might have been dangerous to have gone to his quarters at the beginning of the sickly season without a medical attendant, and without, in fact, medicine; for the fever pills bought by the bishop at the Cape turned out to be made of dirt instead of drugs! Really, when we think of Dr. Livingstone going to Christianize savages in a worthless vessel, made by a swindling Christian, and Bishop Mackenzie's dirt-pills, purchased from Christian vendors, we cannot help recalling to mind the answer of Tomo Chichi, an American Indian, to a missionary wishing to convert him: "Tomo Chichi, Christian? Christians at Savannah steal; Christians at Savannah drink; Christians at Savannah kill. No! no! Tomo Chichi, no Christian." We are reminded, too, of Rajah Brook's warning some years since, that it would be useless for missionaries to teach Christian dogmas while traders were exhibiting gross transgressions of Christian precepts. It seems natural that if we desire to Christianize a country by the means of trade, we should first Christianize the traders who are to deal with it.

In a magnificent bay, on the 25th of February, the *Pioneer* came to anchor, awaiting the arrival of the bishop, who was following in the *Lyra*. Two days afterwards, the party proceeded up the river. But now came a new difficulty. The *Pioneer*, unexceptionable in all other respects, had been designed to draw three feet of water, but unfortunately drew five! This was too much for the frequent shallows. They had now nothing to do but to return to the coast, and make their way up through the Zambesi into the Shire, which they effected with difficulty, having to haul the vessel over

the shallow places. After months thus thrown away, they arrived at Chibisa's, and started on the 5th of July, with a number of his men, for the highlands. They had heard, on their arrival, that the Manganja country was at war with the Awaja, who were sending marauding parties in all directions, and briskly carrying on the slave trade. On the morning of their second day's march, they had evidence of this in a way that eventually led to unpleasant results. Understanding that a slave party was on its way to Tette, and irritated at this horrible traffic, which had followed in the wake of their discoveries, they determined if possible to put a stop to it:—

“A few minutes after Mbame had spoken to us,” says Dr. Livingstone, “a long line of manacled men, women, and children came wending their way round the hill and into the valley, on the side of which the village stood. The black drivers, armed with muskets and bedecked with various articles of finery, marched jauntily in the front, middle, and rear of the line; some of them blowing exultant notes out of long tin horns. They seemed to feel that they were doing a very noble thing, and might proudly march with an air of triumph; but the instant the fellows caught a glimpse of the English, they darted off like mad into the forest; so fast, indeed, that we caught but a glimpse of their red caps and the soles of their feet. The chief of the party alone remained; and he, from being in front, had his hand tightly grasped by a Makololo! He proved to be a well-known slave of the late commandant at Tette, and for some time our own attendant while there. On asking him how he obtained these captives, he replied, he had bought them; but on our inquiring of the people themselves, all, save four, said they had been captured in war. While this inquiry was going on, he bolted too. The captives knelt down, and, in their way of expressing thanks, clapped their hands with great energy. They were thus left entirely on our hands, and knives were soon busy at work cutting the women and children loose. It was more difficult to cut the men adrift, as each had his neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long, and kept in by an iron rod, which was riveted at both ends across the throat. With a saw, luckily in the bishop's baggage, one by one the men were sawn out into freedom.”—p. 356.

The bishop was bathing when this took place, and on his return, after some little hesitation, approved what had been done. It is not very clear how they could hope to stop the traffic thus begun by the liberation of a few captives, and though the sight was no doubt exceedingly painful to Dr. Livingstone, it was certainly during this expedition not a novel one, as on his return to Tette from the Makololo country he had met near the Luia two large trading parties with a number of Manganja women, all made fast by their necks to a long rope, which they were taking to Zumbo to sell for ivory. This act of liberation was afterwards a source of some annoyance to Dr. Livingstone. The bishop's warlike feeling seems to have been aroused by it; and when, in the course of their journey towards Lake Nyassa, and in search for a settlement for the University Mission, they found the villages in flames and the people of the country flying in panic, he was for attacking the Ajawa and sweeping them out of the coun-

try. Dr. Livingstone opposed this successfully, as being impolitic and useless; though he was naturally enough made responsible for some subsequent collisions with the natives which the bishop had when left to himself. After conducting the mission to Magomero, where it had been invited to take up its quarters by the chief of the place, Dr. Livingstone returned to the ship, and a few days afterwards set out with Dr. Kirk and Mr. Charles Livingstone, with a light four-oared gig, for Lake Nyassa. We have not space to follow this excursion on the western bank of the lake, from its southern to almost its northern extremity, from which the party returned to the ship on the 8th of November, just three months after their departure. We may just observe that the length of the lake, which lies in a direction almost due north and south, is above two hundred miles; its greatest width, from fifty to sixty miles, is near its northern extremity; and the least, at the broadest part of its southern extremity, twelve miles; the water was found to have a depth of from nine to fifteen fathoms about a mile from the shore, but in some places soundings were only to be had at a hundred fathoms, and the impression was that a ship could not find anchorage except near the shore. It is subject to sudden storms of great violence, lashing the waves with such fury as to raise a surf which astonished one of the seamen, who had been a fisherman on the coast of Ireland. The coast-line presents a succession of small bays. Never before in Africa had Dr. Livingstone seen so dense a population, especially about the southern part of the lake, which presented an unbroken chain of villages. Wherever they landed they were surrounded, especially at meal times, by huge crowds gazing upon them with wonder, and naming them “Chirombo,” which, it seems, means such wild beasts only as are fit to be eaten. But the reason of this flattering distinction was not given. A vast quantity of native cotton cloth must be worked up for consumption; besides which there is a very large manufacture of cloth from the inner bark of an undescribed tree belonging to the *Casalpinææ*. The lake women are by nature very plain, and, by the universal adoption of the pelele, made hideous. There is a great love of the slave trade; for, on hearing that the English would have nothing to do with it, they often turned away with contempt, and refused to sell them any food.

They returned to the ship in a weak condition, having suffered more from want of provisions than during any previous trip. Shortly after they commenced their downward passage to the coast, they were delayed five weeks by a shoal a little below Chibisa's; and finally, after being once again shoaled in the Zambesi, they anchored in the great Cuabo mouth of the river. On the 30th of January, 1862, the *Goragon* ship-of-war arrived, towing a brig bringing Mrs. Livingstone, some ladies about to join their relatives in the University Mission, and a new iron-steamer for the navigation of Lake Nyassa, which was brought out in twenty-four sections. The *Pioneer* steaming out towed the brig into Kongone; had as many of the sections

of the new steamer—christened the *Lady Nyassa*—transferred to her as she could carry; and after taking on board the ladies, the captain of the *Gorgon*, with a number of his officers and men to assist in landing the cargo, made way up the stream for the Ruo. Here was more delay, for the engines of the *Pioneer* having been neglected, they remained six months in the delta, of which Shupanga is the apex, instead of six days, as they expected. They resolved to land the sections at Shupanga, and when they were collected, to launch the hull of the *Lady Nyassa* at that place, from which she could be towed up to the foot of the Murchison cataracts. In this dilemma, Captain Wilson undertook to carry up Miss Mackenzie, Mrs. Burrup, together with his surgeon, Dr. Ramsay, in his gig, followed by Dr. Kirk and Mr. Sewell, paymaster of the *Gorgon*, in the *Lady Nyassa's* whaleboat. With great toil they reached the Ruo; and getting no tidings of the mission, they pushed on to Chibisa's, where they arrived, after having accomplished a voyage of nearer 300 than 200 miles. Here sad news awaited them. The bishop and Mr. Burrup were no more; the survivors in a critical position; and to their aid Captain Wilson and Dr. Kirk volunteered to go up the hills, leaving the ladies with Dr. Ramsay and the Makololo. Some of the mission were met with, but further search was put an end to by the illness of the two gentlemen, one of whom—Captain Wilson—must have sank but for his stout boatswain, who cheerfully carried along his commander, and managed to get him to the boat, which returned with the whole party to the *Pioneer*. The bishop, it appears, proceeding with Mr. Burrup towards the shore to reach Ruo, already suffering from diarrhoea, in consequence of previous exposure to wet and hunger, and of being again repeatedly wetted to the skin, was completely exhausted when, much after the appointed time, he reached Malo, an island at the mouth of the Ruo. He was here seized with fever; for three weeks did he struggle on against the disease, faithfully watched by the Makololo, but for whom the chief of Malo would have turned the dying man out of his hut. At length he died. In the deep dark forest they dug his grave; and Mr. Burrup himself, almost worn out with disease, repeated from memory some portions of the service for the burial of the dead over the body of his friend. Mr. Burrup was then taken up the stream some distance in a canoe, and afterwards placed on a litter of branches, and so carried back to his friends at Magomero, where he soon after died. Captain Wilson and his party on their return reached Shupanga on the 11th of March, whence they proceeded in the *Pioneer* to the Kongone, where all the mission party but one embarked on board the *Gorgon* for the Cape, on April the 4th. Between this and the 12th of June, the *Pioneer* was engaged in bringing up the remaining section of the *Lady Nyassa* to Shupanga, where she was launched on the 23rd. Meanwhile, a great calamity had occurred. About the middle of April, Mrs. Livingstone was prostrated by fever, and, in spite of all the medical aid rendered by Dr. Kirk, sank on the

27th of April, 1862. Surrounded by the little band of her countrymen, the good lady's coffin was lowered into a grave dug under the branches of the great baobab-tree.

"Those," said Dr. Livingstone, "who are not aware how this brave, good English wife made a delightful home at Kolobeng, a thousand miles inland from the Cape; and as the daughter of Moffat, and a Christian lady, exercised most beneficial influence over the rude tribes of the interior, may wonder that she should have braved the dangers of this down-trodden land. She knew them all; and, in the disinterested and dutiful attempt to renew her labours, was called to her rest instead. 'Fiat Domine voluntas tua!'" p. 417.

It seems to have been the fate of the expedition to lose a vast amount of valuable time, either from the incompetency of their vessels, or the varying floods of the rivers, at one time too high and swift, and at others too low, for their purpose. The Ma-Robert was scarcely to be regarded as a means of conveyance. We have seen the expedition delayed six months from both these causes. And now when the *Nyassa* was launched on the 23rd of June, and ready to sail, the waters of the Shire and the Zambesi had fallen so low that they were obliged to wait for the rains of December before there was any chance of taking her up to the cataracts of the Shire. To fill up the time, especially as draught oxen and provisions would be required from the Island of Johanna, it was determined, after touching there, to proceed to the Rovuma. In pursuance of this plan, the *Pioneer* left the river at Kongone on the 6th of August, and touching at Johanna was towed by H.M.S. *Orestes* to the mouth of the Rovuma in the beginning of September. The explorers proceeded up the river in two boats, very skillfully managed by the Zambesi men; and soon became satisfied that it could be only navigable for eight months in the year, but they pushed on to see if its upper part presented those capabilities of which they had heard so much from naval officers. The valley of the Rovuma is from two to four miles wide, confined by a range of highlands, and running W.S.W., but the channel of the river proceeds in zigzags, so that to make one mile in advance three miles of boating were required. Instead of the river being navigable for a month's sail, they found that a boat might push up for about six or eight days. They themselves came to a stop at the island of Nyamatolo, Long. E., $38^{\circ} 36'$, Lat. S., $11^{\circ} 53'$, about 156 miles from the mouth, where they found the river narrow, with a rapid only passable by native canoes. The banks of the river exhibit little of interest. They found some of the inhabitants extremely ill-disposed; at one place making an attack with a volley of musket-balls and poisoned arrows, but upon the fire being returned running off as fast as their legs could carry them. A peculiarity of the river is, that its cataracts, instead of being found in mountainous districts, as happens in other rivers, occur in the level country. On landing occasionally they found trees of a novel kind, and inhabitants who were living in temporary huts on the sand banks of the river,

chiefly occupied in hunting the Senze (Aulacodus Swindernianus), an animal the size of a large cat, but shaped like a pig, which they drive from its haunts by setting fire to the reeds. After a month's exploration, they returned to the *Pioneer* on the 9th of October, and sailed on the 18th for the Zambesi, touching at Johanna for the oxen, but forced, for want of fuel, to run into Quillimane, which they found only fit to be what it was, a *dépôt* for the slave trade. They reached the Zambesi about the end of November, and with their usual luck were a month struggling up to Shupanga. On the 10th of January, 1863, the *Pioneer* was on its way up the Shire, with the *Lady Nyassa* in tow. And now they came in contact with frightful evidence of the horrors of the inland slave trade. The notorious half-caste Mariano, the "great Portuguese slave agent," had passed over the country, and left death and destruction in his track. In the following passage Dr. Livingstone gives us a picture of some of the horrors which met their eyes:—

"Dead bodies floated past us daily, and in the mornings the paddles had to be cleared of corpses, caught by the floats during the night. For scores of miles the entire population of the valley was swept away by this savage Mariano, who is again, as he was before, the great Portuguese slave agent. It made the heart ache to see the wide-spread desolation; the river banks, once so populous, all silent; the villages burned down, and an oppressive stillness reigning where formerly crowds of eager sellers appeared with the various products of their industry. Here and there might be seen on the bank a small, dreary, deserted shed, where had sat, day after day, a starving fisherman, until the rising waters drove the fish from their haunts, and left him to die. Tingane had been defeated; his people had been killed, kidnapped, and forced to flee from their villages. There were a few wretched survivors in a village above the Ruo, but the majority of the population was dead. The sight and smell of dead bodies was everywhere. Many skeletons lay beside the path, where in their weakness they had fallen and expired. Ghostly living forms of boys and girls, with dull, dead eyes, were crouching beside some of the huts. A few more miserable days of their terrible hunger, and they would be with the dead."—p. 450.

In the midst of these horrors they visited the grave of Bishop Mackenzie, who, probably, had he lived, would have fallen in some ineffectual attempt to strike down the arm of this remorseless ruffian. We are inclined, however, to think that Dr. Livingstone has made Mariano responsible for too large a proportion of these horrors. There had been a "drought of unusual severity," which had extended from Kebrabasa north-east to the Manganja highlands. The Tette slaves had fled to the woods to live on whatever they could pick up, where they were expected to perish; and we are informed that in a famine like this, which raged in 1854, *thousands* died of starvation. But the foray had aggravated the scourge of the famine, and Dr. Livingstone became more anxious than ever to transport his little vessel to the waters of Lake Nyassa, where he hoped by its presence to check the slave-trade. With his usual indefatigable energy he had the *Lady Nyassa* unscrewed,

with the intention of taking her piecemeal over some forty miles of road, which was to be made, and thus pass the cataracts. But finding that the country people who had at first crowded around them, offering provisions for sale, and glad of the opportunity of being useful, now kept out of sight, so that they had to depend for fresh provisions on their guns, and to have the supplies for their native crew brought up 150 miles from the Zambesi, he was obliged to give up the project. He ascribes this desertion to the intrigues of the Portuguese, and in his indignation asserts, that "it is a monstrous mistake to believe in the honour of the Government of Portugal," and declares that the policy pursued by the Portuguese statesmen towards Africa is "simply infamous." These are grave charges, but assuredly if they can be substantiated on the evidence which Dr. Livingstone furnishes, it seems to be the duty of every state in Europe to give to Portugal some expression of its indignation. We some time since suspended diplomatic relations with a King of Naples for offences trivial in comparison with the horrors which the Portuguese nation permits or encourages in Africa.

Foiled in their purpose, suffering from the want of fresh provisions, and dispirited at the unnecessary failure of their efforts, dysentery ran through the expedition, and Dr. Kirk and Mr. Charles Livingstone, broken down by fever and fatigue, found it necessary to return to England. Dr. Livingstone was himself for a month dangerously ill, but as resolved as ever, and as soon as he had recovered he determined to proceed with Mr. Rae by land, with a view of ascertaining if a boat which they had left above the cataracts was safe and in a condition to convey them into the vicinity of the tribes near Lake Nyassa, where they could stock themselves with provisions, and thus be relieved of depending for precarious supplies on the wasted south. They found the boat suspended in the trees as they had left it, but so injured by fire, probably from the burning of the grasses, which had set fire to the woods, that they were obliged to return without it. The Murchison cataracts begin in lat. 15° 20' and end in 15° 55', in which space the river runs about forty miles, its direction being nearly north and south. There are five principal cataracts, and two or three smaller ones. The former fall a hundred feet in a hundred yards, at an angle of about 45°; one of them at an angle of 70°. From the upper to the lower lower Shire the descent is 1,200 feet. The river here, only from fifty to eighty yards wide, rushes like a "mill-race, and gives the impression of water power, sufficient to drive all the mills in Manchester, running to waste." The river is so full of mica that, even at low water myriads of particles may be seen floating and glittering in the sun. In passing by one of the cataracts called Pamozi, "the departed spirits or gods," they were offended by a smell like that of a dissecting room, and on examining, found it came from dead bodies in mats suspended from branches of trees: a mode of sepulture which Dr. Livingstone saw subsequently practised by the Parsees, in their "tow-

ers of silence." at Poonah near Bombay. It is the popular belief, we are told, that disembodied souls are perpetually hovering over this spot.

Reaching the ship on the 2nd of July, they found a despatch from Earl Russell, with instructions for the withdrawal of the expedition; but as the *Pioneer* could not descend the river before the December floods, Dr. Livingstone determined to carry a boat past the cataracts a second time, and sail along the eastern shore of the lake, with a view of determining if Colonel Rigby's information was correct, namely, that Lake Nyassa and the valley of the Shire supply the 19,000 slaves that annually pass through the custom-house of Zanzibar. The attempt to pass the boat was unsuccessful, and then Dr. Livingstone, taking with him the steward of the *Pioneer*, proceeded with the Makololo to acquire the information he desired. We shall not follow Dr. Livingstone in this unsuccessful attempt, merely observing that having made his way in a northerly direction to Kota-Kota, he then struck off in a westerly direction, and proceeded on the great slave track as far as Chinangas, in about longitude 83° E. and latitude 13° 30' S. Here the men of the expedition began to suffer so much in health, provisions were so short, time passing away, and the orders for the withdrawal of the expedition so peremptory, that he reluctantly gave up his intention of walking round the lake, and returned to the ship, which he reached on the 31st of October, having travelled 660 geographical miles in fifty-five days. This would represent an average of twelve miles a day, or if the windings be taken into account, of fifteen miles.

Though the instructions from the Foreign Office, which, to the annoyance of Dr. Livingstone, had come open from England, and so been forwarded him from the Cape, announced that the seamen's wages would cease to be paid after the 31st of December, it was not until the 19th of January that the *Pioneer* could start on its way down. After being delayed, as usual, by an accident on the way, the vessel reached the coast, and was fortunate enough to meet with the *Orestes* and *Ariel*, which were cruising at the mouth of the river. The *Lady Nyassa*, which had been previously sent down the river, was taken in tow by the *Ariel*, and the *Pioneer* by the *Orestes*, for Mozambique. They encountered a heavy gale, and the little *Nyassa*, which escaped serious mischief through the admirable management of the *Ariel*, was, together with her comrade, safely brought to anchor in the harbor of Mozambique. On the 16th of April the *Lady Nyassa* steamed for Zanzibar, where, shipping fourteen tons of coal, they set sail for Bombay on the 30th, taking the chance of arriving there before "the break" of the monsoon. It is characteristic of that energy and adaptability which makes Dr. Livingstone so efficient an explorer, that he was the skipper of his own frail bark in this rather perilous adventure, his first schooling in this way being on board the *Asthetic*, the person in charge of her having proved inefficient. In this sea-trip, moreover, he had principally to

depend upon native Zambesians; his crew consisting of seven of these, two boys, three Englishmen, one stoker, one sailor, and one carpenter. The Zambesians proved capital sailors, and so eager for their work that not one of them gave up for sea-sickness. On reaching Bombay in the beginning of June, after having sailed 2500 miles, the little vessel glided into the harbour, such a dot, that no one noticed her arrival.

In summing up the result of his six years' labour Dr. Livingstone enumerates among the chief of them the discovery of a port, capable of being turned to commercial use; a correct appreciation of the Zambesi as a means of transit; proofs of the fertility of the soil and of its fitness for the growth of cotton, of which specimens of superior quality were collected from various districts, as well as of tobacco and the sugar cane. In a geographical point of view, the discoveries of Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa, the exploration of the Zambesi and the Shire, the examination of the Kebrabasa rapids, the Murchison, and, above all, the Victoria falls, are matters of great interest. But Dr. Livingstone is acutely sensible that the hoped-for moral results he trusted would reward his labours have not been realized. Wherever he went into districts hitherto visited, he found the slaver at work, and when penetrating into those unvisited, he found the slaver at his heels. It is obvious, too, that the slave-purchaser is not more eager to buy than the natives in general are willing to sell. He found abundant evidence too, of a state of incessant warfare, and read its tale in ruined villages and depopulated districts teeming with the evidence of a careful cultivation. But he found nowhere such a state of society as enabled him to work out either the industrial or moral ends for which the expedition was devised. We confess that, after perusing his work, we carry away but a very indistinct impression on one or two points. We could have wished, for instance, to have had a clearer appreciation of the intellectual capacity of the natives. Of their proficiency in certain mechanical arts and agriculture, there is abundant evidence. Speaking of the latter, Bishop Mackenzie said that one of his objects was to give them instruction in it, "but that he now saw that they knew far more about it than he did." Yet it seems curious that, though they cultivate esculents and other plants with skill, they have no idea—the Batoka are the single exception—of planting, rearing, or preserving fruit trees. In the same way, though they make excellent small axes, they cannot cut down large trees, for the want of large ones. Several instances are given of the ingenuity with which, on a small scale, they attempt irrigation. But no attempt has been made to cope with what is declared to be the great drawback in every part of Central Africa, that is, the scourge of the periodical droughts, which may be expected once in every ten or fifteen years, between the 10th and 15th degrees of S. lat., or once in every five years between the 15th and 20th degrees.*

* The seasons are thus described by Dr. Kirk:—

What they know is less a matter of surprise than that, knowing what they do, they should be without the capacity of spontaneously developing that knowledge. We much regret that no specimens have been given us of the exact matter of the conferences which on various occasions took place between the members of the expedition and the chiefs. When the intelligence of the black is questioned, Dr. Livingstone's retort is that he received answers as, or even more, pertinent than would have been given by the uninstructed classes of Europe. This is not very high praise, at the best, and is rather vague. A few conversations, as we have observed, set down, might have thrown some light on the subject. A short specimen or two has been given, of which the following is one:—Sleeping one night near a hut, a woman inside began to grind her corn at two o'clock in the morning, on which her daughter very sensibly asks, "Ma, why do you grind in the dark?" to which ma replied, "To buy cloth from the strangers, which will make you *look a little lady*." We must confess this has a very European sound. We should be very curious to know the literal meaning of the words in the native tongue, which are the equivalents of "look a little lady." One difficulty of translating the Bible into the language of these tribes, has, as we might expect, arisen from the want of abstract terms in it; and yet to our surprise, we find there is a word in it expressing "holiness," which is about the last word we should have imagined would have been found there.

Vanity, as we might suppose from what we see of the race in a state of slavery, is a predominant feature. Thus we are told, though "natural-born traders," they will present their wares to one merchant after another, and after a good deal of chaffering with each they will end by selling it to some one of them for even less than the first offered them: gain, it appears, being less gratifying to them than the self-importance of bargaining with their customers. Dr. Livingstone is of opinion that they believe in a Supreme Being, and have a vague notion of a continued existence. As respects their moral code, it coincides with the Christian, with the exception of polygamy, which institution the "ladies" set a high value upon. For when told of the monogamy of England, they exclaimed, as the Mormon ladies are in the habit of doing, "that they would not like to live in such a country." The ladies of the Makololo are much praised by the Doctor; they have "soft, small, delicate hands and feet; foreheads well developed; the nose not disagreeably flat, though the '*alae*'"—we fear we must translate this "*nostrils*"—"are full; the mouth, teeth, eyes, and general form are beautiful, and, contrasted with the west-coast negro, quite lady-like." These ladies having "maid-servants" to wait upon them,

"A cold one during May, June, and July; a hot during August, September, and October; and a rainy through the remaining part of the year. The rain, however, is not continuous, there sometimes being only passing showers, and even intervals of a week or more without any rainfall, in which the crops suffer from the sun. The thermometer occasionally reaches 103° in the shade."

have nothing to do but to sip beer and smoke bang, which last accomplishment produces a minute eruption on the skin, and must much damage the charms assigned to them. But the condition of the African ladies is not everywhere so prosperous, for in the Manganja highlands it was quite painful, we are told, to see the women kneeling down as the travellers passed. Having made a present to the chief, Mongazi, he handed it to his wife, who respectfully received it upon her knees. In the next village, it is true, matters in this respect were somewhat mended; but there the chief was a lady. In some places the women appear in camp as traders, in others they respectfully wait on their knees until the men have effected their barter; while among the Jaggas of the north they are the sole traders, hold the markets, and suffer no man to come into the market-place. But the Makololo women are evidently the favourites; they are not black, but of a light, warm brown complexion, wear a kilt and mantle, and seem much given to ornaments, if we may judge by the head lady of Sesheke, who "wore eighteen solid brass rings as thick as one's finger on each leg, and three copper under each knee; nineteen brass rings on her left arm, and eight of brass and copper on her right, also a large ivory ring above each elbow;" when we add to this a bead necklace, and a bead sash around her waist, the toilet is complete. It is natural to suppose that this would not be a good walking attire, and it had, in fact, the inconvenience of impeding her legs and chafing her ankles. Civilization itself scarcely makes a greater sacrifice to fashion than this.

The "ladies" of the Makololo, though fond of rings, have rather an aversion to water, for which they substitute melted butter. This, we are told, keeps off parasites, but imparts a rancid smell to the clothes. The word "clothes" must be here used by synecdoche, or that figure of speech by which a part is taken for the whole. The dress of the men is simple: a monkey-jacket and skin around the hips, but neither trowsers, waistcoat, nor shirt. They, at all events, can have no trouble in walking, nor can all the ladies be hampered with rings; for while at the village of Pitsane the wife of the chief was busily engaged in building a hut; an occupation, it appears, which was left entirely to women and servants. These houses are round "towers" about eleven feet high, made of stakes and reeds plastered over, and with no other light or ventilation than such as can be admitted through a door only nineteen inches high, twelve inches wide at top, and twenty-two inches at bottom. It is difficult to understand how anything else can be admitted. The explanation of the "lady" was, that it was made so to keep out the mice. The roofs of these huts are thatched, and made to project over the sides for above three feet, and are met nearly at their edges by a plastered reed fence, making a circular room about the inner hut. The floor is made of soft tufa, or ant-hill material, and cow-dung. This plaster secures the inmates against the bites of poisonous insects, called *tampans*, which infest the soil. The travellers very naturally preferred sleeping in the outer enclosure to penetrating through the

mouse-hole into the inner prison. The art of upholstery is evidently not among their other arts. They must herd together like swine. We must take for granted, having no other information on the subject, that this is the general type of construction in the country. We miss details respecting the distribution of the villages and their population. In his excursion with Mr. Rae on the banks of Lake Nyassa, the Doctor finds the largest village he ever saw in Africa deserted by its inhabitants; but he unfortunately gives us no idea of its size. Mention, we see, is made of maid-servants and servants aiding the chief's wife in building. These servants are what are usually called slaves, which have been taken in forays attended with a "shocking waste of life"—made captive, as appears to us, for no proportionate advantage or any very conceivable purpose, if their condition be correctly described; for the captive is said to retain in his captivity the same rank which he had in his own tribe—a somewhat difficult matter when he happened to be a chief—while his children, and, indeed, all the captive children, have both the privileges and name of their masters, and when grown up are nearly equal to them, and may leave them and go where they like within the boundary of the "*kingdom*," though they are still in the condition of bondsmen. What use such a slave can be, and why they should take such frightful means to procure them, is not by any means clear; and so enviable is their condition that Dr. Livingstone's compassionate thoughts turn as he speaks of them to the poor of his own country, whose struggle for life contrasts so unfavourably with the facile subsistence which even the slave can here command. Nevertheless, he mentions two facts which by no means bear out the alleged respect for the slaves or the abundance of means at their command. When leaving Sesheke, a chief, Leshore, with a number of men, was sent as a guard of honour. These men belonged to the "black subject tribes," and when they entered any village, Leshore always cried out, "Look out for your property, and see that my thieves don't steal it;" and Dr. Livingstone remarks that these men required to be "looked at in the most charitable light." Then, again, as to the prevailing abundance. Only six days' march before arriving at Sesheke, they found the famine so great that the people were employed "in digging up *tsitla* roots out of the marshes, and cutting out the soft core of the young palm-trees for food;" and when commending the hospitality of Sekeletu, he notes that it was "a time of great scarcity and hunger." In fact, while at Sesheke, the headman from near Linyanti came to complain that all his people had run off, owing to the "hunger;" to which Sekeletu considerably replied, "You must not be left to *grow lean alone*; some of them must come back to you." These various statements are not in harmony with each other. Indeed, so great is the insecurity of life and property in these regions, that extensive highlands, once peopled by the Batoka, which but a *few years since* were rich in culture and produce, are now the grazing grounds of elephants; and where "multitudes existed not a man is to be found." This specifi-

cation of *black tribes* would imply that these people were brought from a distance, for Dr. Livingstone remarks, that though the assertion may seem strange, yet it is none the less true, "that in all the tribes we have visited we never saw a really black person. Different shades of brown prevail, and often with a bright bronze tint, which no painter, except Mr. Angus, seems able to catch." There is no mention of tattooing as a general custom, but we hear of it occasionally, as among the Babisa, in the vicinity of Lake Nyassa, who are easily known by a line of horizontal cicatrices, each half an inch long, down the middle of the forehead and chin." A marked difference was noticed between the cranial configuration of the Babisa and the Manganja. The former—an energetic race, much addicted to trade and travelling—are distinguished by their round, bullet-shaped heads; differing in this respect from those of the latter, attached to agriculture and their homes.

The lovers of Natural History will find a good deal to interest them in this volume. One of the most curious novelties is that of an extraordinary bird, called the "Honey Guide." Whenever this bird catches sight of a man it endeavours to attract his attention by flying from tree to tree, looking back each time it alights to see if it be followed; its invariable object being, for some unknown reason, to lure him to a hive of bees and a store of honey. Another peculiar bird is the Buffalo Watcher. As they lie in the tall grass, these animals might be approached quite unperceived, were it not that this bird, which is seated on the animal, by flapping its wings and screaming gives the signal of alarm. A considerable difference is observed between African and Asiatic elephants. Of the latter, only the males have tusks, and this not invariably; while in the former they are found both in males and females. The African male elephant, moreover, is distinguished by the convex shape of his forehead and the enormous size of his ears, resembling those found upon Roman coins. Another very remarkable peculiarity is, that in the part of the jaw corresponding with the place in which the wisdom tooth appears in man, there is a succession of new teeth, each of which as it comes up pushes "the others along, and out at the front end of the jaws; thus keeping the molars sound by renewal, till the animal attains a very great age." Locality, it appears, very much affects the character of the tusks; those of animals from marshy districts being the largest, and those from dry districts the densest and heaviest. In the great marshes on the Shire, near the Ruu, there is one called the Elephant Marsh, in which a vast number of these animals are found: 800 were counted in one herd. But elephants must soon disappear from the country, as 30,000 are said to be annually killed for the sake of their tusks. But it is unnecessary to allude further to these matters, as we are promised an account of the Botany and Natural History of the country visited from the pen of Dr. Kirk. His collection of plants includes 4000 species. He possesses specimens of articles of food, native manufactures, many valuable woods, the va-

ries of cotton in each spot visited, and a large number of birds and insects. Of the climate of this part of Africa not much good can be said, as respects the European; though the mortality in the expedition was not excessive, yet each of the persons composing it were at one time or struck down by dysentery or fever. Mr. Charles Livingstone and Dr. Kirk, as we have remarked, were obliged to return to England. Mr. Thornton, who left the expedition early to assist the Baron van der Decken in his journey up Kilimanjaro (which they ascended to the height of 8000 feet, and found covered with perpetual snow), fell a victim when he returned to it in his generous attempt to supply the remnant of Bishop Mackenzie's party with food, which brought on dysentery and fever on 21st of April, 1863. If we add to these losses, at no great distance of time from each other, the deaths of Mrs. Livingstone, Bishop Mackenzie, and Mr. Burrup, and the havoc made among the missionaries of the London Society, headed by Mr. Helmore, of whom six out of nine had died at Linyanti, when the expedition was within no great distance of them, we shall have a list of casualties which tells fearfully against the climate. In addition to these, the death of the Baron van der Decken has been recently announced. Nothing daunted, however, by the comparative failure of his recent essay to throw Africa open to civilizing influences, Dr. Livingstone is again devoting himself to the great object he has at heart. Under the sanction of Government, co-operating with the Geographical Society, and assisted by a munificent donation from a private friend of £1000, he proposes to ascend the Rovuma, or some other river north of Cape Delgado, and accomplish that task of substituting legitimate commerce for slave traffic on the east coast, which, as he declares, has been so successfully executed on the west. He will thus be beyond the confines of the so-called Portuguese territory, secure from the authorized obstructions and evil influences which thwarted him in his recent expedition. Another object will be to pass along the northern end of the Lake Nyassa and round the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, for the purpose of ascertaining the watershed of that part of Africa. What will be the result of this new enterprise we must wait with patience to know, but, at the same time, with the satisfactory conviction, that if consummate qualifications can ensure success, it will be beyond all doubt successful.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 210, Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE principal literary event of the quarter in the interest of progressive theology in England

is the issue of the translation of Strauss's "New Life of Jesus." It is a perfectly readable and intelligible book; and our own public will now be able without difficulty to judge for themselves on which side lies the truth, or that which is nearest the truth—on the side of the "infidel Strauss," or on the side of those who prefer so to denounce him, instead of grappling with his statements. The original work has already received ample notice in the pages of this Review, but a few remarks upon occasion of the translation may be admissible. The considerations which induced Strauss to adapt his work for the general public in Germany equally recommend the translation for circulation in England. He has pointed out (Pref., p. xvi.) in reference to his own country, that the efforts there making in various quarters towards greater freedom in ecclesiastical forms can by no means reach the root of the religious questions which have to be settled in the present day. And in England no delusive relaxation of clerical subscription, no petty revision of the established Liturgy, no practical allowance of insignificant liberties in legal or voluntary churches, no latitudinarian talk, mystical subterfuges, or sentimental escapes, will suffice to postpone for very long the sifting of the essential problem, How did Christianity originate? Did it originate as an outcoming from the working of a natural order, or by a supernatural interference? If it were founded in miracle, it may be expected to bring with it mysterious dogmas, occult sacramental influences, or immediate operations of grace; and however various churches and schools may differ as to the particular modes wherein they suppose the supernatural in Christianity continues to manifest itself, they have this in common—that they assume Christianity to be a supernatural revelation, and to have had at least its birth in miracle. The tendency of discussion on these subjects has undoubtedly been to divide the religious world into two camps, and two camps only: Romanist and Protestant, Episcopalian and Congregationalist, Calvinist and Arminian, on the one side, and rational religionists on the other. The claim to be the depositaries of supernaturally communicated truth is as haughtily made by a Calvinistic Synod as by an Anglican or Roman hierarchy. "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large." "And he," says Strauss, "who would banish priests from the Church must first banish miracles from religion." The problem, therefore, which our distinguished author has put in the plainest manner before Christendom is, Whether Christianity had a miraculous origin or not. He has put it, not before the learned only, but before all persons of ordinary education, understanding, and seriousness. Nor can the English public, with his last work before them in their own language, in any fairness to themselves and to the profoundness of the interests involved, decline to judge for themselves of the

¹ "A New Life of Jesus." By David Friedrich Strauss. Authorized translation. In two volumes. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

validity of his arguments. Exceptions may be taken to details, to the force attributed by the author to particular arguments, to the sufficiency of certain hypotheses to account for particular phenomena which otherwise must go without solution. But these partial exceptions will not invalidate, as we apprehend, the main conclusions of the author, either on the negative or on the positive side; for, however it may surprise some to be so informed, there are undoubtedly positive conclusions arrived at by Strauss, or to be inferred from his labours, which are of the highest practical value. For it must be of the highest practical value to elucidate the real causes which produced Christianity as it has been, even though it shall be thereby shown to have been founded in great degree on misconceptions; for those errors and misconceptions are themselves facts in human history, though destined to be transient ones. It is said, indeed, not unfrequently, that a Christianity without miracle would not be a Christianity worth having. But if that should prove after all to be the Christianity which it has pleased God to give us, it behoves us to be content with it, though we should have delighted in something more marvellous; and should such non-miraculous Christianity turn out to be true, we may be sure that it will best serve the interests of humanity, though not, it may be, the interests of priestcraft.

Strauss, meanwhile, has been more maligned as to the purpose and object of his works than any living author. It is systematically represented that his object has been to sweep away the Christian religion, to defame and obliterate, if possible, the person of its founder. No doubt he has said pungent things concerning certain theories and certain defenders of Christianity—*facit indignatio versum*. But it is an essential part of his present undertaking to set forth, in the first instance, the life of Jesus, as it may be conceived to have had a seat in actual history; for his personal existence being assumed as historical, the process by which a supernatural dress was thrown over a natural but singular life becomes the more intelligible. Such a creation as is presented by the Jesus of the Gospels would have been impossible if no Jesus had existed; nor however incongruous some portions of the dress may appear to us which has been thrown over that figure, was it other than the most honourable which could be imagined by those who invested him with it; and thus the real superiority and eminence of his person may fairly be inferred. Hence the negative criticism which, in the first place, demonstrates the impossibility of the Gospel histories, as narratives throughout of actual events, prepares the way for a hypothesis, which assumes the non-miraculous appearance of Jesus in history and then accounts for the supernatural attributes ascribed to him. So that, neither is he dishonoured nor are base motives imputed to those who gave its form to his history; much less is the essential and truly religious element in Christianity sought to be abolished, though its validity no longer rests on the supposition of its having been supernaturally communicated.

"Indispensable, but also imperishable, remains

that part of Christianity, by which it raised human nature above the sensual religion of Greece on the one hand, and Jewish legalism on the other; on one side, that is, the belief that the world is governed by a spiritual and moral Power; on the other, the perception that the service of such a Being can only be like himself, namely, a moral and spiritual one, a worship of the disposition and the heart. We can indeed scarcely contemplate the latter element as constituting a continuing remnant among us of the old Christianity; since in a real and true sense it has never yet been generally established. So long as Christianity is considered as something given from without, its Author as literally heaven-descended, the church as a machinery for procuring the expiation of man's offences through his blood, Christianity, though claiming to be the religion of the spirit, must remain unspiritual and in fact Jewish. Only when it is seen that in Christianity man did become more deeply conscious of his own true nature, that Jesus was the individual in whom this deeper consciousness first became a supreme all-pervading influence, that redemption means but the advent of such a disposition and its inward adoption as our very life-blood, then only is Christianity really and thoroughly understood."—p. xiv.

Perhaps the portion of the work which we should especially commend to the attention of English readers is the whole of the introductory matter on the "Gospel Sources of the Life of Jesus," especially that part of the discussion which treats of the fourth Gospel, and of the critical enquiry which Baur has directed upon it. The hypothesis of myth, strictly so-called, accounts for the unhistorical parts of the first three Gospels, and in having traced out elaborately how these unhistorical portions were probably generated spontaneously out of current Jewish conceptions and imaginations concerning the Messiah and his kingdom, consists Strauss's great distinction. But the theory of myth—that is, of an unconscious and spontaneous invention—is only very partially applicable to the fourth Gospel; and the great service which Baur rendered to the advancement of New Testament criticism lay in the application to the fourth Gospel of the hypothesis of conscious fiction in furtherance of a tendency or design. In substance, Strauss admits thoroughly both the services rendered by Baur and the obligations he has been under to his suggestions, together with the distinction between the principles of myth and of tendency; but he is so enamoured of the term "myth" that he insists on extending its application so as to embrace both kinds of invention—the conscious as well as the unconscious, the intentional as well as the unintentional fiction. This is truly little more than a debate about words; for whatever terms are employed to describe the facts, it is evident that unconscious fiction is most prevalent in the first Gospel, less so in the third, and least of all, in the fourth; while conversely, conscious fiction and tendency writing has the greatest place in the fourth, less in the third, and least in the first. While, however, the first Gospel is, in the special sense of the word, the most mythical of all, it is also the most historical; but in the fourth all which, as history, goes beyond the earlier Gospels, is "pure invention or mod-

ification." Nevertheless, although the tone of thought attributed to Jesus in the fourth Gospel appears, historically speaking, to have been foreign to him, there are cases in which "a philosopher of a later age has attained to the correct understanding of a poem or a religion by the interposition of ideas, of which the poet or the founder of the religion himself knew nothing." (p. 187.) Moreover, it seems that the first disciples of Jesus did not in all things understand him, and that their stand-point remained behind his, so that the fourth Evangelist "may have mounted to his more elevated position by means of a ladder borrowed from Alexandria, and so by means of this foreign ladder have come nearer to Jesus's own stand-point." (p. 188.) The defenders of old opinions would do well to appreciate fairly the more conservative portions in the theories both of Strauss and the Tübingen school, and not themselves to throw away that of which no one seeks to rob them.

Singularly appropriate to the publication in English of the foregoing is the appearance at the same time of a very remarkable work by Mr. W. W. Lloyd,² intended to illustrate the origin of Christianity by selecting for discussion those incidents from the Evangelical and Apostolic history which the great painter chose as the most suggestive scenes he could depict. The work, we are informed, has been in print some time, previously, indeed, to the publication in German of Strauss's last "Life," and among the few friends to whom it was submitted it received the cordial approbation of the great critic himself. The author describes the historical part of his work as having been undertaken "in earnest search for a reply to the inquiry—When we have utterly and heartily given up whatever in the New Testament is fairly convicted as unhistorical, what facts remain for us unimpeached after all the questioning? and what is the series, the significance, the connection of these cardinal facts in the story of human civilization, which have thus come thrice tried through the fire?" He gives it as his opinion that the Tübingen critics have written too much as if they had still to make out a case in order to put the history and its documents on their defence. Whatever be the case abroad, this is, however, still necessary in England; and Mr. Lloyd must not be surprised if in some quarters his own labours should be stigmatized as destructive, however conscious he may be of a desire to elicit and preserve such true history as may be gathered by inference from the Christian traditions. For in giving up the miracles of the New Testament, the New Testament itself is not given up; it is a fact in history, and a reasonable account must be given of its origin, including the origin of the miraculous narratives themselves. Mr. Lloyd's theory concerning their genesis is sufficiently distinguishable, at least in the extent to which he applies it, both from the Straus-

sian, or properly mythical, and from the Tübingen, or tendency theory, to receive a name of its own; it may be called the emblematic theory, and he should be allowed to do justice to it in his own words:—

"Old Testament literature, and the associations of ancient prophets and of Messianic anticipations founded on prophecy, however irregularly—these were the fund of lore from which the imagery of the gospel stories was for the most part drawn; they were combined with some truly historical personal incidents, and they had to suffer the usual casualties of copy and re-copy in additions and glosses, false divisions, and mistaken agglutinations. But still, all these influences and operations combined do not constitute, and do not conduct us to, the germinant principle which governed the form of assimilation."—p. 258.

It is undoubtedly quite a different thing to identify accurately the bits of a mosaic from appreciating the design which combined them in a composition. What then was the organizing motive which presided over the composition of the miraculous stories related in the New Testament?

"The answer to this question that approves itself to me—approves itself on re-consideration after twenty years—is, that most of the miraculous incidents in the life of Jesus originated with a section of the early Christians that had little or no direct knowledge, or even information, of the details of his personal career; that they were composed originally with perfect consciousness of a definite, and that for the most part a moral or controversial aim. Inasmuch as the authors, most probably Hellenistic Jews, were imbued with Jewish associations, their productions naturally relished of the antecedents and the anticipations of the nation. Strong controversial feelings will ever give an undesigned colour to the most simple-minded narrative; but we deal here with something more, and something much more pronounced. The composers, the poets, the prophets, or prophesiers, as they might call themselves, appear to me to have aimed, in many cases, at illustrating the proper Christian view of a pending controversy, by inventing such an incident for the life of Christ as would apply with cogency as a precedent—tell with the authority of a decision. In other cases we can trace no motive, other than what we may consider purely poetical."—p. 259.

And the emblematic or typical principle presided not only over the composition of the miraculous stories, but over other parts of the histories:—

"Precepts and parables, therefore, are put into the mouth of Jesus which bear directly upon discussions that, by their very nature, could only have arisen subsequently to his death and to the changes in the anticipations of his followers that then ensued; or, in other cases the weight of his authority is borrowed by the ascription of proceedings to him, that have either a direct or symbolical bearing on current difficulties."—p. 260.

And the author instances that the determination of the questions which arose at Antioch (Acts xv.) appears to be transformed into incidents in the Gospel history (Matt. xv., Mark vii., Luke xi.) where Jesus is represented as denouncing the extreme and hypocritical ritualism of the Pharisees: "the great denunciation

² "Christianity in the Cartoons referred to Artistic Treatment and Historic Fact." By William Watkins Lloyd. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

of the Pharisees in the thirteenth chapter of Matthew is full of innuendos that go straight to the blot of the difficulties at Antioch." And it would not be easy to parry the force of the observation that "had the contents of these chapters been on record at the time among revered archives of the Christian community, they could scarcely have escaped reference and citation" in the discussion at Antioch, supposing, that is, the narrative in the Acts to be historical. Many of the parables may thus be supposed to have originated. They remain as pregnant of meaning and as significant, as they are according to the traditional view, and illustrate, as in the case of the Prodigal Son, the Husbandmen and the Vineyard, the Marriage Feast, the admission of the Gentiles to Gospel privileges. There is only this difference: according to the supernatural view these parables are prophetic anticipations; according to the natural one, embodiments of foregone conclusions. The same account may be given of incidents in the life of Jesus:—

"The anecdotes that are related as incidents in his life, have constantly in this sense not the slightest historical foundation: a very important historical significance, however, as the embodiments of the vicissitudes of the Church, its leaders and its doctrines at a later date; in types of which the stuff is borrowed, ready-made, from the prophecies and marvellous narratives of the Old Testament."—p. 276.

This is exemplified in the account of the Transfiguration, which thus has very much of the same significance which is given to it by orthodox commentators; but in the one case the significance belongs to it as a miraculous event, in the other as a suggestive presentation. Hence, when a great artist like Raphael depicts such a scene from the Gospel history as that of the Transfiguration, he is not pretending to show us how the event happened, but to shadow forth to us, through the picture, the idea which is suggested and is embodied in the history. This ideal character, however, by no means belongs equally to all the cartoons, and we are not competent here to trace out differences between the more pragmatical and the more ideal of these designs, which would have admitted of further explanation from the accomplished author. We welcome exceedingly this criticism of the early Christian history, of native English growth, but in courage, learning, and acuteness, worthy of any country. If to a very large extent Mr. Lloyd is found to coincide with Strauss, it is not because he has copied or imitated him, but after long study has independently arrived at the same conclusions. We must permit ourselves, however, to give an instance in which the two critics differ, and wherein the German appears more conservative or tender than the Englishman. The words said to have been uttered on the cross, "*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*," were they really uttered? and if so, what did they indicate? Mr. Lloyd says—

"I find it difficult to believe that the depression which comes before us so affectingly in the scenes of the supper and the garden agony, that declares

itself in that seeming dulness or blindness before accusers, and in the very indifference to favourable interference from Pilate, is not a true general representation of the bowed spirit that finds its faith effectless, and plunges back into its recollections, to seek in vain, not the source of its error, but the explanation of its disappointment. The feeling of confidence in a promise accepted as divine makes head to the last, but at the last gives up with that bitterest cry of undescribed despair that ever was uttered, 'My God! My God! why hast Thou forsaken me?'"—p. 75.

On the other hand, Strauss points out the discrepancies between the several Evangelists as to the last words, and says, "Of the third it is probable, and of the fourth beyond doubt, that they would have rejected, with a protest, the expression which the two first put into the mouth of Christ the crucified."—(ii. 376.) If the two first Evangelists indeed really supposed the words to have been used, they would be to them little more than a citation; but he adds—

"If we look to Jesus and the tone of feeling of which these words, if he spoke them, must have been the expression, it will require not merely in the case of the Man-God of ecclesiastical doctrine most arbitrary assumption to make a feeling of abandonment by God conceivable in him, but even we upon our purely human point of view, should be afraid of derogating from the spiritual and moral elevation of Jesus, if even at this crisis of most profound suffering we were to attribute such a feeling to him; for by it would be implied the supposition that he had made and now discovered a mistake in himself and his work and his own conception of both, as he must otherwise have recognised in the very death which had now overtaken him personally, the true and real way to the triumph of his cause which he had long foreseen."—ii. p. 377.

The orthodox view that a Divine person uttered such a complaint of Divine abandonment is inconsistent with itself, unless, in order to save consistency, the cry be supposed illusive, which is profane, nor is there any pathos in a complaint of abandonment which was felt not to be real: in the supposition made by Mr. Lloyd there is consistency and pathos most profound, but it is a supposition deeply wounding to the Christian sentiment. The "infidel Strauss" here comes to the rescue with a hypothesis presenting no insuperable difficulties, literary, psychological, or moral, and which, if it spares our tears, spares also the honour of the Founder of the Christian religion.

The Bishop of Natal is certainly a most indefatigable person, and his innate power of work has been stimulated by enlarged views which his own inquiries have opened up to him, and by the provocations of a controversy which he has had to sustain single handed against all comers.* At the outset of his work on the Pentateuch, though he saw much further than

* "The Worship of Baalim in Israel: based upon the work of Dr. R. Dozy, 'The Israelites at Mecca.'" By Dr. H. Oort, Pastor of Santpoort. Translated from the Dutch, and enlarged with notes and appendices. By the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. London: Longmans. 1865.

those who sought to put him down by a sneer at "arithmetical questions," he by no means understood the range which must be taken if he followed out his investigations with thoroughness—he by no means anticipated the polemical necessity for that thoroughness which he has since perceived to be requisite—he was not, at that time, adequately informed as to what had been done upon his own subject by others abroad, if not in England—he had not measured the greatness of the undertaking in which he had engaged; but, above all, he had no conception of the deep seat in the English mind of Biblical prejudices. Misled by the simplicity of his own heart, he had not the least anticipation of the forces, ecclesiastical, civil, and social, which would be arrayed against him, nor of the efforts which in consequence would be required from himself. But his bark rose to the waves. Up to the very last moment of his stay in England, he was occupied in fortifying his polemical position, and he left behind him for publication a translation of the work we here note, enriched with his own observations; in which together many things will be found to illustrate and confirm the conclusions he had already arrived at. For if the non-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and more especially the late date of the Book of Deuteronomy, be assumed, and if the Levitical Law be supposed to have been a scheme or ritual devised by the priesthood in the time of the earlier kings, but never actually carried into effect, the question must be answered, Would the phenomena actually presented in the history coincide with these suppositions, at least better than with the supposition of the Israelites having brought with them into Canaan a distinct national worship, and an elaborately organised sacerdotalism? The account usually given of the worship of the high places, and of that especially in Bethel and in Dan, is, that it was a corruption of the true worship, a superstitious and idolatrous imitation of the worship at Jerusalem. Aaron's calf is by many connected with it, which is supposed to have been brought out of Egypt, and to have been imitated from the worship of Apis. But it is quite inconceivable that the oppressed Israelites should have taken their worship from the Egyptians, or that the "gods which brought them out of Egypt" should have been fashioned after an Egyptian model. Apis, moreover, was a living steer: the "calves" in Bethel and in Dan were heifers—*αἱ δαμάλεις αἱ χρυσαῖαι*. The absence of all trace in the history of any worship conducted according to the Levitical ritual, or of any observance even of the Passover till the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah, together with the hold which the worship of the high places had upon the people, lead to think that it was native, and anterior to the Jehovistic worship which the prophets and reformers desired to introduce. Dr. Dozy and Bishop Colenso concur in considering that it was an original rude form, out of which the more refined religion was developed, thus to have been a Baal worship, and that the Israelites learnt the name Jehovah from the Syro-Phoenicians. The Bishop considers that in the days of the

Exodus there was no national God of Israel; that what worship the Israelites had was loose and undefined as that of a straggling horde might be, and that they then fell readily into the worship of the Phœnician Baal, IHVH or IAO. And he quotes Von der Alm, who says—

"The whole 300 years of the period of the Judges must be regarded as a time during which the Hebrews and Canaanites, under various leavening influences, were blended into one people. In this process the Israelites, it is true, had the upper hand as regards external power; but as happens to all conquerors, they submitted themselves to the old inhabitants of the land in respect of religion, morals, and customs. When they came forward as one people under David and Solomon, their whole worship was Phœnician. Phœnicians built the temple at Jerusalem, and the national Deity became the mysterious Phœnician IAO or IHVH."—p. 17.

It is of course essential to observe the distinction between the worship of the Syrian Baal and that of the Tyrian Baal, introduced by Ahab into Samaria and by Athaliah into Jerusalem; for although they were both undoubtedly founded upon a sun-worship, that of the Tyrian Baal was regarded as abominable and idolatrous by those who still continued the worship of the high places. Common, however, to both these forms of worship, and symbolical of the generative principle, was the setting up of the "ashêrah." The word is translated "grove" in our English version, but there can be no doubt what sort of emblem it was. These forms were set up in Judah under Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv. 23); Ahab made, not "a grove," but "the ashêrah," probably a remarkable one, which was not destroyed by Jehu, but "remained in Samaria" (2 Kings xiii. 6); in both kingdoms they were set up "on every high hill and under every green tree" (1 Kings xiv. 23)—an expression altogether inconsistent with the supposition of the "ashêrah" being "a grove;" so is Manasseh's making a "grove," and probably a model or smaller one "in the house of the Lord," and the "women weaving hangings for it" (2 Kings xxi. 3, 7; xxiii. 6, 7). Therefore it is most hasty when Dr. Stanley says, in the volume we are about to notice, "Such a grove, as we have seen, was allowed to stand even within the temple precincts;" which is difficult to imagine for a grove of trees. "There was a charm in the shade of the oak, the poplar, and the terebinth, peculiarly attractive to the Israelite and Phœnician devotion." And he adds an unfortunate note upon the word "shade": "This is the force of the word translated 'grove,'" referring at the same time to the passages which speak of the groves being "under every green tree;" which, though impossible for a grove, would be suitable enough for a phallic emblem. So far from the word having in it the notion of shade, it is derived from אָשֶׁר "to be upright."

"More to the apparent purpose would have been to have cited from the English Bible in confirmation of the usual rendering, "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God" (Deut. xvi. 21); which is, however, only, "thou shalt not fix an ashêrah of any wood"—פֶּסֶל;

It will probably be objected, that even if the whole Levitical system be not the work of Moses, and even if Deuteronomy belong to the age of Josiah, the existence of the Decalogue is inconsistent with a religion and worship so rude as that of the Israelites is supposed by the Bishop of Natal to have been; and one of his most startling positions, but one worthy of the most serious examination, is that the Decalogue itself, as given in Exodus xx., is not Mosaic. The reasons, or some of them, for arriving at this conclusion are given in the Appendix. We trust that the Bishop will continue to pursue his researches, and that from time to time we shall have the benefit of them in England.

The second series of the Dean of Westminster's "Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church," professes to delineate its essential features during the whole duration of the monarchy. The author undoubtedly finds himself here on firmer ground than in his preceding period, and is enabled to assume more of the style of the historian—it is not so difficult as in the earlier section of his work to distinguish between the historical and poetical portions of the narrative; though there are many passages in which the historical facts and the Oriental figures are too closely interwoven to be easily separated. We must observe at once that there are fictions and legends interlaced even in this portion of Jewish history, which it is a mere euphemism to dignify by the name of poetry, or to designate simply as Oriental figure. And it is the special vice of an author whose excellences are in many respects inimitable, frequently to leave unattempted a discrimination when it might have been possible, or at least ought to have been attempted, between the historical and the fictitious in the "sacred writings." At least it might have been expected that, leaving room for difference of opinion, he should have stated alternatives with clearness, instead of confounding them in a haze of sentiment or of taste. To many readers, no doubt, the perusal of these lectures will have the effect of letting in the light; but the learned Dean is evidently afraid of letting in too much. He is like one who opens the shutters of a dark chamber, but immediately draws down a painted blind, artistically painted, no doubt, but still

is as properly used of fixing a post as of planting a tree, and *ῥῥ* is "wood" whether living or dead. Equally misleading would be, "And also concerning Maacah, the mother of Asa the king, he removed her from being queen because she had made an idol (marg. Heb. *horror*) in a grove" (2 Chron. xv. 16; 1 Kings xv. 10). It is uncertain what the word rendered "idol" may mean, it comes from a root signifying "to tremble;" but it cannot signify *in* a grove, rather *at*, *on*, or perhaps *for*. Some think that the queen had added the *ἰδωλα γυναικος* to the emblem, which might thus resemble the *lingam-yoni* of the Hindus. It is probable that the ordinary *asherah* had a conventional form, which might not be obviously offensive, but there was some peculiarity about this *asherah* which rendered it obscene.

* "Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. Part II. From Samuel to the Captivity." By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: John Murray. 1866.

effectual to prevent a view of the realities without. The great question which arises on the perusal of the Jewish history is, Have we before us a part of "that wave that echoes round the world?" Does this story also fall into that "continuity recognised by the philosophy of history, no less than by theology—by Hegel, no less than by Augustine"? (p. xi.) Or have we a reliable record of immediate divine interposition—of the taking of "a people from the midst of another people by signs and by wonders, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm"? This question Dean Stanley may be reproached by some for having, to a certain extent, opened; by others, we think with more justice, with having effectually obscured. In the first place, he has over-estimated generally the value of the evidence to the truth of the history, if that history be considered to embrace necessarily the miracles related in it. The constant references of the books "of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, to records, which, though lost, were evidently contemporary, furnish a guarantee for the general truthfulness of the narrative, such as no other ancient history not itself contemporary can exhibit." (p. vii.) It is true we have references in Kings and Chronicles to various annals for the "acts" of the kings, "the cities that they built," "the wars that they waged," and such things as the "ivory house that Ahab made;" but no such evidence is appealed to for the story of the Witch of Endor, or for the miracles of Elijah and Elisba. It cannot be maintained that the history of the kings would fall to pieces, though it might be reduced to little more than annals, if the wonders said to have been wrought by those prophets were torn out of it. In fact, the history, as given in the Chronicles, is written without them; and though the Chronicles were compiled, as Dean Stanley justly points out, in the priestly or historical interest, it is inconceivable that such a narrative as that of the translation of Elijah would not have been at least alluded to had it been a well-established event in the national history. Besides this loose general reference to the evidence, when the particular stories come before him, our author takes no pains to analyse them, or to ascertain whether there be or be not any historical nucleus beneath them. For though he be evidently unwilling to commit himself distinctly to the belief of their literal truth, he escapes, when the reader flatters himself he must be approaching the question of fact or no fact, under cover of various fallacies—the fallacy of the landscape, the fallacy of sentiment, the fallacy of an ethical or religious improvement, the fallacy of historical analogy; and these come upon us sometimes with the suddenness of the Aristophanic "joke by surprise." It may be that the question of fact has become in these matters unimportant or secondary in the estimation of the author. So long as a narrative lends itself kindly to the drawing of some "lesson of wisdom," or a type or analogy can be found in it to scenes repeated in other histories, it may not much matter whether as history it be true or false. Not the least curious instance of the extent to which his habit of seizing on

remote and superficial analogies, recurring indeed in almost every page of the book, has entirely obliterated all true historical sense and judgment, occurs at the close of his account of the miraculous career of Elisha:—

"And when at last his end comes in a great old age, he is not rapt away like Elijah, but buried with a splendid funeral; a sumptuous tomb was shewn in after ages over his grave in the royal city of Samaria; and funeral dances were celebrated round his honoured resting-place. Alone, of all the graves of the saints of the Old Testament, there were wonders wrought at it, which seemed to continue after death the grace of his long and gentle life. It was believed that by the mere touch of his bones a dead corpse was reanimated. In this, as in so much beside, his life and miracles are not Jewish but Christian. His works stand alone in the Bible in their likeness to the acts of mediæval saints. There alone in the sacred history the gulf between Biblical and Ecclesiastical miracles almost disappears."—p. 327.

That accounts of mediæval miracles were some of them fashioned upon the accounts of the miracles of Elisha is probable enough. Dr. Stanley, however, seems to suppose the mythus also grew backwards. But as to the facts. Does Dr. Stanley mean his readers to infer the falsity of the miracles attributed to Elisha, because of their resemblance to those of "St. Benedict and St. Bernard"? We should think by no means; for he does not assert or intimate these latter to be incredible, and though "mediæval" they are "Christian." Does he then intend us to accept the reality of the miracles attributed to "mediæval saints" because of their likeness to those ascribed to Elisha? He by no means says so, nor does he venture to assert of the miracles ascribed to Elisha that they are credible. His readers must be content to be left in uncertainty, and will in like manner often find themselves abandoned in slippery places by an historian whose love is for the fabulous, and by a Protestant whose sympathy is with the superstitions of the mediæval church. We might remark, if space allowed, on the very inadequate investigation applied to the earlier forms of the Jehovah worship, although glimpses are given in the hewing Agag in pieces "before the Lord," in the hanging up of the sons of Saul "before the Lord," in the "fiery oven" made of the Ammonitish captives (p. 104), that the earlier worship was a "fierce ritual of Syria," not very dissimilar from that of "Moloch, horrid king;"—on the account given of the worship of the golden calves as derived from Egypt, and yet a corrupt worship of Jehovah, which is old-fashioned and unpalatable; or on instances where not so much the judgment passed on base actions themselves, as omitted to be passed on the tone of the narrator, tends to confuse the moral sense. There seems a great defect in the treatment of the questions connected with Josiah's reformation and the finding the book of the Law; and whatever may be thought of the subject of miracles, the authorship and the date of the book of Deuteronomy is certainly now ripe for discussion. Dr. Stanley moves more freely in his treatment of the prophets. He starts frankly with asserting that the super-

natural is at least higher than the preternatural, and he deals admirably with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Great Unknown or second Isaiah: he illustrates ably their political influence in great crises of the State—their antagonism to the priestly party, their high moral tone, their appeals to the personal conscience, and the catholicity of their principles. He describes also, in a few closing pages, which are well worthy of the greatness of the views which they open, the commencement of a new period for the religious history of the world, when "the Semitic races were to make way for the Indo-Germanic or Aryan nations, which were henceforth to sway the fortunes of mankind." (p. 579.) Cyrus, who is sung by the "Great Unknown" as the Shepherd of Jehovah and inaugurator of a reign of righteousness, "spoke the tongue, not of Palestine or Assyria, but of the West." Dr. Temple has already familiarized the English public with the idea of a Christendom wherein Jewish, Greek, and Roman elements are combined. Mr. Merivale has directed attention to the preparation made by the conquests of Alexander the Great for the extension of a world-wide religion; but of still greater interest and import are the observations of the Dean of Westminster on the impulse given by Cyrus the Persian to the onward movement of the religion of humanity. Speaking of the second Isaiah, Dr. Stanley says—

"In the remoter horizon is the vision of a gradual amelioration of the whole human race, to be accomplished not, solely or chiefly by the seed of Israel, but by those outlying nations which were but just beginning to take their place in the world's history. In the strains of triumph which welcome the influx of these Gentile strangers, we recognise the prelude of the part which, in the coming fortunes of the Jewish (?) Church, is to be played, not only by Cyrus, and if so be, Zoroaster, but by Socrates and Plato, by Alexander and by Cæsar. It has been truly observed that the new elements which Christendom received from the Greek, the Roman, and the Teutonic world, were almost as important as those which it received from the Jewish race. To have recognised and anticipated this truth, is the rare privilege of this Evangelical Prophet."—p. 581.

Dr. Stanley of course does not draw the inference which will be drawn by most who realize this wider view of the growth of religion in the human history. The recognition of an order of Divine providence, embracing the development of the religious idea, negatives the supposition of petty interference in the way of material miracles. If without miracle, but in obedience to a providential order, the Persian appears in his fulness of time to spiritualize the Jewish monotheism and to purify the Jewish worship from idolatrous taint, can we suppose (other considerations concerning miracles and their evidence apart) that fire fell from heaven to prove the prophetic mission of Elijah, or that a dead man was reanimated by the touch of the bones of Elisha to prove nothing? On no account, however, should we omit to direct attention to two notes in a brief appendix, drawn up with a precision and clearness which leaves nothing to be desired, serving to prove that if Dean Stanley has forsaken the path of

the critic for more flowery plains, it has been from mere wilfulness. The first note sets forth the reasons which compel modern critics to consider the chapters of Isaiah, xl.—lxvi., as by a different hand from the earlier portion, and to belong to the period of the captivity; the second treats more generally of the dates and authorship of the "Sacred Books," pointing out that almost all of the historical books of the Old Testament are both anonymous and of complex authorship. From our own point of view, there are both many defects and much which is delusive in the present volume; but it is part of a really great design, and we hope it will be continued through the Apocryphal period, as the author gives some reason to expect.

The Rev. W. Houghton gracefully inscribes to the Bishop of Natal, as the inaugurator in England of "a new and happy epoch in Biblical science and religious thought," an Essay, accompanied with a translation, on the Song of Songs.⁶ He reviews briefly the principal opinions which have been held by the Rabbins, the Christian Fathers, the Protestant Reformers, modern divines, and recent critics, concerning the design and meaning of the book. Perhaps no greater injury is inflicted in any part of the Authorized Version of the Bible on the English readers of it than in the headings to the chapters of "Solomon's Song." The translators no doubt fancied that a mystical interpretation of the Song, as descriptive of the "mutual love of Christ and his Church," was the only way of escape from a mere sensual exposition. There is, however, a growing consensus among the moderns, abandoning all allegorical interpretations, that the poem is a pastoral, describing the virtuous attachment of a village girl of Shulēm to a young shepherd, which is proof against all the allurements of Solomon, who in the end allows her to leave the palace, to which she had been carried off, and to return to her rustic lover. The date of the composition of the poem appears to be assigned with reason, by Dr. Davidson, approximatively to the middle of the tenth century before Christ. Mr. Houghton also thinks, with Renan, that the poem, from its dramatic form, was probably intended for representation, not however, on the stage of a theatre, "no trace of which has ever been found among the Jews before the time of Herod, but in private rooms and at marriage festivals;" and he vindicates M. Renan's work against some narrow-minded strictures passed upon it in "Smith's Dictionary of the Bible." Every unprejudiced reader of this Essay will perceive that the cause of religion has nothing to lose, but everything to gain, from a more free and truthful exposition of the Biblical writings than has hitherto been common in this country.

Some of our readers may be aware that the Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, has been accustomed, during the London season, to invite

persons of various shades of opinion, clergy and laity, to meet for the discussion of questions of theological or ecclesiastical interest.⁷ At one of these meetings, in the Lent of 1865, a paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Irons, the Vicar of Brompton, which for many of those present was of the most startling kind, and a general wish having been expressed for its publication, the public are presented with what really turns out to be a very curious production. It was probably not expected by the author that the views set forth in it concerning the inspiration, the interpretation, and the authority of Scripture would, *per se*, be acceptable to any party in this country except Dr. Irons's own, of whomsoever besides himself that may consist. To a certain extent his hand is against every man, but chiefly he is severe upon that which he calls the popular theory, the monobiblical theory, the Chillingworth basis; and he effectually shows that it is laid upon the sand. Before the Bible can be appealed to for the religion of Protestants it must be ascertained what the Bible is; even the learned are unable to fix the text of the Bible, much less to determine the authorship and dates of its several books, or the surrounding circumstances which attended the composition of them severally. The literary history of the Old Testament cannot be traced further back than the time of Ezra, so that the notion of Moses writing the Pentateuch in the Wilderness is unsupported by any external testimony; and that which Ezra is relatively to the Old Testament, Eusebius is to the New, and it is startling to perceive "how much of all the testimony of other Christian writers of the first 300 years depends on the veracity and care of that one man living in the fourth age." (p. 17.) Of earlier writers the most important is Justin, writing in the first half of the second century; but he does not once quote any Epistle of St. Paul, and (though he was furnished with the Gospel story) he was unacquainted, as Bishop Marsh thought, with the Gospels as Scripture, never quotes any of our present Gospels by name; but what is still more strange, St. Paul himself, writing thirty years after the Ascension, "never seems aware of the existence (for example) of St. Matthew or his Gospel." Moreover, no criticism has found out in what language the Lord Jesus uttered his discourses. If in Greek, did the Galileans understand Greek? If in Hebrew, the original words are for ever lost; and are we to suppose that what he spoke in Aramæan was brought afterwards to the remembrance of the compilers of the Gospels in Greek? The facts says Dr. Irons, are irreconcilable with the supposition "that God has given this sacred volume as His clear Revelation, which *all* men may test for themselves, and all must understand." (p. 19.) "The Roman theory" is next described as claiming for the Church, of which the Pope is the head, and "infallible," the control and settlement of Scripture, and of all questions of salvation con-

⁶ "An Essay on the Canticles, or The Song of Songs. With a Translation of the Poem, and short Explanatory Notes." By the Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S., Rector of Preston on the Wild Moors. London: Trübner. 1865.

⁷ "The Bible and its Interpreters: The Popular Theory, The Roman Theory, The Literary Theory, The Truth." By William J. Irons, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c. London: J. T. Hayes. 1865.

nected with it; and the author urges that this Roman Church pronounced nothing authoritative as to the Canon till the sixteenth century—has delivered no authoritative judgment whatever as to the text of the Bible; and he infers that “any claim on her part to paramount authority over the written word is contrary to every fact of history.” (p. 59.) With the essential part of the Roman claims it seems to us that the author does not grapple—namely, that the Church is in possession of an “unwritten Word,” which is determinant of the interpretation of the “written Word.” He proceeds to what he calls “the literary theory,” as a method considered in itself. “The popular theory” itself is a “literary theory,” inasmuch as it supposes “God’s vital message to the world is definitely made in writing;”—such an assumption is described as fallacy the first, because it is inconceivable that a Revelation in which all are interested should be communicated in such a way as to be practically inaccessible to ninety-nine out of a hundred. The second fallacy in the method is that it assumes the Bible to be like any other book, and that its interpretation is to be arrived at by the same means: an assumption which, however it may be made by the rationalizers, would be utterly repudiated by the popular Evangelicals. The third fallacy is, that it assumes the “written Word” “to be absolutely contemporaneous with all Revelation from God to man”—a view which would be as repulsive to the rationalizers as it would be acceptable to the Evangelicals. And fourthly, it is assumed that the capacity to examine and judge this Bible is *adequately* possessed by all concerned in its contents, which, if adequately is to mean perfectly, and relatively to the contents themselves, we suppose would be affirmed by none. In combating these assumptions, however, which are for the most part men of straw dressed up by himself, Dr. Irons again distributes at random some telling truths respecting the Bible and the doctrinal system which is supposed to be built upon it. “The doctrines,” for instance, “of the (1) Trinity; (2) Atonement; (3) Original Sin; (4) The Sabbath; (5) The Sacraments; (6) The Inspiration of the Bible; and (7) Eternal Punishment,” are not capable of demonstration from the Bible alone. (pp. 82, ff.) Not that the object of Dr. Irons is to impugn these doctrines—far from it—but to show the “literary believer” that he ought not to hold them; he will not allow the “literary believer” to hold the eternity of future punishment, because on the literary principle it cannot be proved from Scripture; nevertheless he must not disbelieve it, because it has been the constant doctrine of the Church. But what of the “literary unbeliever”? Will he be satisfied of the endless misery of the wicked because Dr. Irons infers it from their continued possession of reason and will, whence Dr. T. Burnet and others have inferred directly the reverse? Or will he accept it because it is the doctrine of Dr. Irons’s “Church”? For the lame and impotent conclusion of all this random criticism is, that “the truth” is to be found in “the Church.” But what Church? “The millions” are only capable

of receiving for answer to the question, “What is the Church?” “the society commonly received as such” (p. 147); but we rather gather that the society which was supernaturally organized on the day of Pentecost is supernaturally continued, according to Dr. Irons, by baptism administered by episcopally ordained ministers. Those who read Dr. Irons’s book will probably be of the same opinion with his original audience, that he is much more effective in the destructive than in the constructive portion; but he is only effective against the temporizers: he demolishes nothing that is thorough, neither the thorough Calvinist, the thorough Romanist, nor the thorough Rationalist.

The celebrated *Tract* No. 90, published now nearly a quarter of a century ago, was currently reported to have been more or less founded upon the treatise of Sancta Clara, which is now reprinted.* The purpose of the *Tract*, as is well known, was to show, by means of certain explanations of the words of the Thirty-nine Articles, that they were not contradictory to the true Roman or Catholic doctrine, but only to popular Romish corruptions. The general Protestant feeling of the country resented the attempt to break down the barrier which the Articles were supposed to present against Popery; and, at least to a certain extent, the general feeling of the incompatibility of the Articles with the Roman Catholic doctrine was justified when Mr. Oakeley, having brought to a legal issue the “claim to hold all Roman doctrine,” Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, in the Consistorial Court of London, pronounced against him, and he forthwith joined the Church of Rome. It is therefore very curious to find at this distance of time the treatise of Sancta Clara itself reprinted, apparently in the interest of the movement towards “reunion,” as it is understood on the Roman Catholic side. Till within a few years it would have been more likely to repel than to conciliate, to have re-stated that—

“notwithstanding the existence of expressions [in the Thirty-nine Articles] which *appear* strong at first sight, and before they are carefully examined, there can be little doubt, as both Sancta Clara and *Tract* 90 proved, that there are few propositions which may not be brought into perfect harmony with the current opinions of the rest of Western Christendom.”—p. x.

We have not the least desire to enter into the examination of Sancta Clara’s pleas, but will only observe that, if the bulk of the Thirty-nine Articles may be reconcilable with Roman Catholicism, it will be as little difficult to reconcile the five first with Unitarianism. But lest any should be misled by the statement that the “re-

* “*Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanæ: The Articles of the Anglican Church Paraphrastically Considered and Explained.*” By FRANCISCUS A. Sancta Clara, S.T.P., (Dr. Christopher Davenport.) Reprinted from the edition in Latin of 1646, with a Translation, together with Expositions and Comments in English, from the theological problems and propositions of the same writer, and with additional notes and references. To which are prefixed an Introduction and a Sketch of the Life of the Author. Edited by F. G. Lee, D.C.L., &c. &c. London: J. T. Hayea. 1865.

cent manifestoes in the Church of England favourable to the quiet removal of the Thirty-nine Articles deserve the careful attention and proper respect of *all theological schools*," we are told immediately that "no single iota of the Truth of God would be lost," especially "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," and "who-soever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith."

In the year 1857 an association was formed for the purpose of promoting the reunion of Christendom—that is, a reunion between the old Episcopal Communions on the basis of what is termed Catholic doctrine. The society is said to number 7000 persons, and has issued two volumes of sermons, of which the second series is before us.⁹ They are not marked by any superiority of thought or diction; the best by far appears to us that by Mr. Bennett, the vicar of Frome. The operations of this society, we are rather inclined to think, so far from tending to unity, will tend to cross out and divide Christendom more than it is divided at present. Meanwhile, these are the views expressed with respect to "Evangelicalism" and "Rationalism" in this country:—

"The advance of Rationalism, fraught as it is with the utmost danger to the salvation of many precious souls, does incidentally help to reduce, as, in the long run it may probably destroy altogether, the difficulty before us. It acts as a solvent upon the popular Evangelicalism. It precipitates the anti-sacramental negative element towards the pure Rationalism with which, under the name of Free Thought, it has the strongest and most radical affinities. It drives the adoring and actionary element upward, to take shelter from its devastating and unspiritual action in a sincere allegiance to the principle of Church authority."—p. 159.

A unity of a very different kind is seen by M. Colani to be the only possible one, if ever it shall be possible—a moral unity, notwithstanding intellectual differences.¹⁰ Past history, as well as our own knowledge of the constitution of the human mind, assure us of the impracticability of ever attaining a doctrinal uniformity throughout Christendom. The principle of the ecclesiastical and dogmatical party is: Truth is one, and we have the possession of it; the Church, therefore, is one, for it is bounded by the possession of the truth, and all who are not with us are not members of the Church. M. Colani says, on the other hand, of the Church or Christendom of the future: "*L'Église sera profondément divisée en fait d'opinions, elle sera intimement unie dans la vie religieuse.*" The essential difference in the two bases is this: the Sacerdotalists assume dogma to be the representation of objective truth, the Pro-

testants acknowledge doctrine to be no more than the statement of opinion; on the former principle there can be no true charity between persons who differ, for they do not meet on equal grounds; on the latter, no differences can preclude charity, for no error of opinion implies necessarily an immoral perverseness. This is an excellent discourse, and it already speaks well for the Protestant Church, before whose assembled ministers it could be delivered. It will be long, we fear, before a bishop at a visitation, or a president at a conference in this country, will be found to give utterance to such truly Christian sentiments. Nevertheless, here and there are intimations of a like spirit, as in a sermon by the Rev. James Cranbrook, of Edinburgh, entitled "*The Church of the Future.*"¹¹ He conceives that "all union, not compatible with perfect freedom of thought and expression, can only end in estrangement or in intellectual and moral death."

A singular fallacy pervades the Dean of Canterbury's "*Meditations.*"¹² "*Matters,*" he says, "of the same kind as these great truths are recognised in our ordinary lives; and a fair and candid mind is no more justified in refusing credence to these articles of our faith, than it is in ignoring the everyday phenomena of man's existence." (p. 4.) Can a person of education, and one set so high as a Dean in the English Church, gravely maintain that a fair and candid mind would be no more justified in refusing credence to the tradition of the Incarnation contained in Matt. i., Luke i., than in ignoring the everyday phenomenon of the birth of children in the order of nature? Dean Alford affects to relieve his theology of conventionalities, but so little is he able to relieve it of conventionalities of thought, if not of expression, that he misrepresents, in the grossest manner, a doubt or denial of miracle as a doubt or denial of God—"to deny interference with nature is to deny what we call the supernatural; in other words, and they have no right to shrink from it, there is no God." (p. 52.) A Dean ought to be able to see that this question is not concerning the supernatural, but concerning the mode of agency of the supernatural. With equal grossness, he infers that those who deny the miracles of Jesus must, if consistent with themselves, hold him to be an impostor and deceiver. Dean Alford's Greek Testament studies, however feeble and uncritical his own conclusions may be, must have acquainted him with the fact, that many persons do not consider the words in which Christ seems to have set up claims to miraculous powers and prophecy to be sufficiently authenticated to justify that conclusion. The "*Meditations*" themselves raise pretended difficulties (as they occur to no one) to solve them by answers which no one of an under-

⁹ "Sermons on the Reunion of Christendom." Second Series. By Members of the Roman Catholic, Oriental, and Anglican Communions. London: J. T. Havcs. 1865.

¹⁰ "Sermon pour l'Ouverture solennelle de la Session du Consistoire supérieur de l'Église de la Confession d'Augsbourg." Par T. Colani, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie, &c. &c. 2^{ème} édition. Strasbourg. Paris. 1865.

¹¹ "The Church of the Future, as Indicated by the Tendencies of Modern Thought and Feeling." By Rev. James Cranbrook, Albany Street Chapel, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton. 1865.

¹² "Meditations in Advent, on Creation and on Providence." By Henry Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

standing beyond a child's would accept; there are words of piety but no spirit of it, and somewhat high-flown language of rhetoric and description, but it is mere coloured surface and not painting.

We may here notice a pamphlet which is well worth reading, for the straightforwardness with which the author argues his point.¹³ He adopts the supposition of a resurrection of Jesus after the crucifixion. In the course of his examination of the evidence of the Evangelists, he follows very closely the explanations of their discrepancies attempted to be given by the Dean in his Commentary, and necessarily has to say some very pointed things, which we hope the Dean has read. We wish some competent person would follow that dignitary in like manner throughout his annotations. One thorough scholar commenced it, as we know, for the Greek Testament, but threw up the undertaking in utter weariness and disgust.

It has often been supposed that the peopling of the American continent must have taken place by means of communication from the north-east of Asia, and we are not at all justified in limiting that communication to a single emigration. M. Gustave d'Eichthal has attempted to establish a connection between the ancient Mexican civilization and that of eastern Asia,¹⁴ and more especially to show a Buddhist influence in the sculptures of the ruined city of Palenque. Some of the correspondences which he points out between American and Asiatic superstitions may be accounted for on the principle of analogical development; others seem to imply historical derivation, and the paper is well worth the attention of travellers.

Mr. Cox's "Literature of the Sabbath Question" is a collection, the result of great painstaking and research.¹⁵ First are given *extenso* all the passages in the Bible which have any allusion to, or bearing on the subject. Then come references to the opinions of the Fathers; but the great bulk of the work consists of extracts from a vast number of writers who have treated the question, from the time of the Reformation to the present day—Continental, English, Scotch, and American authorities. Some of these extracts are very curious, and from volumes rarely met with. The consequence of a study of this great mass of information would inevitably be to induce increased forbearance and charity in the conduct of a discussion on which men's passions are the more inflamed because none of the extreme parties are able to prove that their opponents are in all things entirely in the wrong. There is added an index, rendered necessary

by the extent of the literature thus brought together.

We do not wonder that the views of the mode in which Divine Providence operates, and in which God may be said to answer prayer, set forth by the Rev. James Cranbrook, should have exposed him to some vehement attacks in the northern capital.¹⁶ His principle is, that "God always works through, and never suspends the action of the established laws of nature." Thus the world is governed by a "natural" and not a "supernatural Providence." Limiting the question as he has done, he has sufficiently secured his position, reconciled his doctrine with Biblical figures of speech, supported himself by the authority of Bishop Butler, and shown himself in substantial unison with Dr. Chalmers.

Mr. Hopkins is much more misty in his treatment of the question of the Divine law and order in the universe;¹⁷ nevertheless, he takes care to relieve himself of the necessity for substantiating the Biblical miracles. So true is it, as the late Professor Powell stated, that instead of the support they have become the burden of Christianity. Mr. Hopkins says that they did not serve to convert unbelievers who had witnessed them, much less can they be expected to convince those who only hear of them by a distant echo. Mr. Hopkins's Christianity, however, appears to consist in the reception of the mysteries, as of the Trinity and Incarnation, by faith; and instead of any proof of them, from which he acknowledges he is cut off, he thinks it suffices to produce the Butlerian argument, that as great difficulties meet us in the natural universe as in Revelation; forgetting that a reference to human ignorance, which will suffice in the case wherein we know the facts by experience to make us content without a solution of difficulties concerning the how, ought by no means to satisfy us where the facts themselves are altogether hypothetical and incapable of verification.

The very learned Dr. Ginsburg has given a lucid introduction to the system of the Kabbalah, a theosophic system professing to solve the great problems of God and the universe.¹⁸ Its principal doctrines are: 1. "God is boundless in his nature. He has neither will, intention, desire, thought, language, nor action." He is therefore called *En Soph* (without limit), "and as such He is, in a certain sense, not existent." 2. He is not the direct creator of the universe, inasmuch as he is without will. 3. He sent forth ten emanations, or *Sephiroth*, "begotten, not made, which are both infinite

¹³ "The Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ as given by the four Evangelists, critically examined." London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

¹⁴ "Étude sur les Origines Bouddhiques de la Civilisation Américaine." Par M. Gustave d'Eichthal. 1^{ère} partie. Extrait de la Revue Archéologique. Paris. 1865.

¹⁵ "The Literature of the Sabbath Question." By Robert Cox, F. S. A. Scot. In two volumes. Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart. 1865.

¹⁶ "Divine Providence in its Relations to Prayer and Plagues." By the Rev. James Cranbrook, Albany Street Chapel, Edinburgh. 2nd edition. Edinburgh and London: Fullarton and Co. 1865.

¹⁷ "A Reasonable Faith." By John Baker Hopkins. London: Longmans. 1865.

¹⁸ "The Kabbalah: its Doctrines, Development, and Literature." An Essay. By Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D. Read before the Literary and Scientific Society of Liverpool, and reprinted with the Society's permission. London: Longmans. 1865.

and finite." It is not, however, agreed whether these *Sephiroth* are to be regarded as *principles*, or as *substances*, or as *potencies*, or as intelligent worlds, or as *attributes*, or as *entities* or as *organs of the Deity*. (p. 7, note.) 4. From the *Sephiroth* the different worlds are successively evolved. 5. And give rise to all human souls, which are pre-existent. 6. The anthropomorphisms of Scripture refer to the *Sephiroth*, and not to the Invisible—the *En Soph*. 7. The soul must return to its infinite source. If it fails in this life to develop the germs inherent in it, it must migrate into another body, and be associated with a stronger soul. 8. "When all the pre-existent souls shall have passed their probationary period here below, the restitution of all things will take place. Satan will be restored to an angel of light, hell will disappear, and all souls will return into the bosom of the Deity whence they emanated." (pp. 64, 65.) The principal books of the Kabbalists are: I. The Book of Creation (*Jetzira*). II. The *Sohar*; and III. The Commentary of the ten *Sephiroth*. The *Jetzira*, however, which is of about the ninth century, is not properly a Kabbalistic work; the *Sohar* is the principal repository of those doctrines. The most learned recent writers assign the *Sohar* to the thirteenth century; the Commentary on the *Sephiroth* belongs to the eleventh. The method by which the Kabbalists extracted their theosophic doctrines from the sacred writings, was by a system of acrostic readings and permutations of the letters of the text, by which means, indeed, anything could be made out of anything; and accordingly, some Christians have found in this Kabbalistic method of reading the Old Testament confirmations of the doctrines of Christianity. Among Christian scholars and divines who have adopted the Kabbalistic system were Reuchlin the friend of Erasmus, Pious di Miranda, Robert Fludd, and Dr. Henry More. Among the Jews themselves the tendency of the Kabbalistic studies has been in the direction of Christianity. Dr. Ginsburg's is a very excellent and by no means burdensome introduction to the subject.

Miss Hennell's "Present Religion" must be studied by those who are prepared for it." We can only indicate the germinant principle on which it is founded. When it comes to be laid down that all human conceptions of the Deity must be anthropomorphic, and therefore in different degrees inadequate and false, the upholders of a supernatural revelation, even orthodox theists, assert that this amounts to making God a creature of human imagination, and is no other than Atheism. But, says Miss Hennell, if we think of God, not as acting apart from other action, but as the source of all action, and therefore also of human action, it will follow that he is the source of all religion, not, indeed, *directly*, but *indirectly*. "If God did not directly make the religion, yet he

made the mind that made the religion," and though the working of the mind was "not a direct operation, any more than the other, yet the representation will to the last include the whole essential truth of the matter." (p. 9.) According to this principle, human religion has been in constant course of development from the lower fetichistic forms in which fear is predominant, to such as the Christian, which acknowledges the Divine Fatherhood and human responsibility. Thus, not only is the highest place assigned to Christianity in the history of the religious development of humanity, but even its several doctrines, although of subjective origin, were necessary stages in that religious growth.

The treatise of Dr. Travis on "Moral Freedom" undoubtedly possesses the merit of having stated the problem to be solved in a distinct manner.²⁰ There are two fundamental questions, he says, involved in the controversy respecting the freedom of the will: "1st. Whether the law of causation extends to the formation of man's volitions. 2nd. Whether man has a power of self-determination." Usually, those who answer one of these affirmatively deny the other. Dr. Travis affirms both, and thereby reconciles, as he conceives, human liberty—not with necessity, compulsion, or fatalism—but with the universality of causation. He arrives at this conclusion by an analysis of the process of self-determination. After clearing away various psychological errors—and principally this, that the mind is a separate entity and living thing within our organism—he observes on the distinction, hitherto, as he considers, not clearly pointed out, between mental affections and mental acts. "The power to attend," he defines as "the power to keep up thoughts or external perceptions by means of bodily acts suited to the accomplishment of this result;" and although the power to retain thoughts, or the impressions of external objects, operates by means of our organism, yet it is a mental power. And the retaining one thought rather than another, the looking at one object rather than another, is determined by the will, which therein gives preference to one motive over another. Now we doubt whether Dr. Travis has here wrought out the even-handed solution which he undertook. For the will, or rather the particular act of willing, is itself determined by wish, and the character of the then present wish is determined by the whole of the antecedents and circumstances belonging to the agent. So that there is an ambiguity in the expression "self-determination." Dr. Travis would certainly not say that a particular act of will is self-determined, in the sense determined without motive, or as a choice between motives by way of a toss-up; but he would quite acknowledge that each particular act of will is determined by a particular wish, and that the particular

²⁰ "Present Religion: as a Faith owning Fellowship with Thought." By Sara S. Hennell, author of "Thoughts in Aid of Faith." Part I. London: Trübner and Co. 1865.

²⁰ "Moral Freedom reconciled with Causation by the Analysis of the Process of Self-determination. The Moral Basis of Social Science. With a Postscript on Co-operation." By Henry Travis, M.D. London: Longmans. 1865.

wish depends upon the then character of the "self," as a product of all its antecedents. The sense of "good" and the sense of "duty" which determine an act of will are consequences of these antecedents; and hence we think Dr. Travis has only succeeded in reconciling the doctrine of the Universality of Causation with the fact that man has a power of self-determination, according to a signification of the latter word inconsistent with that in which most libertarians would accept it. The practical inferences which he draws (pp. 32, 178) from the doctrine of the Universality of Causation as embracing moral phenomena concerning the obligations of men to each other in society, are very valuable.

There could not be a more vigorous and damaging onslaught on Hamiltonianism than that of Mr. Stirling.²¹ The more damaging because we have here the result of an unprejudiced examination of the writings of that celebrated logician; at least a small portion, or *échantillon*. The present treatise is confined to a criticism of Hamilton's theory of Perception, and is divided into sections: "1. Hamilton both presentationist and phenomenalist; 2. The testimony of consciousness, or Hamilton's *δῆμι*; 3. The analysis of philosophy, or Hamilton's *διότι*; and 4. The principle of common sense." We have then (1) two series of citations. In the former occur such utterances as these: "I hold that Perception is an Immediate or Presentative, not a Mediate or Representative, cognition," and "To be known immediately, an object must be known in itself" (pp. 2-4); in the latter, "Whatever we know, is not known as it is, but only as it seems to us to be;" "of things absolutely, or in themselves, we know nothing." (pp. 5-8.) He therefore seems to assert at one time that the object known is the real existence; at another, that we only know phenomena. The question thus arises, Why did Hamilton, whose polemic is ostensibly for presentationism or immediate perception, give us also representationalism? Or "Why did Hamilton, without sense of contradiction, as it seems, assert at once knowledge and ignorance of things in themselves?" (p. 26.) The answer seems to be, that the external reality is presented in a phenomenon. "However phenomenally wrapped up, the non-ego is actually presented to the ego. Presentation of a phenomenon is Hamilton's conviction; what dominates him is, that the non-ego is *actually there*." (p. 30.) Hence arises a controversy as between Kant and Hamilton, for to Kant likewise the "non-ego is actually there," though he would deny the immediate intuitive and face-to-face cognition of it; then will come in Hamilton's appeal to the testimony of consciousness—that it is so. "Consciousness," he says, "can state no falsehood; but consciousness asserts the fact of immediate contact with an externality different from itself, therefore such externality *is*." (p. 46.) But, says Mr. Stirling, "were

consciousness inviolable in the sense in which it must be understood to legitimate the conclusion of Hamilton in regard to the evidence of perception, then the tale of history is a dream, for that whole tale is but the transcendence of error after error, and these errors were the errors of consciousness." (p. 56.) Nevertheless, though he will not allow it to others, Hamilton himself will put consciousness to further questions. More consistently Hegel is able "to transcend yet hold consciousness. Philosophy, he says, begins by riding over ordinary consciousness; appealing from ordinary to universal consciousness." (p. 65.) Hamilton, however, is thus driven from the sufficiency of the immediate deliverance of the ordinary consciousness into a philosophical analysis of what it is that consciousness ultimately testifies. Here comes in the theory of Hamilton concerning the interposition of a nervous network between the percipient mind and the external reality, fatal at once to any theory of presentationism or immediate perception, properly so called. Finally, Hamilton falls back on the verification of the testimony of consciousness by common sense. But, "it is common sense, yet the result of *analysis, critical analysis*, and by the *philosophers*. It is common sense, but not the sense of the common (the vulgar); it is the sense of the uncommon (the philosophers)." And Mr. Stirling concludes, "It was Hamilton's pride to have perfected the presentationism of Reid, to have strengthened into impregnability his fortress of common sense: in reality, he has but overthrown the one and broken up the other." (p. 123.) The admirers of Sir William Hamilton should seriously set to work to repair their damaged idol.

Dugald Stewart's mind was not that of an original thinker, but he rendered in his day great service, in modifying, assimilating, and communicating the thoughts of others. His treatment of his subject was often defective and often loose; but his style commended it to the attention of pupils and readers. His "Outlines of Moral Philosophy"²² were prepared by him as a text-book for his own class, in 1793; and with such additions and corrections as each teacher must supply for himself, may still be usefully employed for the same purpose. Dr. McCosh has added to this edition an Appendix, embracing such rectifications of his author as seem to him to be required, together with a set of questions useful for purposes of examination.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

As might be expected, Professor Fawcett's lectures on the economical condition of the

²¹ "Outlines of Moral Philosophy." By Dugald Stewart, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. With a Memoir, a Supplement, and Questions. By James McCosh, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's University in Ireland, &c. &c. London: William Allan. 1865.

²² "Sir William Hamilton: being the Philosophy of Perception." An Analysis. By James Hutchison Stirling. Author of "The Secret of Hegel." London: Longmans. 1865.

labouring classes¹ are quite free from a certain tone of antagonism to the truths of political economy, which has displayed itself of late in the treatment which this subject has received at less well-informed hands. This antagonism is, for the most part, based upon a misrepresentation of economic doctrines, which would almost lead us to suppose that the writers in question, though some of them ought least of all to be in that position, have no clear perception of the term natural law. Whatever some writers on economy may have been led to assert, no completely instructed economist now claims any greater force or cogency for the laws of economy than is claimed for other laws of nature, or supposes that they have any other efficiency than that which can be inferred from a constantly observed tendency, when not counteracted by an opposing force. But even those writers who have used stronger language, and apparently asserted an inherent force in the laws in question, ought in common fairness to receive the most favourable construction that is compatible with their expressions: for it was quite natural in those who discovered, or were among the first to realize, an unrecognised relation between two sets of phenomena, to give, in their exposition of the relation itself, a greater prominence to the new fact they wished to make known than to the attendant circumstances under which it was usually hidden. No law in nature was ever discovered except by the elimination of such circumstances as either hindered its action or obscured its recognition. The discovery itself does not destroy these circumstances nor deny their existence. But it would be too much to expect that those who first arrived at it should cloud the expression of their discovery with an account of every modifying condition which may affect the action of the law in question. Political arguments against economical truth are as much out of place as complaints against gravitation, because it conduces, under fitting circumstances, to broken necks. The laws of economy are as relentless as gravitation itself, but are as consistent with the highest moral excellence as gravitation is with the most ethereal beauty, but only on the same condition—that they are recognised and obeyed. It is an utter narrowness to declaim against the laws which regulate the production, distribution, and exchange of wealth, because they do not in their terms proclaim other laws with which, in their definition at least, they are not concerned; and the more so as the very truths in question can never arrive at an ultimate clearness of expression without the aid of the laws they are made use of to invalidate. It is not by refusing to the hard trunk and less graceful leafage the sustenance they require that the lovely flower can be made more readily to display its complete beauties. But as we have just said, these remarks have no reference to Professor Fawcett; he is too well-informed on this subject to be misled into such vagaries, and the natural consequence is, that

he appears to offer much less to those who are discontented with the operation of economical laws than is delusively held forth by men who, with less knowledge, choose to deny their validity. But his book is not the less instructive on this account. It would be strange, indeed, if the way to all imaginable happiness were as easily accessible as the means of drawing on our imagination for a lively picture of what appears to us to represent it. With the patience of science he is content to talk of the tenure of land, of primogeniture, of co-operation, emigration, and strikes—no novelties it is true, but they involve immediate and attainable ameliorations of a state of things which he deplures with as much vivacity and feeling as any of the opposite school of which we have just spoken. Although he constantly deprecates the use of political arguments, most of the turning points of his discussion turn on political questions. His explanation of the economical results of the practice of entailing real estate on the unborn child of the youngest party to the contract is full, complete and satisfactory; but it may be fairly questioned whether, in the present condition of English agriculture, its legislative removal would tend to the disruption of landed estates and to the origination of a class of peasant proprietors like our extinct yeomen. If land were as freely exchangeable as cotton goods, the nature of the chief crops which can be raised in England is so favourable to the existence of large farms, that it may be questioned whether we should ever again see the system of small cultivation prevalent in this island. The economy which is the result of employing machinery in farming is beyond the means of small capitalists, and this is an economy which the inventions of every year make more and more important. But there are other and social causes which contribute to the same result; so long as our system of parliamentary representation is based on the present local distribution of constituencies, it will ever tend to keep land together in large masses, whether it be freely saleable or not. Money as such gives, except in the centres of commerce, but very little political or even social influence to its possessors, but money invested in land at once confers a local power and influence that cannot but be recognised by the neighbours of the newest man. In London aristocratic exclusiveness is amenable to no laws but those of its own establishment, but in the provinces nothing but the system of entails would long support family and political influence. If the practice were once legally prohibited, the price of land would, in our opinion, rather rise than fall. The desired access to the best society would be at once attainable to those who were willing to pay for it, and even in cases where personal peculiarities stood in the purchaser's way, his son would find what had been denied to himself. In a wealthy country like our own, these considerations would always tend to keep land in large estates, and its price above its true agricultural value, from causing its possession to be desired for other than merely remunerative purposes. It is not by the abolition of entails, however desirable such a measure may be, but by a thorough change in the basis

¹ "The Economic Position of the British Labourer." By H. Fawcett, M. P. London: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

of the representation, that land can be brought within the scope of the possible means of the lower classes. If, indeed, our representation were of a direct personal character, the adventitious value of landed estates would of course be immediately destroyed, and with it much of the variety of English society. Whether that variety is worth its cost is indeed another question, and we are very much indeed of the opinion that Englishmen sacrifice as much to the adornment of the capitals of their social edifice as the Athenians did to the adornment of their acropolis, but with canons of taste of a quite different order. On co-operation, wages, and emigration, there is nothing new in Professor Fawcett's pages, unless it be found in a discussion of the question, whether we are not in danger of the last becoming excessive. This question, however, can hardly yet be said to have assumed a practical shape. On strikes the whole truth is very fairly told; the operative's right is fully conceded, and a very necessary distinction drawn between a strike and that organization by which it is usually directed and governed. A trade union is most legitimately employed when it enables its members to mass themselves against capital; and when it has also directed its energies to a thorough investigation of the particular question in dispute between the employer and the employed, it always has been, and always must be, successful. The vices of these combinations are not to be discovered in their conflicts with employers, though sometimes these conflicts betray a regrettable ignorance, but are to be found in the means which are too often employed by their members to force independent and unwilling labourers in any particular trade to join their ranks. Open violence has become, in some degree, less audacious than in former years, and ought to be promptly suppressed; but the law cannot reach every injustice, and one of Professor Fawcett's great merits is, that in spite of his warm feeling for the labouring classes, he does not shrink from the warning and exposure which is called for by many of the proceedings of these societies. In this respect he is far above that flattery which Cromwell rebuked in Sir Peter Lely, when he told him to paint him with all his warts. These lectures are in some degree encumbered with elementary matter, but perhaps this was unavoidable in a course originally composed for educational purposes.

One would naturally suppose from such a title as "Three Years among the Working Classes in the United States" that the book to which it was given treated of the working classes in question. This, however, is by no means the case with an otherwise clever and apparently honest account of American society, just published by Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co. The author was indeed a "working man," but a singularly well-informed one, and it is consequently the more to be regretted that he should be tempted to stray so far beyond the ground

indicated in his title, as it will be long before so capable a person will have so good an opportunity of giving us full particulars of all the points in which the relations between employer and employed in America differ from those in England. The picture he draws is not attractive to those who place their ideal of character in moderation and self-control, but it is very short-sighted so violently to condemn Americans because they do not possess virtues against which every circumstance of their position is in constant warfare. Sudden prosperity, with unlimited means of self-support and probable wealth, are not conducive to modesty in those who can look upon such gifts of fortune as their natural birthright; and yet, at the conclusion of the most high-coloured of the author's pictures, he is constantly obliged to confess that their most striking features are taken from natives of the British isles or from their immediate descendants. Indeed, nothing is more indisputable than the fact that what is most offensive to Englishmen in the American character may be found in our own, and that much English feeling for our American descendants is but the counterpart of that entertained towards ourselves in most nations of the Continent, and may be traced to the same origin. The author of this volume, though very competent as an original observer, is evidently so much of a reading man that he prefers to support his own opinions by those of American papers in spite of his constant denunciations of their uncompromising partizanship. This book, notwithstanding, deserves attention, though it calls for frequent modification. He was necessarily thrown among the unsettled classes of American society, and came in very slight contact with what may be truly called national and American manners. The fluctuating population of the great American towns gives but a very poor idea of the general features of American character. In such places it is overlaid by all the unprincipled elements of the enormous immigration which constantly pours itself on the shores of the United States. One of the best chapters in the book contains a very full account of the benevolent supervision on which all immigrants may rely on their arrival at New York. The Emigration Commission, which sits at Castle Garden in that city, is an institution to which Americans may point as without its parallel in the world, and is worthy of the highest admiration. The thoughtlessness and intemperance of our own working-classes, however they may be excused by the hopelessness of their position, find no analogue among the corresponding classes in America. The free career which is there open to all, and the constant sense of personal independence, call forth at least an endeavour to assume the appearance of the better classes; and though this endeavour is, as might be expected, very often guided by an execrable taste, it yet conduces to a general prosperity, which affords the best basis for improvement in manners also. We have ourselves made too great an advance towards that weakening of the tie between parents and children which so shocked the author in America, to be much surprised at his report. Our own

² "Three Years among the Working Classes in the United States during the War." By the author of "The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

grandfathers would be as greatly shocked if they could hear our children, as anyone can be at American freedom in this respect. Yet we should tell our ancestors, as the Americans doubtlessly would tell us, that filial devotion is as common now—where it is justly due—as ever it was in the world's history. On the whole, this book, though amusing and well-written, is too much occupied with the surface of things and the first impressions derived from them, to be as instructive as many will find it entertaining.

Although Mr. Nicholson's "Science of Exchanges"³ is unfortunately deformed by a dedication to Lord Overstone in the worst possible taste—which might induce many who read it to suppose that the contents of the volume were much less valuable than they really are—this catechism on the principal terms used in political economy, in spite of the acknowledged difficulty of giving exact and succinct definitions, is so clear and well-arranged that it cannot fail to be of service to all who are entering on the study of the science of which it treats. The principles advocated throughout its pages are those of the most competent authorities, and on the question of currency and banking the author leaves very little to be said that would add to the excellence of his Exposition.

"The Organisation of Credit"⁴ is just now the stalking horse most in favour with the opponents of the Bank Act of 1844. There is an imposing magnificence about the phrase that is highly attractive, and a vagueness of meaning that will admit of any kind of confusion. Before we set about organising credit, it would be as well to have some definite notion of what we mean by the word. Credit means confidence: a man's credit is good so long as it is confidently believed that he can meet his engagements; it reposes on personal character, so that at last it would seem that the organisation of credit calls for a similar organisation of character in those who lay claims to it. This is an organisation which the world has been engaged in striving after ever since the commencement of human society, but it has not usually been called by that name; and we think that when credit can be in any proper sense organised, there will be but little left for the lawgiver's labours. The millennium of universal confidence is only to be expected in a future as distant as that of universal brotherly love. We strongly recommend the following words of Isaiah as an epigraph to such impatient theorists as M. Pereire and the author of a book recently published, with this taking title: "Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money: come ye, buy and eat—yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price." This is the commercial millennium, upon which, in the opinion of the author, we could at once enter, were it not for perverse legislation and an unaccount-

able prejudice which some people share with Hamlet, against feeding on air "promise crammed." One is almost tempted to regret that such a thing as a bank-note was ever invented, when we have to wade through nearly five hundred pages of elaborate argument to prove that every instrument, or means of commercial liquidation, has as good a title to be called currency. The basis on which this theory is built is, that bank-notes are a substitute for, and not merely a representative of the money for which they pass current—that it is their function to economise the capital they represent instead of merely saving the wear and tear of the metal which would otherwise be needed, and supplying an instrument of easier manipulation. The Act of 1844 has long been the scapegoat of those who find it easier to criticise an act of Parliament than to investigate the real nature of the circumstances it was passed to meet. If the proper definition of currency be "what-ever represents transferable debt," bank-notes and coin are something more than currency, for they not only transfer but pay debts. At page 81 the author says—"Capital and credit constitute the circulating medium," and the whole object of his volume is to show that it is the interest and duty of the Government and of the Bank of England to take care that if any trader exhaust the first of these constituents, he should never be in want of the second. "The object aimed at (p. 45) should be to preserve a uniform rate of discount in this country, and at the same time to maintain a uniformity in the value of the British currency with that of other countries." As it cannot be denied that this result is unattainable without loss to someone, the simple course proposed—and it appears to us to be simple in more than one sense—is that the Government and the Bank of England should come to some agreement by which it could be shared between them. This would be, in effect, to tax the whole community for the purpose of expunging the debit side of profit and loss from the ledger of every merchant in the country. Pleasing, if only practical! and it is much to be regretted that such a consummation is not as attainable as it is certainly attractive. Because the bank rate of discount proclaims the price of disposable capital, it is supposed to be the cause of that price; and the bank is blamed at page 150 for "the means by which it raises the rate of discount when money is most wanted"! Why not carry out the argument a little further, and say that when money is most wanted it should be supplied by the bank gratuitously? The author quotes "Historicus" to this effect: "It is a lamentable but certain fact that the hardest and best work that is done in the world is often that which is least appreciated." Of one thing we are certain, that if the hardest work were also always the best, the merit of those who have gone through every page in the present volume ought to be highly appreciated.

To turn from these pages to those of a pamphlet by Mr. Stirling on "Banks and Bank Management,"⁵ is like leaving a region of cloud

³ "The Science of Exchanges." By N. A. Nicholson, M.A. 3rd edition. London: E. Wilson. 1865.

⁴ "The Bank of England, and the Organisation of Credit in England." London: Longmans and Co. 1865.

⁵ "Practical Considerations on Banks and Bank

and fog for one of clear air and unrestricted vision. It is an absolute refreshment to meet with such sound sense and clear statement as are to be found in these "practical considerations;" and it is the more necessary to call attention to them, as most people have—and very justly too—an instinctive dread of currency discussions. There is but one point on which we think Mr. Stirling betrays prejudice; we mean in his violent hostility to the principle of limited liability. Its abuses ought not to be its condemnation; its first essays ought not to be deemed conclusive as to the results which are to be expected when the principle shall be better understood, and when it is protected, as it should be, by a perfect publicity given to the operations of those who avail themselves of its advantages. The distinction we have often drawn between the principles of currency and those of banking, has in no place, that we are aware of, been better illustrated than in this pamphlet. To us it seems not only conclusive but exhaustive, and we cannot do better than recommend all who are interested in these subjects to make themselves acquainted with the masterly argumentation by which Mr. Stirling supports his conclusion:—

"It is abundantly shown that the time has come for a courageous reform of our monetary laws; severing thoroughly and for ever the ill-starred conjunction of currency and banking, and establishing each on the principles appropriate to its nature. Such a law would be the wise and necessary complement to the Acts of 1819 and 1844, and would sweep away a world of perplexity, both theoretical and practical. For a time no doubt it would, like them, be subjected to the cavils of the uninstructed, but the mass of the intelligence of the country would be on the side of reform. Slowly, but surely, truth would assert its supremacy, and in a few short years the world would look back in wonder how it could have been so mystified as to the nature of a bank-note, or have so egregiously mistaken the influences which regulate the rate of interest."

In a very clear review of the operations of the "patent laws," Mr. Edwards contends for their total abolition. He starts by distinguishing copyright from protection to inventions of a mechanical character; and contends that in the former it is a definite and complete result that is protected, while in the latter it is but a means to an end, and that probably not the best means, while yet the privilege granted may be obstructive of further improvements; for it by no means follows that the first apprehension of a new constructive principle is always connected with the best adaptation of which it is susceptible. To meet those objections which would naturally arise from this apparent disregard of the claims of inventors, he subjects the returns of the Patent Office to a very complete analysis, and finds that not more than fifteen per cent. of the projects preliminarily registered proceed to the condition of full

patents. At the same time, he gives very good reasons to suppose that, even of these, many are retained from other causes than their remunerative character:—

"The present law allows the inventor to lodge a petition for a patent on the payment of the sum of five pounds, which may be considered to be equivalent to provisional protection. He would have four months to mature his plans, and, if he resolved to proceed, he could obtain his patent for three years from the date of his first application on the payment of a total further sum of twenty pounds. At the expiration of these years, his privilege might be extended for a further period of four years on the payment of fifty pounds; and at the expiration of the seventh year from the date of his patent, he might extend his rights for another period of seven years on the payment of one hundred pounds; thus making protection to last for a total period of fourteen years at an expense of one hundred and seventy-five pounds, exclusive of agents' charges."

The effect of this straining process is given in the result just mentioned: not more than two hundred projects out of three thousand applications for patents survive to become remunerative to their possessors, while, even of these, many are retained from the accidental circumstance that their inventors are in sufficiently good circumstances to pay for a mere hobby, and many more to serve as advertisements to their other business. The lamentable history of really important mechanical inventions is told very fully by Mr. Edwards. The necessity of leaving the patentee to defend his privilege cannot be avoided, while the extreme difficulty of proving absolute originality, or of drawing up a specification that shall be secure against every attack, exposes the really meritorious inventor to such an overwhelming probability of ruin in the defence of his privilege, that very few indeed have been able to maintain their ground. Thus, while it would seem that imperfect inventions, when once patented, become an obstacle to further progress, the really important patents are defended with so much difficulty and risk, that a title to make the attempt becomes a questionable privilege. The patent laws thus become a lottery, and this peculiarity is perhaps one source of their attractiveness to the sanguine minds of those who would avail themselves of them; but they are in this respect worse than other lotteries, that the blanks are not merely simple loss to those who draw them. Whether some organised system of honorary rewards would not be far more conducive to the general welfare is a question worthy of the most serious consideration.

The second series of "Conservative Essays," by Mr. Nicholas, of Louisville, Kentucky, is chiefly interesting as a specimen of the violence with which political discussion is carried on in the United States. His abhorrence of the war is only to be matched by his disgust at the means which have brought it to an end. It seems to him the height of treason to the constitution that *six weeks* should elapse after the

Management." By J. Stirling. Author of "Letters from the Slave States." Glasgow: D. Maclehose. 1865.

"On Letters Patent for Inventions." By J. Edwards, jun. London: R. Hardwicke. 1865.

"Conservative Essays, Legal and Political." By S. S. Nicholas, of Louisville, Kentucky. Philadelphia: Lippincott and Co. 1865.

termination of the struggle, and that there should still remain recognisable traces of the measures called forth by its exigencies. He calls himself a Conservative, and appeals to law, because slavery has been abolished in an extra-legal manner, and prophesies that, after that model, every obstacle will be removed that stands in the way of the hated republican majority. His lofty appeals to principle and constant moral bathos cannot be better shown than in the following extract from a criticism on Mr. Seward's plan for a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Among other reasons, Mr. Seward had contended that such a railway was desirable as a means of introducing society in the recesses of the Continent: "What," says Mr. Nicholas, "is the particular motive for introducing society into the recesses of the Continent he does not explain; and it is not easy to conjecture what his motive may be, unless he wants population there merely because they are recesses, and because of the difficulty of governing the population after he has got it there. Those recesses belong to and are inhabited by the Indian tribes. Every principle of good faith and national honour requires that we should permit them to retain those remote recesses, so long as their possession is compatible with our national wealth, or at least with our national convenience." This is "border" politics, and, we must confess, we like the frank ruffianism of the South far better. The tone of this extract is exactly typical of the feelings of the Border States, which fully sympathising with neither of the parties to the late conflict, wished to take advantage of both, and incurred the natural consequence of such vacillation by becoming their battle-field; hence the passionate virulence of those Essays, which more resemble a series of exasperated leading articles than a collection of materials for future history, in which character the author collects and republishes them.

Let no one be deluded by the general title of M. de Liefde's book.* Its real purpose is the glorification of the Evangelical Confession by an account of its works of benevolence. At the same time, let it not be supposed that we would desire to take one jot or tittle from the well-deserved admiration which is due to the founders of most of the charities described in these two volumes. But their exclusive devotion to the establishments connected with one form only of Christian belief, ought in common honesty to have been fully indicated on the title-page. An excellent book still remains to be written on the various exertions which are made in all parts of Europe to care for forsaken children and reform dissolute adults, but it must not be drowned in sectarian sentiment, nor deformed by intolerance. The present volumes may perhaps be delightful reading to the religious party of their author; but those who belong to any other will find the facts they would so willingly be made acquainted with so deeply buried under a phraseology which is revolting to every educated

person, that they are almost as inaccessible as if the book had never been written.

In "La Mère," M. Eugène Pelletan takes up the argument and position of M. Legouvé in his "Histoire Morale des Femmes;" but though he goes over the same ground, it is only to pick up and bring into greater prominence certain details of the subject which his predecessor had with greater judgment merely indicated. To prove the fact that with the progress of ease, wealth, and security in society, the position of women is even more essentially modified than that of men, it was not necessary to gather into one unsavoury bouquet all the stories of degradation and vice which can be connected with the history of the sex. If it is asserted on the other hand that the only rational method of investigation in such subjects is the historical one, and that it is mere weakness to shrink from anything which this method brings before us, it is a sufficient answer in the present case to say, that without precise references and direct documentary evidence, the method in question is not followed, but merely parodied. There is no reference to authorities throughout the whole volume; but a few inadequate notes at its end are expected to supply the place of evidence that is called for on every page. The general positions taken up are for the most part judicious, but their illustration is devoid of the moral tact absolutely required in a book intended for general reading. We do not find that, after M. Legouvé's publication, such a volume as the present was at all called for.

Military men who have been in the habit of turning for information on the art of war to the bulky tomes of the *aide mémoire*, will gladly welcome the publication of a volume," which in 204 not closely-printed pages purposes, according to Marshal Marmont, the author, "to give within restricted limits an account of the spirit of military operations, organization, and institutions," and, according to Captain Lendy, the translator, to be "an original treatise of modern *data* which may be used as a standard." The book is divided into four parts: the general theory of military art; the organization, formation, and maintenance of armies; the various operations of war; and the philosophy of war. We are at the outset surprised to find, after being recommended to read the "Mémoires of Monthonlon," and the writings of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr and M. de Segur, such a large subject as the first so summarily dismissed; but as we read on, we find that the whole book is designed for the guidance only of those in command. All the Marshal has to say of the theory of military art has been better said in a few incisive sentences by his great master. To his brother Joseph (Letter 174), Napoleon writes: "In war nothing is to be done but by

* "La Mère." Par Eugène Pelletan. Paris: Pagnerre. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

† "On Modern Armies." By Marshal Marmont. Duc de Raguse. Translated by Captain Lendy, F.G.S., F.L.S., &c. London: W. O. Mitchell. 1865.

* "Six Months among the Charities of Europe." By John de Liefde. 2 vols. A. Strahan. 1865.

calculation; whatever is not profoundly considered in its details produces no good result." Again, in Letter 215, "The art of war is to dispose your troops so that they may be everywhere at once: the art of distributing troops is the great art of war;" and in Letter 417, "To conquer is nothing—we must know how to profit by success." The second and third parts of the present volume are curious, as forming, perhaps, the last authoritative advocacy of Vauban's system and the Paixhan gun: the latter, we may inform our non-military readers, is a gun which discharges a large projectile at a slow velocity; and although, since the construction of iron-clads and rifled ordnance, this gun is no longer formidable, there seems something like prescience in the following observation, which, under changed circumstances, is eminently applicable to our present naval armaments: "But when we shall be able to mount on a small steam or sailing vessel of inconsiderable force, one or two pieces of artillery, one of whose projectiles suffices to destroy the largest ships, ten such small vessels, each armed with two large guns, would soon be able to dispose of any ship they may surround." The philosophy of war contains many very humane views on the treatment of the soldier. It may be possible in the French army, composed, owing to compulsory enlistment, of "respectable young men," to carry philanthropy to the exalted extent the marshal seems to think desirable; but for an army "mainly composed of vagabonds," which it appears is the result of the English system of voluntary recruiting, a "terrible discipline" is considered inevitable. The book, though marred by an indifferent translation, is interesting as coming from the pen of Marshal Marmont; but Captain Lendy must surely be conscious that what maxims it contains that are not obsolete, must read to the Sandhurst graduate of the present day very like military platitudes.

"Britain and her Colonies," by Mr. Hurlburt," has but small claim to its comprehensive title. The book is little else than a Canadian's griefs against the mother country. Convenience, or direct advantage to the colonists, are relied on as a sufficient answer to any complaints made of their fiscal arrangements by England; but when it is urged that such complete self-government ought to imply self-defence also, refuge is immediately sought in the sentimental tie that has never yet been found to stand in the way of any colonial legislation. A common origin, the Anglo-Saxon race with its expectancies, the old home, and similar topics, are admirable things when they give warmth and colour to an identity of material interest, but offer a very feeble foundation for any political action where that identity is wanting. These colonial controversies are like bargains between friends, in which each party expects his own construction of the terms will be accepted by the other, and is so revolted at finding that he has to do

with anything but the most self-sacrificing generosity, that a contrast between hostile pretenders appears in the upshot heartily to be preferred. Communities cannot negotiate on the basis of the fine feelings: when these are the natural result of their material relations, it is a state of things highly to be rejoiced in, but by no means to be depended on in any fresh set of circumstances. A colony which pleads its interests in excuse for its own policy, and appeals to the feelings of the mother country for further advantages, takes up the position of a spoilt child, and with an exactly corresponding success. It is, however, useless to add another page to those recriminations which fill Mr. Hurlburt's volume. There is but little gained by his review of a colonial policy which has been abandoned by England, and still less by his arguments drawn from the events and precedents of other colonies. The governmental relations of England with her colonies cannot present a greater uniformity than the circumstances of the multitudinous cases will admit of, and these are not susceptible of generalization to any practical purpose; the points in which they agree are utterly lost in the infinite variety of their differences. All the arguments which are suggested by the old toast, "ships, colonies, and commerce," and so much relied on by Mr. Hurlburt, are quite out of place after the triumph of the principles of Free Trade and the repeal of the Navigation Laws. Once, indeed, it used to be thought in England that colonies existed only for the benefit of the mother country; now it would appear to be an incontrovertible conclusion in the minds of colonists that the mother country exists only for their advantage. Thus the wheel of fortune brings about its revenges. The most useful part of Mr. Hurlburt's book is the account he gives of the proceedings taken towards consolidating the government of the British possessions in North America. A full report of the proposed constitution and of the negotiations connected with it will be found in the appendix. Whether this desirable arrangement be carried out or not, it cannot but have one good result in showing the Canadians that there are difficulties and conflicting interests nearer home which are not at once got rid of by magnificent declamation on the great future which awaits on the full development of the resources of the British North American Colonies.

In 1858 the late Sir Thomas Wyse, being called upon to act as president to the "Financial Commission to Inquire into the Resources of Greece," undertook a tour round the country for the purpose of personally investigating many of the questions which would come before it. The result of the labours of the commission was printed and laid before Parliament; but Sir Thomas found so many points of interest were touched upon in the notes he had taken, that he resolved to throw them into the form of a connected narrative of the excursion.¹¹ "Official business at first interfered

¹¹ "Britain and her Colonies." By J. B. Hurlburt, M.A., LL.D. London: E. Stanford. 1865.

¹² "An Excursion in Peloponnesus." By the

with his project, and at last the hand of death cut it short abruptly." The manuscript was bequeathed by him to his niece, who has loyally carried out his wishes by its publication. After calling at Epidaurus, Limera, the tour may be said to commence at Gythium, from whence were visited the Laconian Valley, Messena, Phigaleia, Olympia, Psophis, Egium, and Corinth, thus completing the circuit of the country. The narrative is mainly concerned with the present state of the ancient remains at those places, and with a general description of the condition of the population. The ardent interest which Sir Thomas Wyse took in every question connected either with Greek art and civilization, or with the character and prospects of the modern peasantry, are manifest in every page. His account of the temple of Apollo Epicurus at Phigaleia is highly interesting, and the discussions connected with Olympia are treated by him with so much good sense and genuine feeling for art, that it is greatly to be regretted he had not the opportunity of giving a further development to this part of his work. In spite of the well-trodden character of the ground gone over, there are many things in these two handsome volumes that will cause their publication to be welcomed by all who are interested either in the history or prospects of the Greek Peninsula.

There is so little generally known in England on the condition of Russian art and literature, that perhaps even such a rambling and ill-digested book as Mr. Grahame's¹³ on this subject may meet with readers which such an *olla podrida* could hardly expect on its own merits.

Mr. Hill's "Egypt and Syria"¹⁴ is not so much a book of travel in the ordinary sense as an account of the reflections which occurred to him while passing through these countries. The complacent ease with which he delivers himself of the most ordinary remarks, and the rolling amplitude with which he builds up periods that come to nothing, would be in the last degree offensive were it not for a constantly present evidence of a natural amiability which disarms criticism. He makes no pretence to any peculiar information derived from his travels, and certainly affords none to any one who has read but a very few of the multitude of books which have been written on this subject. He evidently enjoyed his trip, but that he should have thought his account of it would have anything of the same effect on his readers, is but another feature of that amiable simplicity in his character which constantly checks the exclamations with which one is tempted to break out while reading his reflections. Like the Queen in "Hamlet," we exclaim with an involuntary impatience, "more

matter and less art," and yet at the same time we cannot avoid entertaining a sort of respect for Polonius, in spite of his tediousness. The sententious platitudes of this volume make it a kind of literary curiosity, quite out of harmony with the moving spirit of the times in which it appears.

There are few Englishmen who do not entertain a high esteem for M. Esquiros. His accounts of our customs, manners, and institutions which from time to time appear in the pages of the "Revue des Deux Mondes" are animated by such a friendly and appreciative spirit that they cannot fail to exert the most beneficial influence on the minds of his compatriots, while the industry with which he gathers all the interesting facts connected with the special topic he has in hand makes his sketches almost as instructive to Englishmen as the tone in which he relates them is to their advantage. The last collection of these sketches is devoted to Cornwall and the southwestern coast,¹⁵ to our mining and fishing population in the west, to the description of the means of lighting our shores and headlands, and to a very complete account of our life-boat system and Trinity House supervision. M. Esquiros' taste for Nature, and his remarkable talent in bringing what has struck him as peculiar to English scenery before his readers, are already too well known to need remark, but form a peculiar attraction of the present volume, while his ethical appreciation of any characteristic anecdote, though it sometimes leads him to accept a story because it is good, gives a constant liveliness and human interest to his pages. Some very just remarks on the different results of centralization and self-help are made in a tone of grave irony that is in the last degree telling against a system which he has for a long time denounced in his native country. The volume is excellently translated, if it be not his own-English, which we have once or twice, in reading it, supposed possible.

Mr. Boner's book on "Transylvania"¹⁶ is not only an excellent description of the country and its resources, but what is still more rare, a full and trustworthy account of the strangely mixed population which inhabits it. Whether the reader be inclined or not to agree with the tone of his political remarks, he cannot but feel that they are the result of the most careful investigation, and few, we think, will lay down the volume without acknowledging the obligations they are under to its author. The personal characteristics of the Hungarian, Saxon, and Wallack races have never been so clearly laid before the English reader, nor, in spite of those predilections which are personal to the writer, so good an opportunity been afforded for arriving at an impartial judgment on the races in question. It may be said

late Right Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, B.C.B. Edited by his niece, Miss W. M. Wyse. 2 vols. London: Day and Son (Limited). 1865.

¹³ "The Progress of Science, Art, and Literature in Russia." By J. R. Grahame. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

¹⁴ "Travels in Egypt and Syria." By S. S. Hill, &c. London: Longmans and Co. 1865.

¹⁵ "Cornwall and its Coasts." By A. Esquiros, Author of "English at Home," &c. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

¹⁶ "Transylvania: its Produce and its People." By C. Boner, Author of "Chamois Hunting in the Mountains of Bavaria," &c. London: Longmans and Co. 1865.

that the Hungarians constitute the nobility of the country, the Saxon immigrants, the burgher class, and the original inhabitants, the Wallacks (not Wallachians), the peasantry. A large number of gypsies and a few Jews make up the rest of the population. The Saxon or German element, which was introduced into the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and settled on its southern frontier, affords one of the most curious studies of social life in Europe. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the interest of the masterly picture which Mr. Boner draws of these communities. Forming, as for so many years they did, the bulwark of the country against the Turks, and exposed to constant inroads from beyond the mountains, their whole existence and mode of life were moulded by the dangers amid which they lived, while the franchises with which they were rewarded by the mediæval kings still further isolated them from the surrounding population. The singular fortified churches to which they retreated when forced to abandon the open country to the invaders are things entirely unlike anything else in Europe, and display, as it were, symbolically the history of a mode of life of which they were the key and culminating point. These village fortresses gave rise to the German name of the province Sieben-Burgen, or seven castles. The isolation, however, and the strict discipline to which these communities were forced to subject themselves, contained one element of weakness which is slowly undermining their strength. Their attachment to their little properties makes them so unwilling to divide the paternal acres, that it is a rare thing to find more than two children in a family among them, and their numbers are consequently gradually but certainly diminishing. Their old allegiance to the crown, of which they held their peculiar and valued privileges, rendered them something less than lukewarm partizans of the Hungarian revolution. This will never be forgotten nor forgiven by the Hungarians, a generous, impulsive, and passionate race, who, like many people possessing these fine qualities, are so intoxicated by their own emotions that they become absolutely incapable of doing justice to any views but their own. The consequent disunion between what may be called the upper classes of the country, joined to the resolute determination of the Hungarians to suffer all things rather than appear at a Parliament held at Vienna, exposes them to constant political defeats at the hands of the more numerous Wallack, or, as they prefer to call themselves, Rouman representatives. This part of the population, so long in a state of servitude, is now weighing, with all the force of overwhelming numbers, against the interests and wishes of their superiors and former masters. The conflict and cross purposes of these three parties are excellently described by Mr. Boner. The unquestionable difficulties of the political position drives him to wish that the Austrian Government had gone to work with a still higher hand than it actually did. This is a very natural feeling, but such Gordian knots are not to be untied with the sword. A full sense of,

and an insight into these difficulties, is, however, an excellent preservative against over-hasty denunciations of the course adopted by those on whom they press so heavily, and Mr. Boner will certainly succeed in one of the main purposes of his book, by showing that there has been much in the conduct of the Austrians which was praiseworthy and is forgotten, while their mistakes and rigours have been studiously dwelt upon and often exaggerated. The careful estimate he has formed of the political character and tendencies of the various nationalities of Transylvania is full of instruction and interest, and bears such unequivocal marks of sincerity that it demands the fullest attention. On the material resources and future wealth of the country, he is enthusiastically eloquent, and no project for developing or increasing either escapes his acute observation, or is left unaided by his ardent advocacy. There are very few recent books of the kind which approach its excellence. The author is full of his subject, and has the rare quality, which so few modern travellers possess, of recognising that it is the country they travel in, and not their personal adventures while there, which is of interest to any but themselves.

No one, it will be readily admitted, has better earned, or stands in greater need of a periodical holiday, than a working parson of a poor metropolitan parish. And nothing is more natural and appropriate than his giving some account of his relaxation in the form of lectures at the Mechanics' Institute or Working Men's College of his district. But a well-deserved success before such a public is perhaps but a feeble justification for addressing a larger one on such a well-worn subject as "A Month's Holiday in Switzerland." Every corner of the country is now so fully explored, and all its natural beauties have been so well described, that there remains but little for such occasional travellers to delineate, except the effect produced upon themselves. This is not important information. The incidental portrait, however, which the Rev. Mr. Jones draws of himself has so many attractive features, he exhibits such thorough enjoyment of his holiday, and makes so much of every element of pleasure which he met with on the road, that, could he give his readers a receipt for securing a similar frame of mind, his book would then deserve to be very extensively read. It is true that the cheerfulness sometimes supports itself on very small jokes, and a great part of his enjoyment is associated with a rather commonplace style of moralizing improvement of way-side incidents, as may be seen in the following average extract:

"In the course of our walk we passed several very irritable echoes. These were provoked by men with huge cow-horns, from five to six feet long. They waited, with their instruments set in rude rests or

"The Regular Swiss Round." In Three .
By the Rev. Harry Jones, M.A., Incumbent of St. Luke's, Berwick Street, Soho. London: A. Strahan. 1866.

crutches, at convenient spots, and when travellers came in sight, began to blow, holding out their hats for a fee as we passed. The few notes of this simple instrument are taken up and repeated so many times, but at such a distance, that the report of a single blast seems quite to have died away, before you hear a chorus of cow-horns begin, a mile off. We stopped and treated ourselves to several pennyworths of cow row. (This is Mr. Jones's favourite jocular translation of kuh reihen.) I should imagine that this unprofessional use of horns, which is used to call the cattle home, must cause confusion in the minds of the cows. I fear they are often at a loss to distinguish the summons of their own masters—the genuine voice of truth—from the selfish trumpeting of the gentlemen who, like many elsewhere, and much more pretentious, get their living simply by making a noise in the world."

"Ten years in South Central Polynesia," by the Rev. Thomas West," gives a very full, clear, and intelligent account of the condition and prospects of the Friendly Isles. The author is an ardent admirer and partizan of King George of Tonga, who has been spoken of with very qualified respect by Dr. Seemann in his "Viti and the Vitians." It, however, cannot be called in question that the long personal acquaintance enjoyed by Mr. West entitles him to speak with an authority to which Dr. Seemann cannot lay claim. The grounds on which that admiration reposes are by no means concealed by Mr. West; a consistent support of the Wesleyan Mission to these islands, and an unfailing personal kindness to the missionaries, give him a fair claim to their favourable report. If he is ambitious, and the largely-extending circle of his influence is hardly consistent with any other supposition, he uses his growing power for the advantage of his subjects as well as his own. The politics of these remote islands of Central Polynesia, and the growing influence of the Tonguese among them, afford a very curious study, resembling in many respects the condition of things in the early periods of European history; on this account the present volume is worthy of the attentive perusal of many who would at first sight turn from it under the impression that it was a mere chronicle of missionary effort. Of course, in the author's mind this feature is the most interesting one; and he abounds in those peculiar forms of expression, and that ready reference of everyday events to the direct action of Divine Providence, which are so offensive to the taste of most educated people. He is, however, so well informed on his subject, and so ready to take a view more enlarged than that of the fortunes of the mission to which he was attached, that his account cannot be dispensed with by any one who wishes to study the first steps made by a savage people towards a more civilized mode of life. Such an opportunity is only offered by the writings of missionaries who have stayed among their flocks a sufficient time to become acquainted with their past history and general character; no other class of men, except in very unusual circumstances, can acquire the requisite knowledge, or qualify themselves for calm and

dispassionate conclusions; and in spite of the lively interest which they naturally feel in the spread of that particular form of Christianity to which they are attached, and which consequently colours in a great measure the views they arrive at, they are still the most reliable sources for such insight as is attainable into the ethical condition of the savage races before their contact with Europeans. Mr. West's book is singularly rich in this respect; he has studied the Tonguese race and character with a loving interest that has enabled him to give an account of their life and country which will be attractive to a much larger circle than that which usually devotes its leisure to missionary histories. The volume would have appeared much earlier than it has done, but the author has been engaged since his return to Europe in 1855, in the laborious task of carrying out the translation of the Bible into the Tonguese language. On his voyage home, he called at the Viti Islands, and gives what may be called the Tonguese view of the proposed cession to the British Government. Though he does not expressly say so, there can be but little doubt he looks upon their government as naturally falling "in the fullness of time" to his friend and patron, King George of Tonga, and provisionally gives his hearty adherence to the policy of declining the cession in question. Altogether, the volume is highly valuable, and much superior to the generality of its class.

We have received a pamphlet, apparently printed for private circulation, by Mr. C. Poorooshottum, a native studying for the bar in England, on the Mysore, Nagpore, Sattara and Tanjore claim. It contains a short summary of the views held by the partizans of the native princes, and an appendix, in which is printed in *extenso* all the treaties concluded with each of them. We have so lately expressed our opinion on the principles involved in these controversies, that we shall not again revert to the subject, except to call attention to a reprint from the "Friend of India,"¹ which certainly ought to be read in connexion with the present pamphlet.

Dr. Rennie, the author of "Peking and the Pekingese,"² was, it appears, officially appointed by the Government of India to accompany the British Embassy to Peking in 1861. He was also, he tells us in his preface, selected by the members of the Legation to chronicle, with a view to publication, "the various incidents which were from day to day occurring during what may be termed the inaugural period of the foreign diplomatic residence at the capital." It might have been expected that under such auspices, and during a year's residence in a town and among a people as yet untouched by the tourist, an intelligent "man with a notebook" would have found ample materials both

¹ "Ten Years in South Central Polynesia." By the Rev. Thomas West. London: J. Nisbet and Co. 1865.

² "The proposed Mysore Crime." From "The Friend of India." Serampore Press. 1865.

³ "Peking and the Pekingese during the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking." By D. F. Rennie, M.D., Staff Surgeon on special Service under the Government of India, Author of the "British Arms in North China and Japan." 2 vols. London: J. Murray. 1865.

instructive and amusing for filling two such thick volumes as those before us. It might have been expected, that with the advantage of being in daily communication with the members of the Legation, and in constant attendance at the diplomatic interviews with the celestial statesmen, the official chronicler would have given us some insight into the *modus operandi* of that "enlightened and conciliatory policy" which, in an inflated and fulsome dedication to Sir F. Bruce, he tells us has not only extinguished the Taeping rebellion, but has "been attended with results of the highest importance to the cause of humanity." Yet we look in vain throughout the book, which is written in the objectionable form of a diary, for any account of political action on the part of the Legation, whose chief business seems to have been, according to the Doctor, to superintend the building and decoration of a handsome Legation Court. On the other hand, we find pages of meagre and colourless description of buildings and scenery, written in slovenly and even ungrammatical English, interspersed with incidents of the most trivial character, often utterly irrelevant to anything Pekingese, and set down with a tedious exactness as to the hour and minute of their occurrence, and the state of the weather at the time. Equally valueless must we consider the author's opinions regarding the "psychological peculiarities, customs, and social life" of the Pekingese, for he forms them from the confidences of Chinese officials and teachers, from conversations with huxters (*sic*) and from occasional professional visits to native patients. Lying being an avowed and prominent constituent of Chinese politics, it would be almost amusing if it were not provoking to find a man, by no means a stranger to Oriental customs, implicitly accepting as truth the plausible euphemisms of courtiers and scholars who, under the jealous eye of a Government whose policy includes an espionage scarcely less rigorous than that of Japan, were not likely to to commit themselves beyond their instructions, doubtlessly very minutely defined. But perhaps the most disagreeable feature in the book is the declared bias with which the Chinese is compared with European character. Dr. Rennie never loses an occasion of disparaging the latter to exalt the former. The manner in which he makes his book a vehicle for trotting out his bias in the form of unreasonable and spiteful comments on all the doings of his fellow-countrymen, from the operations of the army in the field to the aberrations of a drunken private soldier, is in the worst taste, and especially unbecoming in the accredited mouthpiece of an English embassy. Wanting in spirit, humour, and almost every essential that makes a diary readable, those who are acquainted with Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's embassy, or the interesting travels of the Abbé Huc, and open this book in search of either amusement or novel information, will not fail to close it as we do with a feeling of weariness and disappointment.

"A Journey down the Valley of the Lahn,"²¹

²¹ "Eine Fahrt durch's Lahnthal." Von W. Müller, von Königswinter. Wiesbaden: C. W. Kreidel. London: D. Nutt. 1866.

by Herr Müller, will be found useful by those who do not neglect the lovely side valleys of the Rhine, on their visits to that river. The little volume contains all those anecdotes and allusions to the celebrities connected with the different points on the route which make it a desirable companion on such a trip.

*SCIENCE.

DR. BRANDE'S "Dictionary of Science," the publication of which has now reached its eighth part (out of twelve), bears such an array of good names upon its wrappers, that little doubt can be entertained as to the general quality of the work. And an inspection of the contents to a great extent confirms our anticipations: the terms explained are exceedingly numerous, and nearly all the more encyclopædic articles upon subjects requiring more than a mere explanation, condensed into very small space. Nevertheless, differences are observable in the execution of the various departments of the work—the articles on Chemistry and Physics, Astronomy and Geology, striking us as decidedly the best. Of the articles and paragraphs on zoological and cognate subjects, some maintain rather too uncompromisingly the particular views of their author, whilst others, especially those relating to Insects, appear to have been derived from antiquated sources, and are often delusive or even erroneous. Still, considering the extent of ground covered by this dictionary, its marked defects must be confessed to be very few, and it will constitute a valuable work of reference for the general reader.

After the lapse of fourteen years the Actonian prize, of course doubled in value, has been awarded by the authorities of the Royal Institution to Mr. George Warrington, for his Essay on the "Phenomena of Radiation,"²² from a natural theological point of view; and no one who reads Mr. Warrington's little work will be inclined to quarrel with this decision. In a remarkably clear and lucid manner our author has produced a most admirable popular representation of the complex correlation of "radiant force" with the most varied phenomena presented by the world around us, showing how intimately the action of the heat and light radiated by the sun are bound up with the production of climatic and other meteorological conditions, and with the very existence of vegetable and animal organization. The geological effects of radiation, which indeed are caused only by the long-continued prevalence of climatic phenomena, are also discussed, as are those views of radiation

²¹ "A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art, comprising the Definitions and Derivations of the Scientific Terms in General Use," &c. By W. T. Brande, D.C.L., F.R.S., and G. W. Cox, M.A. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1866.

²² "The Phenomena of Radiation, as exemplifying the Wisdom and Beneficence of God." By George Warrington, F.C.S. 12mo. London: Skeffington.

which the study of astronomy suggests. From the whole of these considerations, demonstrating, as they certainly do, a most perfectly adjusted mutual interdependence of very multifarious phenomena, our author endeavours to build up a theological argument, regarding them as furnishing an exemplification of the "wisdom and beneficence of God." All these adaptations, observable in the system of the Cosmos, are to be regarded, according to Mr. Warington, as means to an end, and as evidences of the eternal love of a personal Deity for the beings which he intended to create, of which man, of course, is the chief. This end assumed, the reasoning is sound; but it seems to us that, as with all other natural theologians, this assumption forms the weak point of Mr. Warington's argument, for philosophically we can only regard the universe, with all its component parts, organic and inorganic, as the necessary product of the action of force upon matter. The laws of force being what they are, the constitution of the world could hardly have been otherwise than it is; and thus, whatever wisdom we may recognise in the original plan, there is no room left for those displays of special beneficence in which the natural theologian seeks to find a confirmation even of his own particular form of belief.

No department of mineralogy is so generally attractive as that which treats of precious stones, and although perhaps knowledge of this kind is pursued rather out of curiosity than from any love of scientific studies, still the numerous interesting details which, as it were, crystallize around these objects of luxury, give them an interest as great, if not as intrinsic, as their value. The history of remarkable gems, and of the works of art executed upon them, their association with successive peoples who used them as ornaments, and, more especially, the remarkable superstitions which in many cases attached to them, lend these stones, which at first might be regarded as mere adornments of vanity, a significance which they would not otherwise possess, and no element of this has been lost sight of by Mr. King in the beautiful work on "The Natural History of Precious Stones and Gems," which he has lately published. In this the various stones are described under their ancient names, arranged not mineralogically but in alphabetical order; the ancient and mediæval history of each kind of stone is fully given; and the finest known works of art in each are described. Mr. King also includes gold and silver in the plan of his work, and then refers to coral and pearls, which as articles of ornament may perhaps be admissible, although hardly coming under any of the categories indicated in this title-page. An appendix contains a translation of a curious mystical poem on gems attributed to Orpheus, with articles on ancient jewellery, on the chemical constitution of precious stones, and some other matters connected with the subject. The illustrations consist of numerous tail-pieces admirably

executed on wood, and representing some fine examples of ancient engraving and sculpture on gems.

Of all domestic miseries perhaps none are more capable of alleviation by the application of scientific principles than those which arise from bad fire-places and smoky chimneys, and to these Mr. Frederick Edwards has devoted his attention with considerable success. In his treatise on "Domestic Fire-places," of which a second edition has lately been published,* Mr. Edwards points out that by the systems of construction now in general use, an enormous waste of coal takes place in our common grates, the actual loss in London alone being estimated by him at fully 1,000,000*l.* annually; he considers further that "we deprive ourselves of comfort to the extent of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, in addition to this actual waste," whilst the presence of the vast quantity of smoke thus poured into the atmosphere is a further source of loss by deterioration of property. Thus, in order to fulfil the purpose of warming our rooms very imperfectly, we waste about twenty-five per cent. of our fuel, and by means of it continually vitiate the atmosphere. Boldly expressing the preference of a true-born Englishman for the open fire, Mr. Edwards sets himself to indicate the vices of the grates at present in use, and shows how, especially by adopting fire-clay backs in our fire-places, by abolishing the metal bars at the bottom of the grate, and by regulating the current of air up the chimney, we may easily and economically cause a great increase in the heat given off. Of Mr. Edwards's animadversions on the Patent Laws we need say nothing.

In his "Treatise on Smoky Chimneys," which appears to have originated from the work just noticed, Mr. Edwards enumerates no fewer than fifteen different causes for this very common source of discomfort, some of which would indeed be got rid of by the adoption of fire-places constructed as recommended by him, whilst others require special treatment. The course to be taken in each case is clearly indicated by the author, whose pamphlet should be attentively studied by all builders.

Mr. Mackay's "Outlines of Modern Geography," although modestly styled by him "A Book for Beginners," may also be regarded as a handy memorandum book of the leading facts of political geography for general use. It gives a general account of the chief surface features of the earth, and its various geographical divisions, in which, as in the author's larger educational works, the river-systems occupy a prominent place, and indicates

* "Our Domestic Fire-places: a Treatise on the Economical Use of Fuel and the Prevention of Smoke. With Observations on the Patent Laws." By Frederick Edwards, Jun. Second Edition, 8vo. London: Hardwicke. 1865.

† "A Treatise on Smoky Chimneys: their Cure and Prevention." By Frederick Edwards, Jun. Third Edition. 8vo. London: Hardwicke. 1865.

‡ "Outlines of Modern Geography: a Book for Beginners." By the Rev. Alexander Mackay, A.M., F.R.G.S. 12mo. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1865.

§ "The Natural History, Ancient and Modern, of Precious Stones and Gems, and of the Precious Metals." By C. W. King, M.A. 8vo. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

in a very condensed form the most important elements in the social and political condition of each country.

"Hardy Ferns," by Nona Bellairs,¹ will furnish beginners in the study of those beautiful and interesting plants with useful hints for the guidance of their first steps. It is the work of an enthusiastic lover of Ferns, who records not only her successes but also her failures and disappointments, for the instruction and warning of her readers. She describes her endeavours to procure the rarer British species, her expeditions with bag and trowel, and the scenery into which these excursions led her, indicates the principal distinctions of most of the species, and especially gives a good account of her experience of Fern-growing.

Of the numerous popular works on Zoology which have been produced of late years, one of the best is certainly that published by Mackenzie, under the title of the "Museum of Natural History."² Its object is less to teach the science of zoology than to give a general sketch of the forms and habits of animals, but the authors of all the sections have apparently perceived the importance of communicating at the same time at least some portion of systematic knowledge, and for this purpose the classification throughout (except among the lowest forms) is carried as far as the families, and in some cases attention is even directed to subordinate groups. As usual, however, in works of this nature, by far the greater amount of space is devoted to the higher groups of animals, the Mammalia and Birds occupy one half of the work, and are pretty fully illustrated by reference to species, another quarter is taken up by the descriptions of Reptiles and Fishes, the latter, however, being rather compressed, whilst the account of the whole vast series of Invertebrata is condensed into the fourth and last section, where it occupies rather more than two hundred pages. The Radiata and Protozoa, of course, have more especially suffered by this extreme compression, and some of the most interesting phenomena in the life-history of the former, such as the alternation of generations in the Hydrozoa (the natural relations of which are by no means represented in the classification adopted) and the singular modes of development of the Echinodermata are passed over in silence. We may add that this work is copiously illustrated both with plates and woodcuts, which are generally very well executed, and many of the former are coloured.

Of Cassell's "Popular Natural History," the second volume of which, including descriptions

of the lower half of the Mammalia, is now before us, we cannot speak quite so highly. Its author has abstained from attempting to give his work any prominent scientific features, and in adopting this course he has certainly shown considerable judgment, for in the few places where he ventures upon anything of the kind, he displays a marked ignorance of Zoology. This work, indeed, is to be regarded merely as a collection of anecdotes of animals brought together without much discrimination, and by no means particularly well arranged; most of the illustrations, however, which are chiefly woodcuts by French artists, are very good. Some notion of the author's qualifications for his task may be gained from the fact that, having omitted all notice of the Seals from their proper place, under the Carnivora, he introduces them after the *Ornithorhynchus*, and as if members of the Marsupial group of Mammals.

The zoological portion of Mr. Cholmondeley Pennell's "Book of the Pike"³ is almost a verbatim reprint of his article on that fish in his "Angler Naturalist," the principal alterations consisting in its division into chapters and some little transposition of certain paragraphs. The additions are very trifling. But this section occupies comparatively but a small portion of the book, which is mainly devoted to the discussion of the various devices adopted by the angler for the capture of this tyrant of our rivers and lakes. An enthusiastic pike-fisher, Mr. Pennell has bestowed no inconsiderable amount of thought upon the best construction of spinning tackle, and the results of his researches upon this, which he regards as the most successful means of taking pike, are here clearly described and well illustrated by woodcuts. The author's devotion to spinning does not, however, shut his eyes to the advantages possessed by other methods of fishing, which he describes in detail, suggesting here and there certain improvements, especially in the well-known spoon bait, for some of which we think trollers will be thankful.

A Scotch Rural D.D. has given us a small volume of "Contributions to Natural History,"⁴ consisting apparently of reprints of articles from the "Quarterly Journal of Agriculture," in which several subjects connected with the increase of our supplies of food are treated in a popular and amusing style. The articles embrace a discussion of the value of horse-flesh as food, for which alimint the D.D. appears really to have some liking—a plea for the increased use of fungi as articles of diet—a good account of the piscicultural efforts now being made for the purpose of re-stocking our depopulated rivers—and a description of the

¹ "Hardy Ferns: How I Collected and Cultivated them." By Nona Bellairs. 12mo. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1865.

² "The Museum of Natural History: being a Popular Account of the Structure, Habits, and Classification of the various departments of the Animal Kingdom." By Sir John Richardson, C.B., F.R.S.; W. S. Dallas, F.L.S.; T. Spencer Cobbold, M.D., F.L.S.; William Baird, M.D., F.L.S.; and Adam White. 4 vols. 8vo. London and Edinburgh: Mackenzie.

³ "Cassell's Popular Natural History." Illustrated with about two thousand engravings. Vol.

II. 8vo. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

⁴ "The Book of the Pike: a Practical Treatise on the Various Methods of Jack Fishing." By H. Cholmondeley Pennell. 12mo. London: Hardwicke. 1865.

⁵ "Contributions to Natural History, chiefly in Relation to the Food of the People." By a Rural D.D. 12mo. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1865.

processes of culture adopted for the propagation of oysters and mussels, the former for human food, the latter chiefly for use as bait by the sea-fishermen. Besides these we have a paper on the herring and another on the effects of fish-diet on the human constitution, in which, from the experience derived from the curious fishing community of Commachio (described in a separate article), the author shows that there is no foundation for the supposed anti-Malthusian results of the exclusive use of such aliment. The author has also an article on Acclimatization Societies, and on the Horse of the African Deserts, the latter with no reference to its esculent qualities, whilst in other papers he departs still more widely from his gustatory starting-point, and treats of the cultivation of pearls and leeches. Little of the information contained in these short treatises will possess much novelty in the eyes of scientific men, but they are admirably adapted for the information of the public at large upon several matters, the importance of which will probably increase upon us daily.

In the second edition of his "Prehistoric Man" Dr Wilson¹² has taken the opportunity not only of introducing such recent results of anthropological study as seem to bear upon his theories, but also of applying the pruning-knife pretty freely, removing a good many redundancies of expression, and thus most decidedly improving his book. He has also adopted a new division of his subject into chapters, which seems in some respects to be an improvement on the former one; and by an alteration in the typographical execution the work is brought within the compass of a single volume. We cannot, however, detect any change in the general arguments put forward by the author, or in the main results to which they lead him. (See *Westminster Review*, vol. xxiv. p. 266.) The arguments with regard to the origin of the Native American population still stand as in the first edition; and Dr. Wilson strenuously maintains the common origin of all mankind, applying, indeed, in its support, the occurrence of an extremely long series of varieties in the domestic pigeon, adduced by Darwin as the starting-point of his theory of natural selection.

Mr. Lang has published a lecture, delivered by him at Melbourne, on "The Aborigines of Australia,"¹³ which, although directed more especially to the indication of the means by which the relations of the natives to the white settlers may be placed on a satisfactory footing, contains a great amount of curious information upon the habits and customs of the Australian blacks.

In a pamphlet on "The Distribution of Nerves to Voluntary Muscle," and in the

Croonian lecture for 1865, Dr. Lionel Beale¹⁴ maintains, in opposition to views very generally received, that the nerves of the muscles are nowhere continuous with the contractile tissue in any way; and, indeed, that the ultimate nerve-fibres do not, strictly speaking, *terminate*, but return into themselves, forming a sort of network, through which the current of nerve-force passes quite exterior to the muscular fibres which they influence.

In a little book, on what he calls "Finger Gymnastics," Mr. Edwin Jackson¹⁵ has called attention to an important department of physical education, which has certainly been too much neglected. He holds that the efficiency of the hands for a great variety of purposes may be greatly increased by the constant practice of various evolutions, tending especially to give flexibility and independence of movement to the fingers. The exercises recommended by him seem to be well adapted to the production of the desired end.

All the most characteristic opinions, ancient and modern, superstitious and scientific, concerning dreams, and many of the most striking instances and stories of dreams on record, have been brought together by Mr. Seafield within the compass of two volumes.¹⁶ He has spared no pains, and shirked no research, in order to render his account complete; and the consequence is that he has produced a work which will be interesting to those who read from simple curiosity, and useful and instructive to those who study with scientific aim. One thing soon strikes the reader of such a work, and that is, how much succeeding writers repeat one another, and how very little new matter or thought is added; theories, anecdotes, and quotations appear again and again, and the sum of real knowledge might be comprised within a small compass. Mr. Seafield's aim has been, however, to allow the different writers to speak for themselves in their own words; and he has modestly forbore any commentary upon, or discussion of, the opinions which he quotes. His work as author, is, in fact, limited to a few chapters, in which he discusses such questions as the place of dreams in a system of divination, biblical dreams, the causes, uses, and phenomena of dreams, and the modes of dream-interpretation, ancient and modern. The style which he

¹² "The Distribution of Nerves to Voluntary Muscle." By Lionel S. Beale, M.B., F.R.S. 8vo. London: Churchill and Sons. 1865. "On the Ultimate Nerve Fibres Distributed to Muscle and some other Tissues:" being the Croonian Lecture for 1865, delivered by Lionel S. Beale, M.B., F.R.S. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Royal Society.

¹³ "Jackson's Gymnastics for the Fingers and Wrist." 12mo. London: Trübner. 1865.

¹⁴ "The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams: a Commonplace Book of Speculations concerning the Mystery of Dreams and Visions, Records of Curious and well-authenticated Dreams, and Notes of the Various Modes of Interpretation adopted in Ancient and Modern Times." By Frank Seafield, M.A. Chapman and Hall. 1866.

¹² "Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilization in the Old and the New World." By Daniel Wilson, LL.D. Second Edition. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1865.

¹³ "The Aborigines of Australia." By Gideon S. Lang. 8vo. Melbourne: Wilson and Mackinnon. 1865.

adopts would certainly be improved by a great deal of pruning, for it sometimes reaches a bombastic inflation, and is not unfrequently disfigured by extravagant expressions that are not in good taste, and by forced witticisms that now and then border on vulgarity. Why should Mr. Seafeld, or any other writer, not driven to earn his bread by the line, talk of "public perpendicular suffocation," when he means to speak of hanging? Some of the selections are from obscure writers who have not added anything to knowledge, while valuable contributions have been omitted, as was perhaps unavoidable; though Mr. Seafeld quotes Jean Paul's "Dream of the Universe," he has overlooked the admirable philosophical observations on dreaming by that writer in his "*Vorschule der Aesthetik*." Lastly, it is not easy to understand the logic of the author when he maintains that dreams "show that mental action is not dependent on physical organisms, and thus help to establish an important analogical argument for the immortality of the soul."

If, as Dr. Johnson has said, it is the excellence of a writer to put in his book so much as his book will hold, then unquestionably Dr. Copland has reached a high level of excellence in this abridged edition of his great "Dictionary of Practical Medicine."¹⁷ A faithful abridgment is a difficult task enough in any case, and most difficult to the author; but in the case of a work so laboriously systematic in its method, so pregnant with theory, and so crammed with information, as was the first edition of his dictionary, we almost wonder that the tenacious energy and persevering industry of Dr. Copland did not falter. There is a special interest attaching to a work like this, which, though condensed into a summary, is yet a development; those who write on medicine at the present day write entirely from a modern stand-point, but Dr. Copland having written thirty years ago, and now revising his work by the light of the latest scientific acquisitions, displays the passage from the old to the new, and, indicating the position successively taken and abandoned, traces for us the march of progress. It is indeed a high tribute to the first edition that its author can venture to maintain now that subjects, then little known, were treated by him in a way which the progress of science has since completely justified: he claims to have anticipated by a scientific prevision some of the most important doctrines established of late years, as, for example, the modern opinions with regard to the varieties of fever, the latest theory concerning the coagulation of the blood, and, above all, the great doctrine of reflex action, both in its physiological aspect as "reflex sympathy," and in its pathological aspect as "reflex dis-

order." We have looked carefully through the vast mass of instruction contained in this somewhat bulky abridgment; and although, as may well be supposed, there are some deficiencies detectable, yet the wonder on the whole is that they are so few. Amongst subjects in which recent progress has been so marked, and which receive due consideration from Dr. Copland, are embolism of the cerebral arteries as a case of softening; Amaurosis, and its ophthalmoscopic signs; Amyloid Degeneration, as made known by the researches of Virchow and Wilk especially; the latest observations on Cancer; and the modern theory of Inflammation. Among diseases, the knowledge of which has of late received great development, but for an adequate description of which we have looked in vain in this dictionary, are Leucocythæmia, Chronic Alcoholism, Progressive Muscular Atrophy or Wasting Palsy, and Locomotor Ataxy or true Tabes Dorsalis. The account of General Paralysis, too—a distinct disease, if there is any distinct disease—is vague and defective; and we doubt whether many will be found to agree with Dr. Copland, that it is not conclusively established that the *Acarus* is the invariable cause of Scabies. Occasionally it appears to us that an elaborate article is given to what would more properly find its place in the description of the symptoms of a particular disease, whereby some vagueness is incurred, and some repetition entailed. In fact, an ungracious critic might sometimes ask for more matter with less art, more real organic method with less appearance of formal method. We, however, cannot but admire the industry which has compiled within reasonable compass such a quantity of instructive matter; and take leave only to rebel against a formidable appendix of more than five hundred formulæ, which in this age is simply an anachronism.

A great part of the physician's duty is "to stand sentry against the fatal productions of poly-pharmacy," asserts Dr. Chambers in his Lectures.¹⁸ Two important principles are by him inculcated with great force, both of them well worthy to be had in constant remembrance: the first, that disease is the result, not of any excess of vital action, but of deficient life; and the second, that disease is not a morbid entity, which must be expelled like a lurking enemy, but that it is life under other than typical conditions. An "excess of vital action" he holds to be a contradiction in terms, as there cannot be too active a metamorphosis of the tissues into their *complete* form:—

"The most active metamorphosis of the body possible, the highest possible development of life in every part, is HEALTH. The complete cessation of metamorphosis is DEATH. The partial cessation, or the exhibition of materials in an incomplete form, however copious they may be, is DISEASE. In death, the flesh goes on being decomposed, as during life; but not being renewed the form is lost entirely. In disease, decomposition goes on, but renewal flags: the incomplete tissues are retained as part of the

¹⁷ "A Dictionary of Practical Medicine, comprising Special Pathology, the Principles of Therapeutics, the Nature and Treatment of Diseases, Morbid Structures, and the Diseases especially incidental to Climates, to Races, to Sex, and to the Epochs of Life. The whole forming a Digest of Pathology and Therapeutics. By James Copland, M.D., F.R.S., &c. Abridged by the author, assisted by James C. Copland, M.R.C.S. Longmans, Green and Co. 1866.

¹⁸ "Lectures, chiefly Clinical." By Thomas King Chambers, M.D., &c. Fourth Edition. Churchill and Sons. 1865.

imperfect body—a sort of 'death in life'—and are rightly termed by the pathologist 'degenerate.' They are generated, but not re-generated; they are generated in an inferior mould or form."

In accordance with these principles Dr. Chambers systematises the common-sense maxims of treatment, and applies them to the different diseases of which he treats in these lectures. He appears to be one of those few men who can reconcile themselves to profit by reproof; for in this fourth edition he has, in deference to the opinions of critics, sacrificed the original title of his book, "The Renewal of Life," and has weeded it of certain extravagances of language and expression. Though there yet remain some "expressions of questionable taste," and of more questionable philosophy, the solid merits and practical sense of the lectures fully explain the success which the issue of a fourth edition proves them to have had, and to have deserved.

In three lectures, originally delivered before the College of Physicians, and now published in one volume, Dr. Peacock considers certain causes of disease of the heart that have not hitherto been sufficiently recognised, and points out their evil effects.¹⁹ In the first lecture he gives a detailed account of various cases of disease of the heart, originating in malformation of its valves, and describes the forms of their defective development, and the mode in which this operates injuriously. He has observed that in as many as 25.5 per cent. of cases of valvular disease there was such malformation, and that the resultant heart disease by no means necessarily declared itself in early life. The second lecture is occupied with an account of diseases originating in injuries of the heart and in alterations in the capacity of its orifices and cavities. The last lecture contains the results of Dr. Peacock's careful observations of the weight of the healthy heart in males and females, and of the changes which occur in it in different forms of valvular or other disease. In adult males, who have died from acute disease or accident, the ordinary weight of the heart is from 9 to 11 oz.; and in those who have died from chronic disease, from 8 to 10 oz. In females the corresponding weights are 8 to 10 oz. and 7 to 9 oz. Where there is general hypertrophy of the heart, the weight may range from the healthy standard to 40 oz. 12 drms.; this last being the weight of the heaviest heart which Dr. Peacock has met with. His observations have evidently been made with great care and industry, and his modest work constitutes a really valuable contribution to medical science.

Mr. Hunter²⁰ has embodied in a pamphlet his contributions to medical journals concerning

the value of the method of injecting certain medicines under the skin—the so-called hypodermic method of using them. There can be no doubt that this is sometimes a valuable expedient to have recourse to, and that its use will be very much extended in time to come; but whether Mr. Hunter's somewhat indiscriminating advocacy will not ultimately do mischief to the cause which he has at heart is not so certain. We should be sorry to guarantee the entire correctness of his physiological pathology, or to act implicitly upon the maxims which he enthusiastically enforces. If there is one sober truth which an extensive experience teaches, it is that opium will not quench the fury of acute idiopathic mania, though it will sometimes quench the patient's life; and yet, if we understand Mr. Hunter correctly, he holds that the injection of morphia will act miraculously, and in a wonderful way restore the sufferer to his right mind. Those, however, who have witnessed the brief snatches of fitful sleep that sometimes follow successive injections of morphia in acute mania, and the final fatal collapse, will be disposed to have less certain faith than Mr. Hunter appears to have, and to exercise considerable caution.

To read the character of any one with certainty from the expression of his features would undoubtedly be of great service in social intercourse. It is the result of many years' research into this obscure language that Mr. Stothard now presents to the public, in the hope that it will be found useful in assisting those who have patronage to fill up appointments properly, and those who are about to get married to make proper selections.²¹ Mr. Stothard conceives that Noah must have possessed physical power and mental energy of the highest order; for, as he plausibly observes, "to construct a building sufficiently large to hold male and female of all animals, in addition to his own family, his three sons and their wives, was an undertaking which exceeded all the labours of Hercules." Shem, Ham, and Japhet, however, whose heads, together with the head of their father, Mr. Stothard figures in outline, possessed only physical strength, and were deficient in nervous and mental power ("a fact which would be evidenced by the stubborn, harsh, and uncomplimentary quality of the hair"); and so it came to pass that their posterity exhibit all sorts of deficiencies. The different varieties of eyes, ears, lips, and noses are delineated, and the interpretation of them given; and there is also a table, called "The Anthropological Catholicon; or, Alpha and Omega of Man: being an Announcement of the various Powers of the Human Being from Birth to Death, as a Guide for the Scholastic Training of Man, wherever Existing on the Earth." We are sorry to have to add that we have been very greatly shocked in the course of our studies; for on comparing the features of Christ, as delineated by Mr. Stoth-

¹⁹ "On some of the Causes and Effects of Valvular Disease of the Heart: being the Croonian Lectures of the Royal College of Physicians for 1865." By Thomas B. Peacock, M.D., &c. Churchill and Sons, New Burlington-street.

²⁰ "On the Speedy Relief of Pain and other Nervous Affections by means of the Hypodermic Method." By Charles Hunter. Churchill and Sons. 1865.

²¹ "Psychoneurology: a Treatise on the Mental Faculties, as Governed and Developed by the Animal Nature; shown by a Demonstrative Chart, entitled 'Anthropological Catholicon.'" By Robert Thomas Stothard. Francis Harvey. 1865.

ard, with his previous description and interpretation of individual features, we have been horrified to find that the nose is penurious and covetous, the eye selfish, and that the lips, if anything, are those of one insensible and inveterate when offended.

Mr. Heather Bigg has brought together into one book what he has written at different times concerning the mechanical appliances suitable for the treatment of the different deformities of the human body.²² During late years the art of mechanical therapeutics has been greatly improved, especially in America, under the stimulating influence of the recent great war; and so ingeniously have many of the instruments been made, and so effectual are they for their purposes, that Mr. Bigg confidently hopes "that ultimately deformity will become comparatively rare in civilized communities." Hitherto there has not been any trustworthy guide to the mechanical aids necessary for the prevention and treatment of deformities; and it is this want which the author of the work before us has aimed to supply. He appears to have accomplished his design with considerable success.

This seems to be the age of medical pamphletting. A popular lecture given, or a paper published in a journal, supplies the occasion of an appearance before the public in a separate form, either in the hope that the publication "may be of service in the cause of truth against error," or "that it may be instructive to the profession and beneficial to the welfare of the public." Dr. Ellis²³ wishes for the first, and Dr. Galloway²⁴ hopes for the second result; and we may benevolently join them in their hopes and wishes without much expectation that the insensible public will ever be duly aware of what they have done for its good.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

WE place at the head of our quarterly survey of historical works the "Manetho" of Dr. A. H. von Sargans, a treatise which carries us into the very depths of hoar antiquity.¹ Von Sargans, who has given a good deal of attention to the subject, lays great stress on the value of a chronology as a limiting and determining power. He accepts and restores Manetho; differs from Bunsen, more or less; and dis-

agrees, we can scarcely say how far, with Lepsius. His book is ingenious, and testifies to his research and labour. We dare not say that it is convincing, but we can recommend it to fossil-loving historians, as embodying a view that deserves consideration. The oldest mythical traces therein take us back to the first peopling of Europe, to the islands of the Blessed to Tartarus (Tartessus), and Hades or Gades. Then we come to the earliest emigrations, to Asia, India, and Egypt; and on opening the first book of "Manetho," to Moses and the pyramids. With the second (no less than with the first) book we come into direct contact with the Biblical narrative, which Von Sargans is disposed to treat as tenderly as he can, but about which he discourses in somewhat cloudy language. As far as we can understand him, he regards the Mosaic annals as supplying valuable chronological data, but not as containing a purely historical groundwork. Rather, the patriarchal story is, he thinks, an adaptation of that of Syria and Damascus. The first ten patriarchs are identified by him with the ten Babylonian Kings of Berosus. Adam himself is Manes, equivalent to Ar, (man), whose origin may be referred to Armenia. The author seems unable to decide whether Musæus, with his mysteries, his Jao, his Sabazius, Iacchus, his golden apple-tree on Mount Ida, guarded by the Dragon and the Maiden, is a reflex of a purer Eastern theology, or whether Moses, with his Jehovah Sabaoth, is the Jewish equivalent of a Chaldean prototype; yet he is confident that the Exodus took place in the year 1491 B.C. We have said enough of his book to show what the inquisitive reader will find it. It may suggest truth or correct error, where it does not directly instruct or convince; but we fear that the chronological parallels are not always satisfactorily made out.

Mr. Churchill Babington's "Introductory Lecture on Archæology," delivered before the University of Cambridge, starts with a definition of the subject and a specification of the principal kinds of archæological monuments.² The remains of antiquity among the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Jews, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans are rapidly noticed. Those of the Byzantine Empire and mediæval Europe are next surveyed; and the essay concludes with a list of the qualifications necessary for an archæologist, and an estimate of the pleasures and advantages which result from the corresponding study. The author illustrates the value of natural history, by showing that it settles the dispute of the numismatists, whether the flower which occurs on the reverse of the beautiful Greek coins of Rhodes is that of the rose or pomegranate. The divided calyx at once, he asserts, proves that the representation is intended for the rose, from which flower the island derives its name. So does knowledge answer to knowledge, and science complete science.

²² "Orthopraxy: the Mechanical Treatment of Deformities, Debilities, and Deficiencies of the Human Frame." By H. Heather Bigg. Churchill and Sons. 1865.

²³ "The Progress of Medical Science." By Edward Ellis, M.D., &c.

²⁴ "On Reflex Paralysis." By William Galloway, A.M., Ph.D. Churchill and Sons. 1865.

¹ "Manethos, die Origenes unserer Geschichte und Chronologie." Von Dr. Anton Henne von Sargans, gewesenem Professor der Geschichte an der St. Galler Kantons und der Berner Hochschule, u.a.w. Mit einer synoptischen Tafel der alten Chronologie. Gotha: Perthes. 1865.

² "The Introductory Lecture on Archæology, delivered before the University of Cambridge." By Churchill Babington, B.D., F.L.S., Disney Professor of Archæology, &c., Cambridge. Deighton, Bell and Co. 1865.

Mr. Reynolds is quite right in announcing that his sketch of the "System of Modern History" does not contain the results of any original research.* The first part only of this sketch is in our hands. For the description of the four centuries of which it treats he has consulted Hallam, Gibbon, Milman, and Amédée Thierry's "Tableau de l'Empire Romaine." By the help of these valuable allies he conducts us through the dark centuries, beginning with the invasions of the barbarians, and ending with Charlemagne, his wars, and his government. Mr. Reynolds appears to us to have read to good purpose the historical disquisitions of M. Comte with whose view of the origin of the Feudal System, Mr. Maine, also (quoted by our author) is in general harmony. "It need only be remarked," says Mr. Reynolds, "that it was an organised plan at once of defensive warfare and internal government which arose spontaneously in the absence of any central temporal power, as soon as the barbarians settled down in their new country, became conscious of the necessity of defending themselves against further inroads similar to their own." And he continues:—"The feudal system was no afterthought, as it were, of the barbarians who dismembered the empire, but came necessarily into being under a state of circumstances which were essentially the same as they would have been if no one of the Northern swarms had succeeded in establishing itself among the nations of the South." This is but an expression of the doctrine of Comte, though ostensibly derived from the pages of Maine. The essay in which this view of the origin of feudalism is put forth, if not original, is useful reading enough, and well suited to the wants of the times in which men almost literally run as they read.

The antediluvian opinions expressed by Mr. Gladstone, in his eloquent address delivered before the University of Edinburgh, would have justified us in noticing the pamphlet in which it is contained, in closer connexion with the archaeological essay already described.⁴ The distinguished author really believes that the religions of the world have some sort of relation to that divine truth which was imparted to the Hebrews long before the days of Moses! He really thinks that the humanistic element of primitive tradition was embodied in the few but pregnant words that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head! and that a link associating the early Greek mythology with this humanistic element is supplied by the character of Apollo! Mr. Gladstone is not even correct in his archaeology, when he says that the stringent prohibitions of the second

commandment of the Decalogue appear to have been specially pointed against the execution by human hands of the figure of a man, since that commandment expressly forbids the idolatrous imitation of *any likeness* in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. To comment on the address throughout, however, is an enterprise that we cannot undertake. It is pleasanter to commend the broad and liberal spirit of human sympathy which it displays, and to point to the proximately philosophical declaration that the Greeks have their place in the Providential order of the world, and in the Evangelical Preparation, as truly and really as the children of Abraham themselves.

Were it not for these and similar judicious words, Mr. Gladstone's Address would be appropriately coupled with "Sketches of General History," by the late James Douglas of Cavers, who begins his book with the pleasing information that the events and monuments of a former world, except the few fragments related in Genesis, perished in the Flood.⁵ The sketches are about a dozen in number; they were written more than thirty years ago, and some of them delivered in a country village, where, let us hope, they found a fit audience, though few. The book is suited to those who hold, with the author, that History and Prophecy were at first united, but, when God separated Abraham to himself, Prophecy no longer embraced, &c.

In the Genealogical Calendar of Mr. Charles Roberts we are happy to find that there is no pedigree that goes back to the time of the Flood, by a long way. His miscellaneous collection of so-called Inquisitions *post mortem*, is described by the laborious author as to a certain extent, and with variations of date and circumstance, both a Chancery and an Exchequer series of these documents.⁶ The value of these Inquisitions was known as long ago as 1800, and somewhere about thirty years after that date the Record Commissioners published a Calendar with a total omission of the genealogical information, and having other secondary but serious defects. These errors Mr. Roberts has endeavoured to avoid. He has, he assures us, quoted the exact words from the Record in the extracts contained in his numerous pages, giving them, not in their original abbreviated form, but at full, so that they may be readily intelligible. The two volumes containing these documents relative to the succession of heirs, include the two reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.

In the "Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII." we have another instalment of the Record Office series. Mr. G. Duffus Hardy prefixes to this valuable catalogue a well-written

* "System of Modern History. Part I. Rise of the Modern European System." By S. H. Reynolds, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1865.

⁴ "Address on the Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order of the World: delivered before the University of Edinburgh, on the 3rd of November, 1865." By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Foreign Associate of the Institute of France. London: Murray. 1865.

⁵ "Sketches of Early History." By the late James Douglas of Cavers.

⁶ "Calendarium Genealogicum. Henry III. and Edward I." In two volumes. Edited by Charles Roberts, Secretary of the Public Record Office. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1865.

nd attractive preface.' The first part of this reface refers to the peculiarities of Saxons and Normans, and, with a little qualification, the estimates seem to us correct enough. He sums up: "The qualities of one race passed into the other; the Norman learned to respect and imitate those qualities of the Anglo-Saxon which imparted greater breadth, greater depth, profounder thought and feeling, to his own character; and the Anglo-Saxon received in his turn from the Norman a sense of order, of organization, of brotherhood in Christendom, he had not possessed before." In the second part of his preface Mr. Hardy sets before his readers a brief notice of the main authorities for the history of England from the Norman Conquest to the close of the 18th century.

Revenons à nos moutons. With the Rev. Samuel Lysons we return to the Flood. This antediluvian gentleman is of opinion that the deluge of Genesis fully accounts for various geological phenomena, and upsets the theorists who want to push back creation, since they cannot push her forward, with a story of an old woman who persisted in never being more than fifty years of age, till her son attained the half century, when, as mother and son could not both be of the same age, he proposed to go back a bit, unless his stationary parent would consent to go forward. In citing the authority of C. J. Solinus, Mr. Lysons does not intimate any doubt as to the age in which he wrote, but boldly places him in the year A.D. 80. Bocchus, indeed, from whom Solinus possibly borrowed a part of his material, lived in the reign of Claudius, but Solinus himself did not long precede that of Arcadius, and is first quoted by Augustin about A.D. 426. In endeavouring to answer the question who and what were our British ancestors, Mr. Lysons displays a good deal of curious ingenuity, adducing various resemblances, especially in language, to show that the story of Nennius, who gives the first peopling of this country to Brutus, is not an invention of his own, but that early rovers, about the time of the siege of Troy, may have been our first colonists. He maintains that the same language and religion prevailed both in Britain and Assyria, and is very indignant with those sceptical inquirers who threaten to take all the plums out of his historical pudding, leaving him without his Phœnician visits to the Cassiterides, and even depriving him of the more modern and truly religious luxury of Gunpowder Treason and Plot. It is only fair to say that Mr. Lysons is a man of considerable reading, though of feeble intellectual digestion.

It is a relief to pass from the historical chaos which no sunlight illuminates, to the compara-

tive *terra firma* of the ancient Eastern World, which Mr. George Rawlinson treads with a dexterous and often steady, if sometimes adventurous foot, lighted by the torch of an ingenious erudition where the lustre of direct evidence pales or expires. The third volume of "The Five Great Monarchies" shows considerable research, and an extensive acquaintance with the subjects treated.* If there is here and there a passage which indicates a predisposition on the author's part to believe the most he can, it may serve to correct the opposite tendency, on the part of men like the late Sir G. C. Lewis, to believe the least they can. Mr. Rawlinson may be right in his high estimate of Babylonian civilisation, but we confess to an a priori distrust of his Chaldean clients, and cannot consent to accredit those genethliological Galileos with the invention of the telescope, which he is half-inclined to attribute to them, though he does not actually do so. There is not much to object to in Mr. Rawlinson's use of Biblical documents. In affirming the true derivation of Babel to be Bab Il, the gate of the god Il, he tacitly admits that the Hebrew etymology is mythical, which is candid. He is not always, however, equally satisfactory; as when, in referring to the siege of Tyre, he explains away the words of Ezekiel which imply that Nebuchadnezzar did *not* take Tyre; or when he coolly assumes that the Greek names of musical instruments, which occur in the Book of Daniel, prove the existence of an early international intercourse, whereas, taken in conjunction with numerous other critical data, they afford a strong presumption of the late origin of that religious romance. In fact, Mr. Rawlinson's whole treatment of this book is disappointing. He appeals to it as history, and (though not without an approach to rationalism) accepts the story of the Babylonian king as authentic, humorously observing that the malady of Nebuchadnezzar consisted in the belief that one is not a man but a beast, and sometimes in the loss of the erect posture, and a preference for walking on all-fours. We are glad to think that Mr. Rawlinson manages to preserve his erect posture, and that he seldom shows any preference for the adoption of the natural and primitive mode of locomotion to which Nebuchadnezzar had recourse, when, as Mr. Rawlinson informs us, "he was no doubt strictly confined to the private gardens attached to his palace!" and "his subjects generally, it is probable, were not allowed to know of his condition!" while "the queen most likely held the reins of power." If there was nothing better than this in Mr. Rawlinson's new volume, we should have little to say in its favour. But there is much that is valuable and interesting

* "Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII." By Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. Vol. II. From A.D. 1006 to A.D. 1200. London: Longman, Green, and Co. 1865.

* "Our British Ancestors, who and what were they? An Inquiry, &c." By the Rev. Samuel Lysons, M.A., F.S.A. Oxford and London. 1865.

* "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World; or, the History, Geography, and Antiquities of Chaldaea, Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia." Collected and Illustrated from Ancient and Modern Sources. By George Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College. In four volumes. Vol. III. London: Murray. 1865.

in it. The two monarchies described in it are that of Media, being the third monarchy, and that of Babylonia, or the fourth. The climate, productions, character, manners, language, literature, science, and history, form the topics of the chapters into which the volume is divided. The arrangement seems judicious, the presentment of facts is tolerably attractive, the geographical survey is comprehensive and readable, and the style is clear, manly, and unaffected. The chapter on the religion of the Medes is, we think, the most noticeable in the book. The earliest form of this religion, according to our author, is to be found in what are regarded on internal evidence as the oldest sections of the Zendavesta, perhaps dating back to the time of Moses. Before the rise of the Median, Iranic, or Persian system, there was "a sensuous and superficial nature-worship," common to the eastern and western branches of the Arian race. From this nature-worship the Median system was a revolt. Dividing the spiritual intelligences which it recognized into good and evil, it subordinated them to a single great intelligence, Ahura-Mazdao, the highest object of adoration, the true creator, preserver, and governor of the universe. Mr. Rawlinson, however, while distinctly allowing that the Median or Persian religion was monotheistic in a certain sense, refuses to concur with Haug in the opinion that this conception of Ahura-Mazdao as the Supreme Being is *perfectly identical* with the notion of Elohim or Jehovah which we find in the books of the Old Testament. Omitting mere over-refinements, and conceding that the Jewish idea of God gradually gained in purity and sublimity, we should find it difficult to point out any important difference between the Median god and the God that walked in the garden in the cool of the day, smelled a sweet savour, "came down to see the city and the tower," ate cakes with Abraham, wrestled with Jacob, and was seen by the elders of Israel with a paved work of a sapphire stone under his feet. That Mr. Rawlinson, however, recognises the religion of the Medes as not only monotheistic, but as anti-idolatrous, is a noticeable and instructive fact.

In Karl Schmidt's "Comparative Tables of the Literature and Political History of the Leading Civilized Nations of the New World," will be found a clearly-arranged and compact summary of the social events and literary productions which distinguished, in the succession of centuries, the more important European countries—Germany, England, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Scandinavia. Each country has its own column, and, to compensate for omissions, an extra or miscellaneous column completes the arrangement."

Much has been said lately of the Simancas State Papers. The best account of these papers, and of the castle in which they are preserved, is, so far as we know, to be found in Mr. Bergenroth's excellent calendar. Mr. Spencer Hall,

whose attention was long since directed to these documents by Mr. P. Fraser Tytler, has given us, in a little volume with a lively introduction and copious index, a series of extracts from these papers, which he professes to have rendered correctly, without the slightest attempt at style." Of course the question is what is the nature and what the value of these so-called documents. Don Tomas Gonzalez, canon of Plasencia, appears to have written certain historical notices respecting Philip II. and Queen Elizabeth, founded on a contemporary diplomatic correspondence. In what relation does this work stand to the original witnesses? and who are the original witnesses? We do not see that Mr. Spencer Hall throws much light on this question, though he certainly allows us to conjecture that among them are De Feria, Don Alvaro de la Cuadra, Bishop of Aquila, and Don Guzman de Silva. The misfortune, however, is that these witnesses give only a second-hand testimony, inasmuch as they speak with the voice of the canon of Plasencia, and whether that voice truly reports their own evidence is a question that the translator does not enable us to answer.

From Simancas to Austria is an abrupt transition," yet we venture to make it under the escort of Herr Springer, whose second volume is in our hands. In his history of Austria since the Peace of Vienna in 1809, we have a copious account of the great transactions of the revolutionary war in Hungary, as well as of antecedent events and changes as far back as the year 1840. The present volume contains five books, describing the genesis of the revolution and its maturity, and then passing to the parliamentary period and the revolutionary crisis, and in conclusion terminating with the return to absolutism. This return, however, has its bright side, in the historian's opinion, since the bankruptcy of Austria affords to her subject populations a splendid opportunity for the exercise of a power which will determine their own destiny. In characterising the revolutionary leaders, Herr Springer is, as far as we can judge, without partiality; at any rate, we do not discern any bias, except perhaps in the case of Kossuth. His complaint against the Hungarian chief is that he was revolutionary and impracticable, that his programme was the French programme of Liberty and Equality, and that in him the agitator overpowered and eclipsed the statesman.

In the "History of the United States," by C. F. Neumann, we have a detailed account of the occurrences which have made the great Transatlantic Republic the hope of one class of minds—the despair of another and opposite class."

" "Documents from Simancas, relating to the Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1568." Translated from the Spanish of Don Tomas Gonzalez, and edited with Notes and an Introduction by Spencer Hall, F.S.A., Librarian to the Athenæum. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

" "Geschichte Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden. 1809. Von Anton Springer." In Zwei Theilen. Zweiter Theil. Leipzig. 1865.

" "Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amer-

" "Vergleichende Tabellen ueber die Literatur und Staaten-Geschichte der wichtigsten Kulturvölker der Neuereu Welt." Von Prof. Dr. Karl Schmidt, &c. Leipzig: Fleischer. 1865.

The first volume of this work was noticed in the April number of the *Westminster Review* for 1864. The second volume, published about a year after, contains a very full retical of events that took place between the first presidency of Thomas Jefferson and the close of the second presidency of Andrew Jackson. In spite of an occasional commonplace against despots, and an anti-English bias, which is also occasional, we are disposed to consider the volume before us as written in a mature and reflective spirit. We ought to warn all sympathisers with the South that Herr Neumann is not of their way of thinking. He is an anti-slavery and pro-Northern writer, and would subscribe to the opinion expressed in the fifth chapter of the second book of the popular edition of the "Principles of Political Economy:"

"That the sons of the deliverers of the West Indian negroes should see with complacency, and encourage by their sympathies, the foundation of a great and powerful military commonwealth, pledged by its principles, and driven by its strongest interests, to be the armed propagator of slavery through every region of the east into which its power can penetrate, discloses a mental state in the leading portion of our higher and middle classes, which it is melancholy to see, and will be a lasting blot in English history."

The prepossessions now indicated assuredly influence our author; but he does not appear to us to have written by any means a mere pamphlet history of the United States. On the contrary, he tells the tale of American freedom, conflict, and progress, in a calm and dignified manner, dwelling on its general development, as well as on its special antagonisms—so, at least, we judge from the present volume, the only one known to the reviewer. The plan of the history is comprehensive, the amount of research creditable, the style clear and tolerably forcible, though seldom or never picturesque. One more volume will, we believe, complete the work. The present instalment carries us from the beginning of Jefferson's administration to the end of Jackson's. It is of course very full of interesting matter, and introduces us to many of the leading men of America—Adams, Monroe, Clá y (a man greatly admired by our historian,) Colquhoun, Hamilton, Madison, &c. Personal portraiture, description of events, and a satisfactory presentment of political transaction and circumstance, are comprised in this volume. That it is dedicated to the late excellent President of the great Republic, in a somewhat vehement exordium, serves to show the spirit of the author. When the remaining volume shall be published, we shall perhaps have a complete and trustworthy history of the United States.

The story of the first war with America, the narrative of our differences with the Colonies, and of our military operations in that great armed debate which closed in the capitulation of Cornwallis and the freedom of the daughter country (a daughter no more), may be read with

profit in Mr. Massey's reprint of his well-known and valuable "History of England during the Reign of George III."¹⁴ Two volumes of the revised and corrected edition, in a popular and even portable form, invite and deserve perusal. The administration of Walpole, of the Great Commoner, of North, of Rockingham, and Shelburne, are all included in the period comprised in them. The second volume opens with an interesting chapter on the *progress* of manners from the Middle Ages, when "the Christian knight deemed it his highest preferment to be the obsequious slave of woman, and the marriage tie was never more frail than when women were all but worshipped," to the middle of the last century, when "the highest persons in the nation, from the king and his court downwards, lived in open adultery, when religion and its ministers were treated with neglect and ridicule; when drinking, gaming, and brutal sports were the principal occupations of gentlemen; when great ladies patronised places of amusement which the law declared loose and disorderly," &c. The period traversed by Mr. Massey is very important, and in its social and political aspects so nearly related to our own time (though the relation is often one of differences rather than resemblances), that we are glad to find so available a history emanating from so judicious an historian. Never picturesque, never daring, brilliant, or profound, Mr. Massey, while sedate in style, is sober in judgment, liberal in sentiment, and well-acquainted with his subject.

The story of the Indian Mutiny is related in nearly thirty chapters by Mr. Holloway, who, as he participated in the defence of Lucknow, justly thinks he has a claim to be considered as an authority." Mr. Holloway has, to his sorrow, been a part of what he relates. He was severely wounded himself, and his wife, his sister, and brother-in-law "fell victims to the cowardly treachery and fiendish cruelty of the Nena." The narrative, written by a non-commissioned officer—for so Mr. Holloway describes himself—is dedicated to Lady Inglis, who attests that she has read it with great interest. Mr. Holloway, if deficient in good taste, and pretentious in his commonplace, has at least the merit of sometimes describing what he saw.

The Muse of Biography now carries us back to an earlier period, when Steele, the subject of Mr. Montgomery's memoirs, "was a boy at school, Lord Mohun, "the exceedingly fast

¹⁴ "A History of England during the Reign of George the Third." By the Right Hon. William Massey. Second Edition, revised and corrected. In four volumes. London: Longmans. 1865.

¹⁵ "Essays on the Indian Mutiny." By John Holloway, Civil Service, late a Non-commissioned Officer in Her Majesty's 32nd Light Infantry. London: Dean and Son.

¹⁶ "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Richard Steele, Soldier, Dramatist, Essayist, and Patriot; with his Correspondence and Notices of his Contemporaries." By Henry R. Montgomery, Author of "Thomas Moore," &c. Two volumes. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo. 1865.

ika." Von Karl Friedrich Neumann. Zweites Band. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

nobleman" of an English humourist of modern days, was tried by his peers for the murder of the comedian, William Mountford, and acquitted. Seven years after he was concerned in the fight which ended in the death of Captain Coote. Thackeray pictures Steele as knowing and seeing "all these people," writing and sighing for the beautiful Bracegirdle, beloved of Hill, the friend of Mohun; as going home tipsy in many a chair, after many a bottle in many a tavern, and as flying from many a bailiff. Against the jeering caricature of Thackeray in "Esmond," as well as in the familiar series of lectures, and against what he conceives to be the unwarrantable strictures of Lord Macaulay, Mr. Montgomery undertakes to defend Steele, already vindicated by Mr. Forster. The defence, however, appears in the form of a life, or rather of a biographical *omnium gatherum*, in which the central figure of the drama is almost hidden by the crowd of contemporary celebrities which environ it; for Mr. Montgomery has not written, or even tried to write, as an artist who gives due prominence to character, circumstance, or action by the omission of the accidental or superfluous. He intended from the beginning to tell us the story of Congreve, Vanbrugh, Pope, Swift, Addison, Tickell, Budgell, and others, and he has done it; but in doing this he has not written a life, but only manufactured memoirs. No doubt, however, there is a mass of interesting material brought together, and the portrait of Steele may be traced from time to time in a succession of dissolving views. Richard Steele, born at Dublin in 1671, was educated at the Charterhouse, in London. About twenty years after he was admitted as a postmaster at Merton College, Oxford, though previously matriculated at Christ Church. Leaving the University without a degree, Steele, like Coleridge, enlisted in the army. Lord Cutts, then colonel of the Coldstream Guards, to which Steele belonged, got him first an ensigncy and then the command of a company. Mr. Montgomery tells us that Steele particularly distinguished himself at the attack on the Castle of Namur in 1695, and the siege of Venloo in 1702. The year before this last action appeared Steele's famous "Christian Hero," dedicated to his patron, Lord Cutts; and shortly after received a practical illustration when this anticipator of muscular Christianity drifted into a duel with a brother officer. A nobler distinction, however, awaited him as the originator of a new periodical literature. In 1709 he commenced the *Tatler*, which Hazlitt preferred to the *Spectator*. This serial, continued to 271 numbers, contains the famous Bickerstaff portraits, which Mr. Montgomery thinks superior in heartiness to that of Sir Roger de Coverley. The first number of the Coverley papers, in which that famous country gentleman whose great-grandfather is humorously identified with the inventor of the immortal dance, is introduced, was written by Steele, with some six or seven other numbers, among them the "Coverley Household," the "Coverley Lineage," "Sir Roger in Love," and the "Coverley Economy." In addition to his literary work, Steele had, suc-

cessively, a variety of avocations. He was a commissioner in the Stamp Office; a member of Parliament, from which he was expelled for writing two obnoxious pamphlets, though supported by Walpole, Stanhope, Addison, and other notable persons. After the accession of George I., Steele was made surveyor of the royal stables at Hampton. Honours crowded in on him. He was knighted on the presentation of an address, elected member for Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, appointed commissioner of forfeited estates in Scotland, and, in 1719, had to console himself for the loss of 10,000*l.*, consequent on the revocation of the patent constituting him governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. In 1725, or about that year, Steele, who had, after quitting London with shaken health and impaired fortune, temporarily resided in Bath, retired to his seat of Llangunnor, near Carmarthen, having first made over to his creditors an assignment of his property. Amid the murmur of water, the whisper of breezes, and the singing of birds (to use his own words) he spent the last few years of his life, still struck with a new sense of pleasure. "I was told," says Mr. Victor (quoted by our author), "he retained his cheerful sweetness of temper to the last, and would often be carried out, of a summer evening, where the country lads and lasses were assembled at their rural sports, and with his pencil give an order on his agent, the mercer, for a new gown to the best dancer." In this charming retreat he died, September 1st, 1729, aged fifty-eight. Steele was twice married: the first time to a lady of Barbadoes, the second time to Mary, the daughter of John Scurlock of Llangunnor, Esq., to whom are addressed those playful, prattling, tender, and admiring letters in which her "Prueship" is immortalised.

Among the claims to a share in a sublunary immortality preferred for her posthumous client, Miss Berry, by an accomplished lady, who herself lives only in memory, are included her pre-eminently social existence and her acquaintance with interesting and illustrious persons. A friend of literature and of literary people, Miss Berry, we are reminded by Lady Theresa Lewis, had seen "the dawn of genius, leading to lasting renown, and the wane of power, health, and beauty, generation after generation."¹ Nor is it only as a spectator, but as an authoress, that Miss Berry has a title to posthumous regard. She assisted, perhaps superseded, her father in editing the MSS. bequeathed to their care by her admiring friend Lord Orford; she edited the letters of Madame du Deffand; she published, with a biographical notice, a selection of the letters of Rachael Lady Russell, and an original work, in two volumes, entitled, "A Comparative View of Social Life in England and France from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Present Time." In addition to the claims of authorship, Miss Berry had other claims to our respect. She

¹ "Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry, from the year 1783 to 1852." Edited by Lady Theresa Lewis. In three volumes. London: Longmans. 1865.

was possessed of considerable classical learning, reading Martial, Lucretius, Virgil, and Livy with more or less facility. She had a sound practical, if not profound intellect, studying and appreciating the works of Malthus, and expressing her views on political economy with a distinctness and force which evince that she had, at any rate, some grasp of its principles. A tender interest encircles her memory, as sharing with her sister the affectionate regard of Horace Walpole, who called them his wives and darling children, Miss Berry being the chief favourite, though, in spite of the world's gossip, the man and woman were, in Wordsworth's language, but a "pair of friends," she being young and Horace seventy-two. With all these points of interest, the two sisters are not undeserving of a biographical notice. The three volumes which contain Miss Berry's letters, journals, &c., with an explanatory commentary from the editress, might have been condensed into two; but we perhaps owe much to the discrimination and forbearance of Lady Theresa Lewis, who, with two trunks loaded with literary material, has thus wisely economised both space and time, and on the whole has executed her office with taste and judgment. The father of the two ladies whom these volumes introduce to a generation that know them not, was the nephew of a Scotch merchant, named Ferguson, who came to London in 1709, and made a fortune of £300,000, which became the inheritance of his sister's sons, or, rather, the Misses Berry's father was ultimately compelled to content himself with an annuity of about £1000 a year, while his younger brother appropriated the lion's share. The earliest years of the sisters, born, one in 1763 and the other in 1764, were spent in Yorkshire. When Mary, the eldest, was seven years old, they removed to Chiswick. When she was twenty, they accompanied their father to the Continent, residing at Florence, Montpellier, and Paris, at which last place they became acquainted with the future husband of the renowned Madame de Stael, whom also they knew. In 1788, they first met Horace Walpole, some of whose letters, never before published, give grace and animation to some pages of these volumes. But their circle of acquaintance, as time advanced, included numerous celebrities, royal personages, as well as distinguished men, like Playfair and Lord Byron, or noteworthy women, like Mrs. Somerville and Joanna Baillie. Both the Misses Berry were recognised queens of society, reigning especially at Strawberry Hill, by the divine right that constituted them sovereigns. We cannot follow them closely in their triumph of life in England or on the Continent. Briefly, in or soon after 1808, they knew or began to know everybody: Rogers, Walter Scott, Lord Brougham, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Aberdeen, &c. In 1809-1812, we find Miss Berry at Blackheath, Kensington, Devonshire House, &c.; dining with the Princess of Wales, who addressed to her at least one most Princess-of-Wales-like letter, which may be read in the present volume; or supping at Melbourne House, or chatting with Byron at Mr. Montagu's. In the year 1817 Mr. Berry died. In 1824, the sisters left their thirty

years' home in North Audley Street, and went to reside in Park Lane. In 1825, they selected a house in Curzon Street, their last abode. It was in this year that Miss Berry published her "Comparative View," which met with the commendation of Hallam, Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, Walter Scott, and other eminent persons. In 1843, the health of Agnes, the younger sister, declined, and that of Miss Berry herself became less robust. In January, 1852, Agnes died, and in November of the same year Mary followed her sister, having counted nearly ninety years of joy and sorrow. Miss Berry had what would be called a masculine intellect. In politics, she was a Whig of the old school. With a thoroughly healthy mind, and not without natural piety, she resisted all religious encroachments, affirming that exaggerated ideas of imaginary duties towards a Creator, and of an eternal occupation of mind with one's own feelings and one's own hopes for oneself, become selfish and destroy all the little kind interests of life; and adding, as advice to a correspondent, "Beware of thinking you were sent into this world to be eternally occupied with the world to come, which I can never believe the way to attain it."

The sweet saintly soul of Eugénie de Guérin, whose journal has been so much admired, would have had little sympathy with this mundane wisdom. With Eugénie this world was but the shadow of that other. When her brother Maurice was dead, she followed him in her wild fancy into the Three Abodes. Turning from that of happiness, and passing on into the place of suffering, the gulf of fire, she exclaimed, "Let not my brother be there among the reprobates! Perhaps," she continued, "he is in purgatory, where one expiates the weaknesses of the heart, the doubts of the soul, the half inclinations to evil." And so she goes on, in trouble about the soul of her brother, praying evermore, with the hope that prayer might bring relief: "prayers for the dead being the dew of purgatory." Her Journal, already so well known—and, filled as it is with beautiful and refined thought and fancy, deserving to be so known—now appears in an English version, well printed and prettily got up.¹

In Frederick William Robertson, an eloquent preacher in the Church of England, and a faithful servant of mankind according to his knowledge and power, we have another example of religious life and devotion, which we can admire and love, but only partly approve. His ideal was not that of a dreamer in the cloister, but rather that of a man who desired to realise every thought and associate every feeling with its corresponding action. The interest which we feel in tracing his history is augmented by the consciousness that he is a contemporary, whose doubts, beliefs, aspirations, culture, and circumstances have a certain resemblance to our own. We have lived over the same period, read the same books, had the same fears and the same hopes. Some of us have found rest

¹ "Journal of Eugénie de Guérin." Edited by G. S. Trebutien. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1866.

as Mr. Robertson found it; others have been convinced that his solution is not the true one, and are still seeking that internal peace, that intellectual truth, which "systems" are usually powerless to confer on inquisitive and importunate minds. What Mr. Robertson succeeded in accomplishing for himself and some others, what he was, did, thought, and felt, will all be found sufficiently detailed in the "Life and Writings," edited by the Rev. Stopford H. Brooke.¹⁹ The subject of this rapid notice, F. W. Robertson, was the eldest of the seven children of Frederick and Sarah Robertson, and was born in London, at the house of his grandfather, Colonel Robertson, on the 3rd of February, 1816. His early years were passed at Leith, where he was rocked and cradled to the roar of artillery. At nine years of age he was sent to the Grammar-school of Beverley. In 1829 the family went to Tours, where young Robertson studied the classics, and acquired a knowledge of the French language valuable in after life. We afterwards find him at the New Academy, Edinburgh, a hard-working yet somewhat dreamy lad. The profession first selected for him was that of the law, which he detested, and, after trial, relinquished. Early prepossessions, and certain active and adventurous tendencies, perhaps, made the youth incline to the soldier's trade; but, after vainly waiting for a commission, he turned his thoughts to Oxford, and, notwithstanding his previous declaration of "anything but the Church," he was ordained a deacon of the English Church in 1840. His ministry was exercised in more than one cure: at Christ Church, Cheltenham; at St. Ebbe's, Oxford; and finally at Trinity Chapel, Brighton. In Mr. Robertson's life there is little of incident to be registered. He was a sort of model parson of a town; perhaps much what that typical personage in Chaucer would have been had he lived in the nineteenth century. He was great as an *anti-popularity*, yet deservedly popular preacher; good in his practical kindnesses towards the poor and suffering, and wise in his conduct; rarely, if ever, swayed by the stormy breath of passion. He had many friends, among whom we find Lady Byron; he had many enemies, none of whom have any individuality that we can see, but who are sufficiently represented by a certain low religious newspaper, which Mr. Robertson, we presume, seldom regarded and never respected. The labours of this noble and zealous man closed on Sunday, the 5th of June, 1858. On the 15th of August, in the same year, he went whither we all *must*. Besides his general culture, which, though creditable, does not strike us as being greater than that of the higher class of students in our own time, Mr. Robertson had talents bordering on if never rising into genius. But what chiefly attracts us in this man is his earnest truth-

seeking character, his sympathy with the great topics of the time, his feeling for the working classes, and his views about politics, poetry, inspiration—in a word, his theory of life and philosophical method. Had he been a layman, these characteristics would have been less remarkable. That a clergyman should hold the views that Robertson held, that a minister of the English Church should acknowledge the truth that is in Malthus, should see a divine something in the French Revolution of 1848, should prepare himself for lecturing on the Books of Samuel by a course of political economy and secular history, should openly teach that the Mosaic cosmogony could not be reconciled with geological facts, and while he did not deny that the Pentateuch was compiled by Moses, should acquaint his congregation with the discussion on the *Jehovah* and *Elohim* documents—all this, and much more than this, showed a bold and vigorous originality that placed Mr. Robertson high above the *roturiers* of the pulpit. His Christianity was certainly peculiar to himself. He rejected the "Brahminical" doctrine of the Atonement, and, while in some sense he continued to believe in eternal punishment, he hoped for a universal restoration. He had his own views on inspiration, maintaining that woman's position is *mythically* described as a curse in *Genesis*. He could not accept the High Church system. He dreaded Low Churchism; he was no follower of Kingsley nor of Maurice; he thought the Bishop of Exeter and Mr. Gorham both wrong; yet, far from being a bigot, he recognised a truth or an excellence in modes of thought opposed to those of the Protestant churches in general. He saw a truth, for instance, in the root of Mariolatry, and spoke of Comte's speculations on the glory of women with respect. His philosophical method might accordingly be described as eclectic, if we did not prefer to characterize it as intuitional or sentimental. Even for a belief in the most fundamental of all religious doctrines—the existence of God—he did not look for evidence of an argumentative kind; and of the intellectual conception of God as Creator, Cause Immanent, Life, &c., he was not prepared to assert or deny anything. My God, he says, is not the philosopher's God; and he goes on to question the goodness and wisdom, in some aspects, of the external world, and to declare his dissatisfaction with the argument of design, of which he had previously said that, though valuable for edification and defence, yet "for proving God's existence or demonstrating to one well-informed infidel the falsity of his opinion, I believe it ever has been and ever must be powerless." We cannot find any distinct formal statement of Mr. Robertson's method of ascertaining truth. His language is not explicit. Truth is discovered by the soul, he says; it is intuitive, it is felt, it is transcendental. Such, at least, seems to be the meaning of various passages scattered over these volumes. For ourselves, we do not believe in transcendental metaphysics; and Mr. Robertson's convictions seem to us often merely subjective. He disdains proof and disparages the understanding. He proffers to our acceptance so many hypothe-

¹⁹ "Life and Writings of Frederick W. Robertson, M.A., Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, 1847-58." Edited by Stopford H. Brooke, M.A., late Chaplain to the Embassy at Berlin. In two volumes. With portraits. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

see harmonising with his own feelings, and gives us, not "reasoned truth," but unverified assumptions, which, for aught we know, may proceed from the prepossessions of education, the suggestions of fancy, or the demands of the undisciplined emotions. This is his cardinal weakness. He builds, in our judgment, without foundations. His house may be beautiful, but it is erected on the sands. The doom of such a house we all know. Yet with many abatements Mr. Robertson's mind was, in its degree and kind, a noble, wise, suggestive mind. Embalmed in this *Life and Letters*, it will influence many for good, and contribute towards the rise of that purer, broader Christianity which will, perhaps, supplant the antagonist systems which he deprecated, though, with his characteristic comprehensiveness of vision, he saw a soul of goodness in them. We shall only add that the editor has done his work, in the main, in a workmanly way.

With Watt and Boulton we descend from the celestial region to this visible diurnal sphere. Mr. Smiles's new volume concludes the author's "*Lives of the Engineers*."²⁰ The life of James Watt, the practical inventor and introducer of the condensing engine, though in preparation many years ago, was abandoned by Mr. Smiles on finding that the literary executor of the late Mr. Watt, of Aston Hall, Birmingham, had already taken the subject in hand. A subsequent examination of documents brought from Soho, including the original correspondence of Watt, Small, Boulton, and others, led Mr. Smiles to think that the story of Watt's life was one that would well bear to be retold in connexion with the life and labours of Matthew Boulton, of Soho. The biography is introduced by a preliminary history of the invention, or rather with a continuous notice of the men who served as pioneers to progress—the Marquis of Worcester, Papin, Savery, and Newcomen. We then come to the chapter which supplies the details of the lineage and birth-place, boyhood, and apprenticeship of James Watt. Watt was born at Greenock, on the Clyde, on the 19th of January, 1736, of industrious, intelligent, and pious parents. He showed, in early life, a considerable talent for fictitious narrative, his improvised tales being both humorous and pathetic. He made some progress in the rudiments of Latin and Greek at the Grammar School of his native town, and was more successful in the study of mathematics, under Mr. John Marr. At eighteen years of age he was sent to Glasgow to learn the trade of a mathematical instrument-maker. Refused permission to begin business in Glasgow, he found an asylum in the college, made friends with the professors, and entered into intimate relations with Robison. Mr. Smiles describes their conferences on the power of steam, and acquaints us with Watt's first idea of the condensing engine. His various difficul-

ties, his improvements, his partnership with Roebuck, his continued experiments, and their failure after Roebuck's ruin, the association between Watt and Boulton, and the successful manufacture of engines, are next detailed, the story of Boulton's life being combined with that of Watt after the first hundred and sixty pages. The two men, who eventually became partners, seem to have been in some sort complementary characters: Watt having genius without business habits, and Boulton to a realizing imagination adding a slight aptitude for business details. Boulton, too, was cheerful and self-sustained, while Watt, a constant invalid, at least till more advanced life, was despondent, anxious, and melancholy. Of their common struggles and common triumphs we can give no sketch in this place. Mr. Smiles has told the tale in his clear, manly style, with sufficient anecdote to illustrate and enrich the narrative, and sufficient technical or scientific explanation to make his readers understand the nature of the inventions and experiments which he records. James Watt died on the 19th of August, 1819, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was buried near his deceased friend and partner, Mr. Boulton, in Handsworth Church. The epitaph, written by Lord Brougham, and inscribed on Chantrey's colossal statue of Watt, in Westminster Abbey, is pronounced by Mr. Smiles beyond comparison the finest lapidary inscription in the English language:—"Not to perpetuate a name which must endure while the peaceful arts flourish, but to show that mankind have learned to honour those who best deserve their gratitude; the King, his ministers, and many of the nobles and commoners of the realm raised this monument to James Watt, who, directing the force of an original genius, early exercised philosophical research to the improvement of the steam-engine, enlarged the resources of his country, increased the power of man, and rose to an eminent place among the most illustrious followers of science and the real benefactors of the world. Born at Greenock, 1736. Died at Heathfield, in Staffordshire, 1819." Those who would see the justification of this eulogy may be referred to the pages of Watt's latest biographer.

A work of a very different kind awaits the reader of the "*History of the New Cæsar*."²¹ M. P. Vesinier, with a wholesale and indiscriminating hatred of Louis Napoleon, has portrayed him as a conspirator, and narrated his two famous exploits at Strasbourg and Boulogne in vehement and almost abusive language. In page 186 he writes:—"D'après ce qui précède il est facile de comprendre quel est le genre de gloire et d'honneur qui serait rentré dès lors avec l'insurgé de Boulogne, s'il eût réussi en 1840. Nous avons vu depuis le *Douze-Décembre* en quoi consiste l'honneur Napoléonien, et qu'il n'exclut ni la trahison, ni le parjure, ni le vol, ni l'assassinat, ni le guet-à-

²⁰ "*Lives of Boulton and Watt*;" principally from the original Soho MSS. Comprising also "*A History of the Invention and Introduction of the Steam Engine*." By Samuel Smiles, author of "*Industrial Biography*," &c. London: John Murray. 1865.

²¹ "*L'Histoire du nouveau Césaire, Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, Conspirateur: Strasbourg et Boulogne*." Par P. Vesinier, &c. Londres: Pierre Vesinier. 1865.

pens, car c'est escorté de tous ces crimes qu'il a fait son entrée triomphale depuis dix ans, et c'est grâce à eux qu'il est aujourd'hui glorieux et regnant." After such plain speaking we are not surprised to learn that M. P. Vesinier, *forcé par l'intolérance politique*, has abandoned the Continent and taken refuge in this country, where he hopes a welcome for his book as well as an asylum for himself.

A still more accusatory work has been written by Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick, the biographer of Bishop Doyle, Lady Morgan, and Lord Cloncurry, entitled the "Sham Squire."²² It appears that this appellation was the nickname given to Justice Higgins, who began life as an errand-boy, shoeblack, and waiter in a porter house, and became a newspaper proprietor, attorney-at-law, and the wealthy agent of the English Government. The publication of the Cornwallis Papers disclosed the fact that Francis Higgins was the person who gave the information which led to the arrest and death of Lord E. Fitzgerald, though our author contends that Counsellor Francis Magan, and not Higgins, was his immediate and actual betrayer. It is, it seems, an error to represent the journal of which Mr. Higgins was proprietor as a patriotic print, or even as friendly to the United Irishmen, and the romance which has been manufactured about the Sham Squire, and which took definite form in a story so called, published about nine years ago in a serial, has been entirely dissipated by Mr. Fitzpatrick. In addition to the life of Higgins, and sketches of his contemporaries, Mr. Fitzpatrick's book contains some curious jottings about Ireland seventy years ago.

The volume of "State Papers of the Reign of Elizabeth," introduced in an explanatory preface by the editor, Mr. J. Stevenson, relates chiefly to the transactions which occurred in the year 1560 between England and Scotland on the one side, and England and France on the other.²³ The expediency policy of Elizabeth in the siege of Leith and the campaign in Scotland; the paramount importance of Cecil; the self-compromise of the Queen with Lord Robert Dudley, "whose attentions to her have now become too conspicuous to escape comment," are among the topics illustrated in the Calendar. The volume also contains commercial documents, bearing mainly on our intercourse with Spain and Flanders; while the correspondence of the zealous but unscrupulous Gresham exhibits somewhat of the financial position of Elizabeth's government.

Three residuary publications must be rapidly dismissed. A "Brief Biographical Dictionary,"

compiled by the Rev. Charles Hole, is a small pocket-volume, in which each biography occupies a line, as—"Brindley, James, mechanician and canal engineer. Born 1716. Died Sept. 30, 1772."²⁴

"Memorials, Archæological and Historical, of Chester, Manchester, S. Asaph, and Bangor," is a fragment from a collective history of our cathedrals, published separately for the convenience of the purchaser. Its author, Mr. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, assures us that he has omitted no source of information.²⁵

"Sketches or Studies of the Social and Public Life of Greece and Rome,"²⁶ lucidly and pleasantly described, discuss the social position of the women of classical antiquity, the art and poetry, the national feasts, the superstitions, amusements, and instruction of the people, in an age and in countries remote from, yet powerfully influencing, our own.

BELLES LETTRES.

A new school is rising. In America we have "black babble;" in England, "Cockney chatter." The Cockney, or, perhaps, as he had better be called, the Bohemian Chatterer, unlike other birds, sings chiefly in the autumn. Then the publishers' summer sets in, and Paternoster Row resounds with the Chatterer's cry.

To drop metaphor, there is just now a school of writers who threaten to overthrow everything that is valuable in literature. To political economy they entertain a profound aversion, but are learned in the statistics of Oremora. In philology, their studies are more devoted to modern slang than to ancient Greek. Their satire is Jerrold at second-hand; their descriptions, Dickens at second-hand; but their ignorance their own. They write upon everything; and the less they know the more they write. Like the Polar bear in the Zoological Gardens, they are always moving, but never progressing. Of each of them may be said—

Πολλ' ἤπιστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἤπιστατο πάντα,
which may be freely translated by "Jack-of-all-trades, but master of none." They beat about the bush so long that they entirely forget the game they came to find. If they write upon railways, they mention everybody but the Stephensons; and if they visit a cathedral

²² "The Sham Squire and the Informers of 1798," &c., &c. By William John Fitzpatrick, J. P., &c. London: John Camden Hotten. 1866.

²³ "Calendar of State Papers," Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1560-1561, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the Sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1865.

²⁴ "A brief Biographical Dictionary, compiled and arranged by the Rev. Charles Hole, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge." London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1865.

²⁵ "Memorials, Archæological and Historical, of Chester, Manchester, S. Asaph, and Bangor." By Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., of Exeter College, Oxford, Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester, &c., &c. Chester: Philipson and Goldes. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1865.

²⁶ Kulturbilder aus Helas und Rom. Von Dr. Hermann Göll. In 2 volumes. Leipzig: L. Wiedemann.

city, most scrupulously see everything but the cathedral. Their knowledge of botany is confined to the Upas-tree; their acquirements in ornithology to that Irish bird the phoenix; and their geology, to observations on the London pavement. In fact, the one cry that they all raise is—

"Possis nihil urbe London
Visere majus."

And yet they show their love of it in the oddest of ways. When Propertius used to sing *De Urbe*, he took a pleasure in pointing out that, where the magnificent streets now ran, formerly lean cattle starved on the scanty herbage; and where the proud columns of Jupiter's temple rose, once stood only a bare rock. But when the Cockney writes about his Town, he infallibly quotes the New Zealander and broken arches, and wails in the midst of ruins and ashes.

Of this school, Mr. Yates is one of the most prominent members. His new book¹ illustrates what we have said in many points. It is a collection of papers contributed to various journals. Amongst the many recipes for procuring a long life given by the older pharmacopoeists, is invariably found "scrapings of the human skull." We never really knew what they were until we read Mr. Yates's present volume. But our opinion, now that we do know, is most certainly against their power of prolonging life. Mr. Yates's scrapings are of all sorts and kinds. He writes upon all subjects. Indeed, his great difficulty appears not to be to find a subject, but a title. And generally so much thought is expended upon the title, that there is none reserved for the article. As with rotten nuts, the whole strength is absorbed in forming the shell, so that there is none left for the kernel. Thus "The Millers and their Men" is the title for a brutal prize-fight between Heenan and Sayers; whilst "Innocents' Day" disguises a flippant account of the meeting of the London Charity School children in St. Paul's. Mr. Yates, however, is not quite master of the hideously profane nomenclature which marks his school. Dr. Russell, whom, by the way, Mr. Yates admires so much (vol. i. p. 164), certainly excels our author, when he styles a paper on the Submarine Telegraph by the title of the most pathetic of all David's psalms, "De Profundis." Mr. Yates's papers are written in the fast, comic, slangy style of his school. But their substance, as we have hinted, is thin when compared with that of their titles. As, however, opinions upon humour always differ, we will quote a few gems. Thus we read: "The new proprietor was a youth of great spirit; no half-measures with him. He certainly did not fear his fate too much; nor were his deserts small, though in his lamented father's time, his dinners were said to have been restricted" (vol. ii. p. 6). To such passages as this, Mr. Yates, for the future, had best put a note to say they were meant for humour, so that his readers may

know when to laugh. So, again, the following is introduced with an immense preliminary flourish:—"All the world's an omnibus. I am aware that Shakspeare has the same idea with regard to a stage; but stages do not run now, whatever they might in Shakspeare's time, and, besides, an omnibus gives greater variety" (vol. ii. p. 128). Now, grinning through a horse-collar, we should say, was an intellectual amusement compared to writing such stuff as this. Mr. Yates's general attainments are such, too, as belong to his school. He thinks it funny to be ignorant. Thus, in the "Comic Latin Grammar" strain, he writes—"A deer-forest is so named on the celebrated *lucus à non lucendo* principle: it does not contain a single tree" (vol. i. p. 187). Now, we have only to say that it is not so named. And if Mr. Yates will look, not in Johnson—whom every Cockney writer appears to think is the only person that ever wrote a dictionary—but in Wedgwood, he will find that the word has a singular Keltic derivation. Again, "So soon as the name is heard, the welkin—(what is the welkin? You don't know; I don't; but it's a capital phrase)—the welkin rings with shouts of delight" (vol. i. p. 257). Here Mr. Yates actually revels in his ignorance, as a savage might revel in his brutality. He is proud of his ignorance, but ignorant of his pride. Now, we do not blame Mr. Yates for his ignorance—that is a part of his defective education—but for his indecent buffoonery. Tacitus, in words the irony of which would be lost upon Mr. Yates and his friends, speaks of "sancta ignorantia;" whilst Shakspeare, in words which possibly even they may comprehend, calls it "God's curse." "Welkin," probably, is one of the most instructive words in the whole of our language; and if Mr. Yates will condescend to turn to the first volume of the "Philological Museum," he will find there an article upon it, written by one of the ablest of modern scholars, in which its derivation from the Old-English *wolcen*, and its connection with *ελλα*, "volvo," are shown. Natural history has never been a strong point with the modern Cockney school. One of its writers lately spoke of catching trout in November, and grayling in April. Mr. Yates is about as learned. When he does write about natural history, he takes it second-hand, and cannot even give himself the pains to quote correctly. Thus Tennyson's well-known line is changed into—

"The wanton lapwing gets himself another nest."
(vol. i. p. 229.)

Now, the lapwing, we must inform Mr. Yates, never does, in the common sense of the term, make any nest: it simply lays its eggs in a hoof-mark, or any depression on the ground. Most certainly it does not, as we shall have occasion to show, like the Cockney or Bohemian Chatterer, take possession of other birds' nests, and suck other birds' eggs. After all this, nobody will be surprised to hear that Mr. Yates, who is so fond of describing society, has a grievance against society. It lies heavily on his soul. He mentions it touchingly in his preface, and again harps on it in

¹ "The Business of Pleasure." By Edmund Yates. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

the body of his work. And what is his grievance? Simply that, according to him, society does not pay proper respect to authors. Thus, in his introductory chapter, he writes, "Great actors and singers are, by a certain portion of society, classed with cooks, mountebanks, and horse-jockeys. 'That man who wrote the book, you know,' is the phrase by which Mr. Tennyson or Dr. Darwin would be designated" (pp. 1, 2). And again, with a bitterness which can hardly be looked upon as impersonal, he complains that respectable people actually have the impudence to "call actors performers, and ignore Tennyson" (vol. ii. 241). Now all this, as far as authors are concerned, is just about as true as Mr. Yates's derivation of "forest." We will not mention living scholars, who are welcomed and courted wherever they go, but bid Mr. Yates read the memoirs of Sydney Smith, and the life and letters of Prescott, for whom, according to the former, "a whole sea of Caspian soup" was waiting upon his arrival in England. As to Mr. Yates's personal experiences, we know nothing, but a man who glories in his ignorance as if it were an accomplishment, is decidedly not the fittest guest to meet either scholars or gentlemen. One word more; we know nothing, as we have said, about Mr. Yates, except the ugly story of his gross outrage upon Thackeray. It would indeed be a pleasant thought to imagine that at a dinner-party your next neighbour may be a Cockney author, who is taking notes of the length of your nose, or the shape of your mouth, which will appear next day in print. That such authors are not admitted into society we are scarcely surprised. But no sooner have we done with Mr. Yates in one form, than he reappears in another.* The essayist suddenly changes into the novelist. Now we must remind the Cockney school, that "sæpe stylum vertas" does not mean, as they always seem to think, often change your style, but, what they never do, take some pains with it. If, however, society has insulted Mr. Yates, Mr. Yates in his turn has certainly insulted society. He presents us with two very different types of mankind. In the first place, he paints for us Jew-swindlers and convicts, and, in the second, baronets and noblemen. These he stirs about in three volumes, and calls the mixture a novel. Now, if we said that we understood the first group of characters, we might set up the claim of *Æsop*, that we were able to understand the language of the beasts. With regard to the second, we do not pretend to any special knowledge of the ways of baronets and noblemen, and if they are at all like what Mr. Yates represents, we should prefer to remain in our ignorance. To us they all seem to think and speak remarkably like billiard-markers and second-rate actors. Mr. Yates's opportunities for studying such society have, according to his own account, been principally confined to reading the reports of the Divorce Court. In them, of course, in the character of a moralist, he loves to study mankind—especially the aris-

toocracy (vol. i. 278, 279, 280). Now, though we have not the slightest wish to interfere with Mr. Yates's peculiar studies, we must say we think his labours are rather thrown away. He would hardly, we should suppose, say that before describing the characteristics of the Welsh, it would be necessary to study the process of "bundling." If, however, his knowledge of aristocratic society is not very extensive, he certainly atones for it by a collection of second-hand stories. Thus the joke of the parson, who knew when woodcocks came in by the Lesson of the day, is, to say the least, twenty years old, whilst that of the master who observed that he never spoke to grooms except to give orders, is equally venerable. It would, perhaps, save authors the trouble of copying, if in future they gave orders to the binder to interleave their works with a few pages of Joe Miller. But not in jokes alone does Mr. Yates condescend to copy. All is game that comes to his bag. Like Robin Hood in the ballad,

"He's a bag for meal, and a bag for malt,
A bag for barley and corn,
A bag for bread, and a bag for beef,
And a bag for his little horn."

This last he most certainly has, and, if report speaks truly, he blows it regularly every Monday morning. The *flâneur* has become an institution. Like many more, Mr. Yates has become too idle to think for himself. Thus we always imagined that the description of a man "who never opened his mouth except to fill it" (vol. ii. p. 1) was as old, at least, as South's time. But prose and poetry alike pay toll into Mr. Yates's exchequer. And so Keats' "green-robed senators of mighty woods" become, in Mr. Yates's version, "tall patriarchal trees, which stood in unending conclave" (vol. ii. p. 193). Darwin's theory accounts for most phenomena in nature, except parasites. They still defy all explanation. In South America, there is the cuckoo-bee, that seizes the cells of the working-bee; in North America, the cow-bird, that lays its eggs in the nests of other birds. But England is richer still, for it is blest with both the cuckoo and the Cockney Chatterer. A distinction, however, must be made between the two—that whilst the cuckoo only lays its eggs in the lark's nest, the Cockney Chatterer takes the lark's eggs and calls them its own. But as the student of the Divorce Court Mr. Yates chiefly shines. His novel, it is but justice to him to say, has the true Divorce Court aroma. The usual profligate husband, and the usual profligate wife form the leading characters, whilst the minor are supported by the regulation French maid, and a convict governess. But the Divorce Courts are not enough for Mr. Yates. As he remarks, though he has studied the Divorce Courts attentively, there is one side of the adulterer's character which has never there been presented to the public gaze (vol. i. p. 278). Impelled, therefore, by, doubtless, the purest of motives, he has drawn from the depths of his inner consciousness an entirely original adulterer. We are certainly not going to analyse the conduct or motives of any of

* "Running the Gauntlet." A Novel. By Edmund Yates. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1865.

these people.* For those who relish such company, we will only say to Mr. Yates, "*Euge, puer; macte virtute tuâ.*" Proceed in your Divorce Court studies. Bees can make honey out of any dirt, and sugar may be obtained from dung. It is hardly to be supposed that a Divorce Court student will know much about nature and natural scenery. Mr. Yates's views, however, are curious. Thus he describes the trees at Knockholt Park as being covered "with a wide-spread mantle of green and russet" (vol. ii. p. 198). Now as trees are commonly green in the spring, and russet only in the autumn, the Knockholt trees are decidedly a natural curiosity. As to his philosophy, the Divorce Court student is good enough to sum it up for our benefit in a few concise words. Thus we are told "*Nil admirari* is adopted in due seriousness and solemnity by the calm student of life" (vol. ii. p. 209). The fact, however, that we have not adopted the motto of admiring nothing, may, perhaps, account for our obtuseness in not being able to admire any portion of Mr. Yates's writings.

Everything that Mr. Meredith writes is sure to be clever. Over-cleverness, indeed, is his fault; and over-cleverness has the same effect on a book that over-dressiness has on a human being. In his present novel¹ this fault is very conspicuous. His heroine, Farmer William, John, Master Gammon, and the scenes in which they are placed evidently owe their inspiration to a study of George Eliot. And Mr. Meredith throughout the three volumes, is constantly attempting to give us those homely descriptions of farm life, those rustic sayings, which stamp such an individuality on all that George Eliot writes. But his power is here weak, and his cleverness only makes his weakness more apparent. He never reaches George Eliot's incisiveness; he never gains that concentrated force by which in one or two words she reveals a character. Thus, he makes his rustics talk about London, but he never reaches such a description as we once heard from the lips of a Wiltshire shepherd, "Danged if the streets there been't fifteen hurdles athwert." He describes horsey rustics, but he never puts such a sentence into their mouths as we once heard in Yorkshire, that country *aptum equis*, from a horse-dealer on seeing a lion in a show, "Please, sir, has that 'ere lion been clipped?" He is constantly hitting round the nail, but never hits it, or, if he does, hits it on one side. George Eliot with one stroke drives home. We feel that what her characters say is precisely what they did say, and nothing else, and that you can substitute nothing better. This we do not feel with Mr. Meredith; and this is precisely the gulf that yawns between genius and mere cleverness. But Mr. Meredith is over-clever. Thus, he introduces us to a Hampshire farmer, who fattens sheep upon melons. When we read this we feel as we do when we read, in the Song of Solomon, "take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines." The facts are probably true in both cases, but they do not come under

our observation, and therefore do not strike us as natural. George Eliot would most probably have made her farmer interested in a peculiar breed of Hampshire pigs, and so maintained a local colouring. A writer like Bulwer Lytton, who is essentially a clever man without a spark of genius, would have inevitably fallen into some mistake similar to Mr. Meredith's. Mr. Disraeli would doubtless have indulged in the mysteries of a "cross" between a Southdown and a Cotswold. We are not for a moment impugning Mr. Meredith's facts. The lion, we all know, in Africa, refreshes himself on the water-melon, and we have no doubt that the "Cotswold lion," as a Cotswold ram is commonly called in Gloucestershire, would if he had the opportunity, do the same. We are simply pointing out the effects of over-cleverness. Mr. Meredith must not be confounded with the writers of the Cockney school. He takes pains; as a rule too, avoids all slang, and has a real love for Nature. Yet every now and then we come upon passages, the absurdity of which we know not whether to ascribe to carelessness or a mere straining after fine things. Thus, to take only a few examples, we read, "The days at a well-ordered country house, where a divining lady rules, speed to the measure of a waltz, in harmonious circles, dropping like crystals into the gulf of Time, and appearing to write nothing in his book" (vol. i. p. 271). Whatever the philosophers may think of space, Mr. Meredith is determined that time shall not be a mere mental phenomenon. Here the days first waltz, then crystallize themselves, after which we are hardly surprised that they can't write. And then, what is a "divining lady" at a country house, a spiritualist, or what? So, too, Mr. Meredith talks of a "skimming cab" (vol. ii. p. 207). This is one of those things that are too good to believe in, or, if they exist, should be kept on purpose for the hero or the heroine; and not, as in this case, for the two villains of the story. So, too, he paints for us a lady with "soft blue eyes, out of which a thousand needles flew" (vol. ii. p. 61). That needles have eyes every one knows, but this will be the first time, we suspect, that any one will have heard of the converse. Still the book is very clever. Its great faults, to our mind, is a want of sincerity, and this would vitiate far greater cleverness than even Mr. Meredith possesses.

Next to George Eliot, though at a very long distance, we are inclined to put Mrs. Trafford, as we suppose we must call her, for a certain masculine power. So strongly is this masculine power impressed upon all that she writes, that many of her critics, we perceive, speak of her in the masculine gender. Like George Eliot, too, she understands her art. She feels that in novels, as in painting, in the drama, in architecture, there must be one central feature, to which all others must be subordinated. Ignorant, or else forgetful of this principle, most novelists fritter away their strength. The effect is consequently lost. Thus, *Rhoda*, who gives the title to Mr. Meredith's novel, is decidedly obscured amongst the other personages. Again, with George Eliot, though in a far less

¹ "*Rhoda Fleming.*" A Story. By George Meredith. London: Tinsley Brothers.

degree, Mrs. Trafford shares the rare power of humour. But here all resemblance ends. She has none of George Eliot's wide cultivation, breadth of thought, and spiritual and philosophical insight. As far as she goes, Mrs. Trafford is excellent. Her new novel, however, hardly sustains her reputation. It is decidedly inferior to "George Geith." There is, though, the same power of fixing the attention, the same humour as in the election scene in the first volume, and the same happiness of expression, as when she says, "he married a nobody and a Roman Catholic" (vol. i. p. 25); and when she describes the coast of Galway, as "a succession of front doors facing America" (vol. i. 66). But the book is evidently written in a hurry, and if we may so speak, adulterated with an immense deal of fine writing.

If, however, any contrast was wanted, Captain White* most certainly supplies it. The scenes of his stories, like those in "Maxwell Drewitt," are laid in Ireland. But he has none of Mrs. Trafford's power of description; his best is not equal to her worst. If he has a good joke to tell, he spoils it with verbiage. In short, Captain White makes the mistake, which reviewers never forgive—he is dull. And the only way in which we can show any kindness to him is, by saying nothing about his book.

In spite of some extravagances, one of the pleasantest novels of the season is "Half a Million of Money." It is full of crisp writing and easy dialogue. The writer, as Wordsworth would say, has lived in a world of books, and has also made the world her book. The title alone ought to render the work popular in a country where the eleventh commandment, "thou shalt not be poor," if not always obeyed, is always feared. But the book gives far more than the title promises. The hero, who has been bred up in the wildest parts of Switzerland, inherits four millions, and a wicked cousin. The young savage, up to the time of his wind-fall, does not know what a Bank of England note is. The barbarian is ignorant of I. O. U's. Civilization, however, acquaints him not only with the latter, but with forgeries. Good society shows him ingratitude, and other polite vices. The work is full of clever incisive sayings, and is marked by an absence of all vulgarity, which is quite refreshing in these days of sensationalism. The third volume as usual is the weakest. To borrow a metaphor from the stable, novels like horses, generally give way in their hind quarters. We are bored to death with trains, mails, and expresses. The cheque-book in the first two volumes is all very well, but *Bradshaw* soon becomes intolerable. The humour, too, runs thinner than it should. Why need a lady, who can write such dialogues as we find in the first volume, imitate Mr.

Dickens' later bastard wit, and describe a sovereign in such round-about way, as "her Majesty's profile in a low relief on a neat pocket medallion" (vol. ii. p. 282)? This is not humour, but the sham sort of wit which Mr. Yates and the other followers of Dickens try to pass off for genuine coin. Miss Edwards must take care that she does not fall into this style.

Mr. Leighton's theories as to what a novel should be are more valuable than his practice. In his former works he has shown some real power for story-telling and the development of a plot. Whether his theory has taken away his power, we know not; but certainly a more absurd story than "Shelburn" would be difficult to find. It deserves not criticism, but that pity which is certainly not akin to love. In "Faith Unwin's Ordeal" we have a heroine, who at first promises to be a second "Griselda," and then a "Lord of Burleigh's Wife," but eventually turns out neither. Ladies will certainly take an interest in the career of an Australian girl, who, as a bride, presides with such grace at dinner, and tames an untameable nobleman. For many, the story possesses hardly enough movement. But those who like a quiet tale, with characters clearly and pleasantly sketched, told in a quiet style, will certainly read Miss Craik's new work with pleasure.

One of the most remarkable proofs of the nation's progress may be found in the number of recent translations. Peers and commoners, statesmen and divines, alike contribute to the common stock. Fifty years ago Lord Derby's translation of the "Iliad" would have been read only by a few scholars. But now, as Mr. Musgrave in the preface to his translation of the "Odyssey" remarks, a *novus ordo* has arisen. The retired tradesman, and merchant, and manufacturer, are now eager to learn what other men, under different skies, different governments, and different religions to their own, have felt and thought. Homer just now appears to be the favourite. First comes Mr. Dart's rendering of the "Iliad" into hexameters.* Our objection to this rendering has been anticipated by Mr. Worsley in his preface—that there is really no such metre as English hexameter. There is, indeed, a lumbering kind of verse, which cannot be scanned, but with difficulty divided into six irregular feet. Young ladies suppose that this measure was invented about ten years ago in America by Longfellow, and has been patented in England by the Rev. Charles Kingsley. In America its rhythm has been described as somewhat similar to the noise of pumpkins rolling over a barn floor. In England, however, it has found at least two staunch advocates in Oliver Goldsmith and the *Times*. The former thinks that the difficulties of the metre may "be surmounted by an effort of at-

* "Maxwell Drewitt." A Novel. By F. G. Trafford. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1865.

* "Irish Coast Tales of Love and Adventure." By Captain L. Esmonde White. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

* "Half a Million of Money." A Novel. By Amelia B. Edwards. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1866.

* "Shelburn." By Alexander Leighton. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

* "Faith Unwin's Ordeal." By Georgiana M. Craik. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

* "The Iliad of Homer." In English Hexameter Verse. By J. Henry Dart, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1865.

tention and a little practice; and in that case we should be as well pleased with English as with Latin hexameters." Now, as all scholars would think that our standard should be the Homeric and not the Virgilian metre, Oliver Goldsmith's reasoning falls to the ground. The *Times*, however, is more precise. In one of those articles which have lately been both the amazement and the amusement of the world, it is good enough to instruct us that Mr. Dart "at times harmonizes his rugged Northern consonants with a grace and ease not unworthy of the Homeric muse." Now this is precisely what neither Mr. Dart nor anybody else can do. And the *Times* might just as well have said that Mr. Dart "at times, notwithstanding our London fogs and east winds, grows mangoes in the Temple Gardens with a flavour not unworthy of the fruit of the West Indies." It is but justice to Mr. Dart to add that in his preface he makes no such pretensions, and, further, that his version is scholarlike and faithful. But he is fighting against Minerva and the English language. We do not call it a failure when a man attempts to fly without wings. The metre, in our opinion, which is most suited for giving both the power and delicacy of Homer, is blank verse; and when opponents to it quote Johnson's saying, that it is a metre in which "a man may hope to astonish, but not to please," they are only exposing their ignorance. No metre requires so delicate and so cultivated an ear; no metre possesses such breadth and variety. Each poet makes his own, and each generation its own. The Elizabethan blank verse is as different from the Victorian as the architecture of the two periods; and the blank verse of Shakspeare, Jonson, and Marlowe are as different as the blank verse of Shelley, Wordsworth, and Tennyson. It is this metre that Mr. Musgrave^a has rightly, in our opinion, chosen for his translation of the "Odyssey;" and though we do not think that he is at all a master of its intricacies and delicacies, yet we are by no means insensible to the many beauties of his version. Like Ulysses, Mr. Musgrave

Πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδὼν ὅσῃ καὶ νόον ἔγνω,

and possesses varied accomplishments, all of which shine to great advantage in his translation. He sees the picturesque side, and often most happily lits off the preraphaelitism of the poet, as in the conclusion of the Fifth Book. His great fault, however, is his extreme diffuseness.

That Mr. Worsley, after the great success of his "Odyssey," should have chosen the Spenserian stanza for the "Iliad,"^b is only natural. No one can deny the melody of his versification, and the richness of his colouring. But the "Iliad," from the nature of the poem, is less susceptible of such treatment than the "Ody-

sey." In this case, what we hold to be the essential weakness of the Spenserian stanza for purposes of translation—the frequent use of the auxiliary verb, and the introduction of epithets and expletives to suit the exigencies of the rhyme—is more conspicuous. Besides, we can now measure Mr. Worsley by some test. We have not space here to compare his version with that of Lord Derby, and it would be most unfair to give our bare opinion of the merits of the two without quoting them side by side. There is, however something more important than literature,—our views upon life; and it has been with pain that we have read Mr. Worsley's dedication. If ever a man fought, not for, but against, the best interests of his country, it was General Lee. In upholding slavery, he waged war, in fact, not against the North, but against humanity. The name of Hector is, by some strange perversion of language, used as a term for a bully, but never has that great name been so abused as when Mr. Worsley compares the Southern General to the hero of the "Iliad." This much, at least, Mr. Worsley might have learnt from his favourite "Odyssey:"—

Ἥμιον γὰρ ᾿ ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνωνται τυρόσπα Ζῆος
Ἄνέρος, εὐτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἥμαρ ἔλθων.

And it was to bereave the slave of his manhood, and to give unbridled license to the passions of the slave-owner that Lee fought.

But not only Homer but the Greek dramatists are being rendered accessible to the public. In our last number Miss Swanwick's "Æschylus" was noticed, and now we have Professor Plumptre's "Sophocles."^c It is even more suitable to the English reader than the former. Prefixed to it is one of the best lives of the poet we have ever read, showing him as the student of life and of books, and bringing out those traits of moral feeling which are so stamped upon his higher characters. We are sorry, however, that Professor Plumptre, in order to whitewash Sophocles, should think it necessary to blacken Goethe. Young Germans fresh from Novalis are, we know, just now in the habit of so doing; but we should have thought that Professor Plumptre, with his wide knowledge of men and manners, might have refrained from the cheap sneer of calling the greatest modern thinker an Epicurean. To scholarship and general accuracy, Professor Plumptre adds a cultivated ear, and an unusually poetic diction, so that his version will be equally acceptable on the one hand to scholars, and on the other to mere English readers. The octave that Sophocles stretches is very wide. The famous chorus in the "Œdipus at Colonnus," with its καλλιβοῦρος νάρκισσος and the χρυσανγῆς κρόκος, possesses all the colouring and richness of Tennyson, whilst the other equally famous chorus in the "Antigone" commencing πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ is pitched in the same key as Wordsworth's most spiritual odes. Professor Plumptre would have done both choruses equal justice had it not been for

^a "The Odyssey of Homer," rendered into English blank verse. By George Musgrave, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

^b "The Iliad of Homer," translated into English verse in the Spenserian Stanza. By Philip Stanhope Worsley, M.A. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

^c "The Tragedies of Sophocles." A New Translation, with a Biographical Essay. By E. H. Plumptre, M.A. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

his unaccountable blunder in misunderstanding *der* and *derworepov* in the latter.

Turning to modern days, Mr. Martin gives us "Faust."¹³ He is already well known as a translator of Horace and Catullus; and they certainly suit his powers far better than Goethe. Mr. Martin succeeds well enough in all the lighter portions; but in attempting to be impressive, he often only becomes heavy. Besides, he is far from accurate. Thus, at page 78, "prächtiger" is translated as if it were an adjective in apposition with "mächtiger," whereas it is an adverb qualifying the following verb, *bauen*, and the passage should be translated by "more beautifully build it again." So, too, at page 142, there is a perfect mass of mistakes. Thus "an den" is translated "them," in spite of the singular relative "der" which follows, and this because the accusative singular is spelt like the dative plural, in spite, too, of the preposition calling for the accusative.

M. Chatrian's "Waterloo,"¹⁴ too has found a translator. Like "The Conscript," to which it is a sequel, it possesses the same graphic realistic power, the same dry humour and pathos. If the Society of Friends and the Peace Society are really in earnest in their endeavours to show the miseries and horrors of war they should do all in their power to aid its circulation. The translation is very faithful, in fact, too faithful, and reads now and then like those interlinear versions of the classics, which are known to schoolboys as "cribs."

The science of language is every day receiving fresh attention. Archdeacon Smith's little work,¹⁵ however, is, we must suppose, a burlesque upon etymology. "Calamity," he derives, without a word of caution, from "calamus." In some etymological works he will find "hurricane" given as a confirmation of this. Now and then he is sometimes right, but apparently by accident. Whatever Jamaica may be, its late Archdeacon is in a state of revolt against common-sense.

Mr. Farrar's work¹⁶ is of a very different order. We are opposed to him in many points, but we could not possibly do justice either to his or our own arguments in the brief space at our command. We are, however, surprised to see him quoting Mr. D'Orsey, who is not of any value at all as an authority. Max Müller, we know, also quotes him; but, if we rightly remember, there is a great vagueness even about Mr. D'Orsey's statement. Again, the test that Mr. Farrar applies to the vocabulary of the

apple-gatherers is most unfair. Were he to apply it in the same way to that of hunting-men, turfites, and clubmen, he would find them all talking in the same vicious circle of a given number of words. Doubtless, "fettle" in Yorkshire, like "fix" in America, and "allow" in Hampshire, like "guess" in the States, are used in a variety of meanings, which at first seems to imply a great poverty of speech. The richness, however, of our provincial dialects has never yet been truly shown. Our belief is that our best glossaries give only about one half, many only a fourth, and some not a tenth of the provincialisms, which they are intended to illustrate. In Mr. Farrar, Wedgwood will find a valuable ally. The weakness of Max Müller was seen the moment that, instead of facts, he gave epigrams. For some time past, to take a liberty with Horace, he has been repaying good gold with bitter lupina. The nicknames, however, which he thought it decent to shower on his opponent's theory, only showed the weak points in his own armour. And these weak points Mr. Farrar has pierced through and through.

From all men preserve us from ignorant Scotchmen. Nausicaa, in the "Odyssey," thinks there are no people like the Phæacians, and a Greenlander compliments a stranger by saying "he is almost an Innuït." But an ignorant Scotchman thinks that he is the model of creation. A good instance of this may be seen in "Lights in Art."¹⁷ The man writes upon art with the soul of a picture-dealer. His mind is oppressed with catalogues and varnish. He goes into the ecstasies of italics because a picture is signed by the master's own hand. With an air of learning he quotes "Adam's Roman History," and the "Family Treasury;" finally, he concludes his criticism on Turner by "a more steady and refreshing genius appeared in John Wilson, a Scotchman, born in 1774." North of the Tweed, the last five words will certainly carry conviction of the truth of the first part of the sentence in the minds of all other ignorant Scotchmen.

Mr. Alexander Smith¹⁸ makes a false step when he commences his travels by "summer has leaped suddenly on Edinburgh like a tiger." This is just one of those flashy similes which Mr. Smith's admirers imagine are a sign of genius. Summer has been compared to a great number of persons and things, but the more we think about the matter the less can we see any resemblance between summer and a striped carnivorous animal, with fifteen black rings on its tail. But Mr. Smith is guilty of a far worse fault than this when he thus writes about the Wallace Tower—"It is maintained by charitable contributions, like a lying-in hospital. It is a big beggarman, like O'Connell. It is tormented by an eternal lack of pence, like Mr. Dick Swiveller. It sends round the hat as frequently as ever did Mr. Leigh Hunt" (pp. 51,

¹³ "Faust," a Dramatic Poem by Goethe. Translated into English verse by Theodore Martin. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

¹⁴ "Waterloo: A Story of the Hundred Days." Being a Sequel to "The Conscript." Translated from the French of M. Erckmann Chatrian. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

¹⁵ "Common Words with Curious Derivations." By Archdeacon Smith, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

¹⁶ "Chapters on Language." By the Rev. Frederick Farrar, M.A. London. Longmans, Green, and Co.

¹⁷ "Lights in Art." A Review of Ancient and Modern Pictures. By an Artist. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo. 1865.

¹⁸ "A Summer in Skye." By Alexander Smith. London: Alexander Strahan. 1865.

52). Now, all this may, for anything we know, be meant for "wut," which, as Sydney Smith says, "is so infinitely distressing to all persons of good taste;" or it may be the new Scotch method of praising their own by depreciating English poets. Now, if Mr. Smith had been writing Leigh Hunt's life, it would have been only right and just to have commented on an undoubted failing in the poet's character. But here Mr. Smith is sneering simply for sneering's sake. Leigh Hunt most certainly, whatever his faults may have been, does not deserve to be coupled with one of Dickens' low comic characters. It would be well for Mr. Smith to remember that Leigh Hunt was a Liberal when a Liberal meant something very different to what it now means, and that, as editor of the *Examiner*, he fought and suffered for a cause by which we are all gainers. But, of all men, what right has Mr. Alexander Smith to sneer at Leigh Hunt for sending his hat round? Has not Mr. Smith sent his hat round, and pretty often too—not, indeed, for money, but for what money cannot buy? Has he not borrowed—or, rather, stolen—thoughts and similes from every poet, dead and living? When poor Hunt borrowed money to keep body and soul together, it was with the hope, at least, of ultimate repayment; but what thoughts of repayment ever entered Mr. Alexander Smith's head when he borrowed nearly whole lines from Keats, whom Hunt befriended? We are sorry to be obliged to remind Mr. Smith of these things; but he has forced the task upon us by gratuitously insulting the memory of one, who, whatever were his failings, was of a most pure and unselfish nature. With regard to the rest of Mr. Smith's travels, he possesses no special attainments in botany, geology, or philology, to give them any high value. He is at times picturesque, and deals largely in word-painting, which it is just now the fashion to admire, and which certainly shows that he possesses the power of secreting adjectives.

The publisher has done all that it is possible to render a most popular book still more popular by an attractive binding, clear print, good paper, and marvellous cheapness.²¹ We wish we could give similar praise to the editor. He has, however, contrived to emasculate Burton. He has added where he should have omitted, and omitted where he should have added. If the publisher would only find a suitable editor, and give us "Zimmerman upon Solitude," or "Sir Thomas Browne on Urn Burial," in the same form as he has Burton, the public will be his debtor.

From the *Saturday Review* several volumes of essays have already been reprinted. The present is by no means the least interesting.²² The author unites good common sense with a union of scholarship and polish of style which is rarely met amongst journalists. The essays may show

at times a little hardness, but they are admirably suited to temper the extravagances of Ruskin, and repress the frothy rhetoric of the two Kingsleys, and all those emotional beings who appear to think with a ploughboy we once heard, that as "one times nought is nought, and twice nought is nought, then three times nought must be summat."

In humour, we have this quarter no less than two reprints and a new work from America.²³ From Arbuthnot downwards, all humourists and satirists have shown a tendency to be of the shop, shoppy. Artemus Ward was, we believe originally a printer, and many of his jokes smack of the "case." His spelling is a printer's devil's joke, and shows how artificial much of his fun is. It will not bear translating—the true test of all humour. He, however, always strikes good-humouredly, and we regret that we have not room for his picture of the Britisher, who, because he is bitten by a rat in New Granada, has no faith whatever in the success of a republican form of government. The cloth shows itself in Sydney Smith.²⁴ The reprint, however, before us, contrasts favourably with the "Candle Lectures."²⁵ Sydney Smyth was essentially a broad-minded man. And his breadth of view sprang from cultivation, and intercourse with the most cultivated minds of his day. Douglas Jerrold was essentially a narrow-minded man, with a most limited view. He may probably have most sincerely hated vice, but he never gives us the idea of loving virtue. Had he been a judge, we feel that he would have sentenced a culprit to death with "and may the Lord have no mercy on your soul!" His friends, of course, say this is a wrong estimate of his character. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that he has done himself so much injustice in his writings. The "Candle Lectures" are, with the exception of his plays, likely to be the most popular of all his works with posterity. The publishers have therefore shown good sense in sending them forth in so handsome a form; but why they should be printed on green paper is a mystery. Green, says Shakspeare, is the colour of lovers; but the Caudles can hardly be regarded in this light. To the edition of Sydney Smith we have nothing but praise to accord. Every one should possess it who wishes to enjoy the playfulness of true humour, and to see how great an ally it is to common sense and common justice.

Christmas used to be the time devoted by our forefathers to eating and drinking, but now it appears to be set apart for writing and reading. Of Wordsworth it was said that you never could discover from him that men had stomachs; and from the advertisements of the present day one would think that men were all heads and brains at Christmas. There is a Christmas number of everything—of "Once a Week" and "All the

²¹ "Melancholy Anatomised." Principally founded on the larger work entitled Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy." London: William Tegg. 1865.

²² "Modern Characteristics." A Series of Short Essays. From the *Saturday Review*. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1865.

²³ "Artemus Ward" (His Travels). Edited by E. P. Hingston. London: John Camden Hotten. 1865.

²⁴ "The Wit and Wisdom of the Rev. Sydney Smith." A New Edition. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1865.

²⁵ "The Candle Lectures." London: Bradbury, Evans, and Co. 1865.

Year Round." Publishers, too, give us what they are pleased to call Christmas books, which generally mean books very fine outside and very poor inside. They are the kind without which no lady's drawing-room is complete. They are supposed to give an intellectual flavour to the knick-knacks on the tables, and are to be bought by the square foot. This year they are unusually poor. Many are mere reprints. Thus "Pictures of Society"²⁴ is a mere collection of tales and sketches from "London Society," a few good, many indifferent, and more absolutely bad. It is difficult to conceive what merit Mr. Crane's "Going to the Derby" possesses that it is thought worth while to recall its memory. The drawing is careless, and there is an absolute blunder in placing the driver on the near side. Besides, Mr. Crane's genius does not lie in this direction, and we trust we shall not again see him illustrating fast Cockney life and slow "Cockney chatter."

More original is "The Life of Man Symbolised by the Months of the Year."²⁵ The idea is good, and we wish we could say the same of the execution. But Mr. Leighton is essentially a geometrical designer, not an artist. He stands in relation to true art much as Longfellow does to true poetry. He is pretty, but this is the worst compliment that can be paid to an artist. Nor can we say much for the literary portion. There is a grave error in taste in taking the boastful quotation from Caxton as a motto. "Clerkys and very gentylmen" do not care for Tupperisms from Sir Bulwer Lytton, Hannah More, Mr. Bellew, and others, which are so freely scattered throughout the work. The binding, however, is perfect. This is always Mr. Leighton's strong point. This year he has excelled himself both in tastefulness of design and harmony of colour.

If any foil were wanting, it might be found in Mr. Bennett's edition of "Marmion."²⁶ Here the design on the cover is rich without being effective, and showy without being attractive. The inside, however, is far better. The photographs are, in general, good, and excellently illustrate the text. Justice is hardly done to Bamborough Castle, and a better view might have been given of Durham Cathedral, by going a little further down the bank, and thus more clearly bringing out the Galilee and the West Front.

The best photographs, however, that we have ever seen, are to be found in Mr. Stephens's new work.²⁷ They have a softness and delicacy peculiarly their own, which does much to reconcile us to that art which has been defined as "justice without mercy." Mr. Stephens, too,

is always worth reading. His book is the best companion a traveller could possibly take to Belgium. His descriptions are good, and his criticism sound.

From abroad we have several noticeable books, Dr. Koffka's history of the theatre at Manheim, while under the direction of Dalberg and Iffland,²⁸ gives a very curious and interesting picture of the organization and discipline of a company of players at a German Court under the old *régime*. Another point of view from which the perusal of this volume derives considerable interest, will be found in the comparison of the *troupe* in Wilhelm Meister with the celebrated one here described, and which undoubtedly was greatly in Goethe's mind when he drew this picture. The publication of these theatrical records shows how closely he studied from the life, and will give, if possible, a greater reality to those celebrated characters which enliven the pages of his most important romance. It is very difficult to revive the evanescent fame of popular actors, however great their abilities. They leave at best but the shade of a name behind them. These difficulties, in themselves insurmountable, are faced by Dr. Koffka with great courage, and overcome with as large an amount of success as is compatible with his subject-matter. The period of course embraces the appearance of Schiller's "Robbers," and Dr. Koffka throws considerable light upon the poet's relations with Dalberg and the Mannheim Theatre, which, without disparaging him, completely removes all ground for many unjust criticisms on Dalberg which are to be found in some of Schiller's Biographies.

The difference between Auerbach's earlier and later tales resembles in many points that which distinguishes the works of Dickens. The great popularity of their earlier sketches seems rather to have incited both to the task of undertaking the moral improvement of their contemporaries than to have satisfied either with their success in amusing them. The qualities which gave the *Dorf Geschichten* their reputation are, it is true, still to be found in the later works of Auerbach. They are, however, no longer cultivated on their own account, but merely to supply the place of garnish to the treatment of the largest questions of social life. In his last novel,²⁹ the questions treated of are large enough to satisfy any one, and amount to an ethical discourse on the whole duty of man; whether the solutions will be equally satisfactory is quite another thing. It may be even said with considerable justice, that they are not even clear, and that for practical purposes the doctrine is in the highest degree vague. Self-development and renunciation are words that have played a great part in such disquisitions in Germany, since critics have tormented themselves to give a unity to the teaching of Wilhelm Meister. But neither Auerbach in the present case, nor any one else that we are aware of, has laid down clear and sufficient

²⁴ "Pictures of Society—Grave and Gay." London: Sampson Low and Co. 1865.

²⁵ "The Life of Man Symbolised by the Months of the Year: In a Series of Illustrations." By John Leighton, F.S.A. With Passages Selected from Ancient and Modern Authors. By Richard Pigot. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1866.

²⁶ "Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field." By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. London: A. W. Bennett. 1866.

²⁷ "Flemish Relics, Architectural, Legendary, and Pictorial." By Frederick G. Stephens. London: A. W. Bennett. 1866.

²⁸ "Iffland und Dalberg." Von Dr. Wilhelm Koffka. Leipzig: J. J. Weber. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

²⁹ "Auf die Hoche." Von B. Auerbach. Stuttgart: Cotta. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

rules by which self-development shall be in every case distinguished from self-indulgence. And renunciation, even in the highest instance of it displayed in the present novel, is not much better than the self-denial practised by Reynard on a well-known occasion. The story revolves round a royal intrigue, the progress of which is developed with a minuteness of analysis that would be the admiration of a Parisian novelist, if its method were not the antipodes of that to which such writers exclusively resort in such cases. There is not a word of prurient description to be found. The fact is assumed, not described, and the author's only interest is with the effects which are produced by the transgression on the minds of those who have yielded to its seductions.

An interesting volume of *Essays on Shakespeare* has been published by Professor Hebler, of Berne.²² He relinquishes that symbolical method of treatment which has been so popular in Germany ever since Börne scourged the failings of his countrymen through those of Hamlet. This method has been carried to such an excess that it has become quite impossible to say what could not be extracted from any of Shakespeare's plays by German exegesis. Herr Hebler's book may be looked upon as in some sort a reaction against these excesses. He keeps fast to an historical investigation of the sources, and to a psychological analysis of the given results as they display themselves in the plays. The essay on Hamlet, which occupies at least a third of this little volume, takes up a new point of view in the summary of his character. Instead of accepting him as the embodiment of the conflict between the will and intellect, he founds with considerable ingenuity a theory on many of the chief passages to the effect that Shakespeare intended to display the self-frustration of overwrought passion, and that Hamlet's want of action arises rather from the intensity of his feelings than from any intellectual defect. There is considerable novelty in this view, though it presents difficulties which we think are not in every case overcome by the intelligent critic. Besides this, there is much also that will reward the reader in these essays, and the resumption of a more natural tone of criticism in Germany, of which they may be taken as a sign, is a change, without doubt, for the better.

M. Taine's lectures²³ constitute an epoch in

art-criticism. With the single exception of Mr. Palgrave, we have not an art-critic in England. Mr. Ruskin is not so much behind the age as violently opposed to all its best movements. He shrieks like an angry woman at the name of science. Mr. Hamerton has written too little, and Mr. Tom Taylor too much. The former may, if he can but emancipate himself from Ruskinism, do real service. Of the latter, however, it is not too much to say that, had he ever written a word, English art would have gained something. In these lectures M. Taine has applied positive science to art, has shown how it is subject to natural laws, and how the artist is the product of the age in which he lives. We need give no summary of his arguments and illustrations, for every one will, we trust, study the lectures themselves. One word only—we think that M. Taine somewhat exaggerates the melancholy of the representative man of the present. Werther and Manfred will not last for ever. Calmness of intellect, a wise forbearance, and the tempered enjoyment of life, will, we think, rather be his characteristics.

About's new novel²⁴ is a continuation of *Le Mari Imprévu*. Those who admire the earlier work will not be disappointed with the present. The author of *Madelon* knows better than we do what suits French tastes. In England he will hardly be appreciated. We do not, however, forget that we have a somewhat similar school of our own.

As usual, we have to acknowledge several volumes of the Early English Text Society,²⁵ and from Smith, Elder and Co. five reprints of novels in their excellent Illustrated Series.²⁶ Mr. Du Maurier and Mr. Crane here shine as artists. The female faces of the latter are always good, and his skies and scenery full of poetry.

²² "Les Vacances de la Comtesse." Par Edmond About. Paris: Hachette. 1865.

²³ (I.) "The Story of Genesis and Exodus." An early English Song, about A.D. 1250. Now first edited by Richard Morris. (II.) "Chaucer, Animadversions upon, sett downe by Francis Thynne." Now newly edited by G. H. Kingsley, M.D. (III.) "Morte Arthure." Edited, from Robert Thornton's MS. (A.B. 1440, A.D.) in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral, by George G. Perry, M.A. London: Trübner and Co. 1865.

²⁴ (I.) "Lizzie Leigh, and other Tales." By Mrs. Gaskell. (II.) "The Grey Woman, and other Tales." By Mrs. Gaskell. (III.) "Cousin Phyllis, and other Tales." By Mrs. Gaskell. (IV.) "Transformation, or the Romance of Monte Beni." By Nathaniel Hawthorne. (V.) "Romantic Tales." By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

²⁵ "Aufsätze über Shakespear." Von C. Hebler. Bern: J. Dap. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

²⁶ "Philosophie de l'Art." Par H. Taine. Paris: Baillière. 1865.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW,

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ART. I.—RAILWAY REFORM.

1. *Railway Reform: its Importance and Practicability considered as affecting the Nation, the Shareholders, and the Government.* By WILLIAM GALT. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1865.
2. *Railways: in a Letter to the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Trade. A Plan for the Systematic Reform of the Railways of the United Kingdom by Legislative enactment.* London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1865.

If the fanciful supposition be for a moment indulged, that there should alight upon our island an intelligent stranger, hitherto wholly unversed in the modes and instruments of European life, it would not be without interest, and possibly not without instruction, to conjecture the probable course of his observations and conclusions. He would doubtless first be impressed by the glaring opposition and contrast presented by the extreme grades of society, lying, as they do, side by side, and inextricably involved with each other—the few rich, the many poor—the few wise, the many foolish. By prolonging his observations, he would notice the atoms that go to make up the whole framework of society ever in restless commotion, and rapidly interchanging with each other as their relative places become from time to time assigned by the presiding influences of education and wealth. These twin potentates he would watch ever gaining a more and more conspicuous ascendancy throughout the length and breadth of the land, their mark impressed on the aspirations of youth and on the labors of mature age; at their sole behest the boldest innovations less and less falteringly welcomed, and antiquated fallacies more and more unceremoniously exploded. And, in intimate connexion with this advancing empire of education and wealth, symbolizing, too, the resistless mobility of that empire, and more than all else effectually co-operating with it—the physical restlessness of our nation would not be the latest feature to attract our traveller's regard. In our daily, hourly passage from place to place, in the incessant communication maintained every part of our

land, in our instinctive abhorrence of even temporary insulation, our social, commercial, political, and scientific intercourse knowing no break, or impatience of delay or rest in work, our spasmodic activity, even when most in search of refreshment and repose; in all such symptoms he might complacently and justly believe he had found disclosed the truest exhibition of the temper of the age and country. Nor would it be an irrational conclusion if he went on to argue that, if it be true that all this unresting circulation and uninterrupted communion are indeed determining from moment to moment the very life of the nation, and, more than all else, nourishing the two feeders of that life—intellectual and material improvement—then, surely, must the organization of the art of carriage needs be the loftiest specimen of apt political contrivance, and be treated on all hands as not the least solemn concern with which the nation has to deal.

It demands, indeed, no eccentric sanguineness of disposition to form such expectations as these. It is all the more bitterly humiliating to reflect how wofully they contrast with the actual picture which a nearer view of the management of the country's traffic would reveal to the stranger's gaze. Imagine his confused surprise on ascertaining indubitably, after a pertinacious show of courteous reluctance, that, in a country boasting itself to be self-governed, in compliance with enlightened economical rules, the principles assumed to be applicable to traffic are not unfairly described as being of the following description:—

(1) That to as few people as possible, and not as many, be conceded the privilege of passing from place to place; (2) that from all invested with this exceptional privilege, an arbitrary impost called "profit," and amounting to somewhere about twenty times the actual or necessary cost of conveyance, be levied in favour of a select portion of the community, who, at some former period, under the cover of legal forms, usurped a position as detrimental to the whole country as it is likely to be suicidal to themselves, and which they now call an "inalienable right;" (3) that such an extravagant charge be laid upon the conveyance of the very necessities, let alone the conveniences, of life, as to en-

hance exorbitantly their selling price, and put some of the most essential of them permanently out of the reach of the bulk of the population; (4) that the conveyance of the materials of manufacture be rendered so preposterously expensive as to discourage and limit such conveyance to a degree most depressive and paralysing to the development of the national resources; (5) that the safety and convenience of travellers, especially those of the poorer sort, and also the most numerous, be recklessly sacrificed, so often as the price of ensuring such safety and convenience threatens even momentary competition with the enormous profits of that select and favoured body before alluded to; (6) that the traffic of the country be regulated by seventy or eighty distinct corporations without any show of concord among themselves, and generally with a very distinct show of mutual rivalry and antipathy, exhibiting a perplexing variety of fares, charges, bye-laws, and modes of action, occupied ceaselessly in hindering each other—now forming temporary alliances, to the prejudice of all men but themselves, now buying up smaller lines or guaranteeing to them dividends in order to keep up prices, and evermore presenting all the opposite evils of the closest monopoly, and the most rampant system of unrestricted competition; (7) that the soil of the country, its single priceless possession, valuable beyond all estimate and properly saleable at none, be recklessly alienated in perpetuity, in tracts of hundreds of miles' length, to any body of speculators who choose to come and ask for it, and can make a fair show of fight with as many other bodies of competing speculators as, solely in defence of their own puny interests, think it worth while to dispute the claims; (8) that it is well to encourage the procreation and fostering of a swarm of penniless stock-jobbing impostors, who shall devote their time and special faculties to the imaginary delineation of new railways in every conceivable direction, no matter how needless, how extravagant, how noxious to the surface of the national territory, how ruinous to the legitimate interests of existing companies; and who, after encumbering the soil, and lavishing the capital of the nation in unproductive expenditure (even if the scheme be not abandoned at an earlier stage), craftily choose their time to shirk out of the undertaking, having first succeeded in passing on their liabilities to purchasers less knowing, but more guileless, than themselves; lastly, (9) that the sole test to be applied in every new railway adventure is, not the happiness, the improvement, or the wealth of the whole community, not the prospective results in a few years hence, still less in the next generation, not the local circumstances of any large area of the country, but, exclusively of every other consideration, the immediate returns to the shareholders in the way of profitable remuneration.

Such is a general picture, gloomy it may be, though of ghastly veracity none will deny, of the English railway system in the present day. If there be any who think lightly of such corrupt principles of administering so vital a concern as the traffic of a wealthy and energetic nation like ours, or affect but dimly to compre-

hend the viciousness of these principles, it is only another instance of the general difficulty in the way of reforming any great and widespread abuse that always appears to be in some way commensurate with its very extent and magnitude. The well-known and the habitual never fail to generate an indolent familiarity and an unhealthy and uncritical acquiescence. To the slaveholders of the Southern States of America, no doctrine seems so monstrous and destitute of the barest plausibility as the human claims of the coloured man. To all Englishmen, not so long ago, there seemed to be an inseparable union, in the nature of things, between petty larceny and the drop at Tyburn, between a representative system and nomination boroughs. In the present day it is, similarly, just the largest question and the most widely prevalent pest that most signally fails to fix the attention and to invite systematic reform. So it is with education, so with the far-reaching problem of pauperism, with the municipal government of the metropolis, and with the wrongs or rights of Ireland.

It is the object of the present article to remove the question of railways out of this region of ignorant and patient endurance, and, by carefully investigating the actual facts and statistics at hand, endeavour to substantiate step by step the several counts of the indictment we have, in broad terms, above laid against the existing mode of administration. Side by side with the abuses complained of, we shall point out the enormous advantage that would flow to the public, and the results for good or evil likely to be occasioned to the shareholders, by a complete and systematic change of system. The abstract value of such a change being thus ascertained, we shall then discuss the special mode of reconstruction advocated by Mr. Galt and provided for by the Act of 1844.

The first part of the subject, that is, the necessity and abstract desirability, considered without reference to any special mode of practically carrying it out, of an entire change of system, we shall dispose of under two heads, which between them will enclose all the most crying abuses of which complaint is made. These heads will be, first, the fact of the extravagant fares and charges now imposed for the carriage of passengers and goods, together with the prospective results likely to follow from very considerable reduction in those fares and charges; and secondly, the pernicious consequences due to such a multiplicity of administrative bodies, such as they are, contrasted with those likely to flow from the institution of one undivided system of administration throughout the whole land.

I. In order to open the way to the consideration of the first head of inquiry announced above, it will be well to search for a precise estimate of the actual cost to a railway company of carrying (1) a single passenger, and (2) a ton of goods. Now there is enclosed a certain ambiguity in the very form in which the question is propounded. The expense of carrying a single passenger for a mile can only be determined by ascertaining the expense of conveying a whole train for the same distance,

and dividing that expense by the number of passengers in the train. Hence the answer, as to the cost of any one passenger, will depend as much upon the number of passengers carried as upon the actual expenditure incurred for the purpose of locomotion. We shall obviously have very different results according as we assume (1) that the train is as full as a train can be, which is only brought about occasionally, by means of what are called "excursion trains;" or (2) that the train is as full as trains upon the average are, calculating that average for a year over all the lines in the country; or again, (3) that, through lowering of fares or other causes, a train carries some number of passengers intermediate between that given on the two former assumptions. Now, our first object being to ascertain not what is the occasional or possible, but what is the average and actual profit reaped by railway companies upon the existing fares; the second assumption, that a train is only as full as trains upon the average are, is the one naturally suited to our purpose. "The average number" (we quote from Mr. Galt's analysis of official returns) "of passengers conveyed by each train in the kingdom is seventy-one, exclusive of season-ticketholders, and this class may raise the number probably to seventy-four; but, on the other hand, there is included in this average all the summer excursion traffic, the trains containing from 500 to 1500 excursionists, and, if these be excluded from the general average, the number of passengers in the regular trains cannot exceed fifty."

Now, as to the average expenditure incurred by the conveyance of a whole train for a single mile, we have two accounts ready to our hand: one founded upon materials supplied to the Board of Trade for the year 1863, and calculated upon the cost incurred by all the trains of all the railways in the United Kingdom; the other elaborated by Mr. Gooch, when chairman of the Eastern Counties Railway, for the purpose of satisfying the shareholders that the company was carrying at sufficiently remunerative prices, and calculated chiefly upon costs peculiar to coal trains. We shall (at least, for the present) avail ourselves of the former account, both as being more conducive to our object, and telling the most favourably on the side of the companies as against the public.

It may be interesting to present *in extenso* the estimate of the average cost of conveying a train a mile:—

	s.	d.
Maintenance of way and works	0	5½
Locomotive power	0	9
Repairs and renewals of carriages and wagons	0	2½
General traffic charges	0	9
Rates and taxes	0	1½
Government duty	0	1
Compensation for personal injury, and damage and loss of goods	0	0½
Legal and Parliamentary expenses	0	0½
Miscellaneous working expenditure not included in the above	0	2
Total	2	7

Thus the actual cost incurred, on an average,

in conveying a train a mile is 2s. 7d., and if this sum be divided by the average number of passengers, that is, 50, we have the cost of carrying a single passenger a single mile. It may, perhaps, be more convenient, in order to avoid fractions, to assume as our unit of distance 100 miles, that is, the distance from London to Brighton and back. Thus the cost of carrying a single passenger 100 miles is 5s. 2d. The difference between this and the average fares charged is the profit resulting to the shareholders. On the Brighton line this net profit amounts for the double journey, to a little over 15s., or about 300 per cent. on the expenses. Now let us alter our assumption, and suppose that the train consists of as many carriages, and those as well-filled, as are capable of being drawn at a fair speed by a single locomotive. This is not unfrequently witnessed in the case of an excursion train, having 25 carriages, with an average number of forty passengers in each, making in all 1000 passengers, and proceeding at the rate of 20 miles an hour. Dividing, as before, the expenses of the train by the whole number of passengers, and taking the same distance of 100 miles as our unit, it will be found that each passenger can be conveyed 100 miles at an average cost of something less than *threepence farthing*. According to the proportionate number of passengers who travelled in the several classes of carriages in 1862, each first-class passenger would cost *sixpence*, each second-class passenger *fourpence*, and each third-class passenger *twopence halfpenny*. These are the two extremes of the cost of conveying each passenger 100 miles according as the trains are nearly empty, as is now generally the case, or completely filled, as only at present happens when the fares are temporarily lowered in the case of excursion trains, or of vehement and temporary competitions. On the third assumption that the fares are just sufficiently lowered to induce some intermediate number of passengers to travel, the cost of conveying a passenger 100 miles would evidently be somewhere intermediate between the average expenses already ascertained in the case of the two extremes, and we need not repeat the calculation. We shall have occasion to say more upon this further on.

Before commenting more particularly on these results, we must notice a remarkable fact, and one capable of demonstrative proof, that, while railways have tried every conceivable experiment and trick in the way of varying their fares, whether with a view to ascertain the most productive fares to impose, or else to beat out of the field some noxious competitor for the public patronage at whatever point the fares have been temporarily adjusted, in no single instance has the effect on dividends been to lower them more than *one per cent.*, and, in by far the more frequent cases, the most unfavourable effect experienced has been the lowering of dividends by only *one half per cent.* Let us take, as an instance, the memorable conflict between the London and North Western, and the Great Northern Companies in 1857. The Art Exhibition was then being held in Manchester, and, during the summer months, for two or three

days in a week, the companies gave excursion tickets between London and Manchester, allowing the traveller to remain four days at the latter town; the distance travelled over was about 400 miles, and the fares for first-class were lowered from 60s. to 7s. 6d.; and those for second-class from 40s. to 5s. The companies despatched fast trains, and the second-class carriages were comfortably cushioned. The loss to each company was calculated at about a *half per cent.* in their dividends.

Take again the dispute of the Edinburgh and Glasgow with the Caledonian line when the fares were reduced to about *one-eighth* of the ordinary charges. The Edinburgh and Glasgow line is about forty-six miles in length, and the regular fares for the three classes are respectively, eight shillings, six shillings, and four shillings. These were suddenly reduced to *one shilling, ninepence, and sixpence.* The Caledonian line similarly reduced their fares to the same amount. This contest continued for one year and a half. The result was that the Edinburgh and Glasgow Company paid *one per cent.* per annum less to the shareholders, and the Caledonian Company something less than a *half per cent.* below the usual dividend to theirs. Other narratives of competitive struggles give a testimony singularly parallel. Such instances, however, it will be recollected, are not adduced here by way of proof, for which nothing can suffice but a complete transcription of the reports supplied to the Board of Trade by the companies, but are merely noticed in this place by way of conveniently summing up an enormous mass of complex materials, and of providing a simple and intelligible basis for argument. The same observations will apply to the other statistical facts we shall have occasion from time to time to employ. The effect on dividends of spasmodic changes of fares is just what might have been *a priori* anticipated, from the considerations already dwelt upon, that the cost of conveyance varies inversely as the number of passengers; that, if the trains are filled, and as many trains despatched as possible every day, the cost for every passenger is reduced to its lowest possible amount; and the profits, which are the fares less the cost, proportionately increase, their actual value being determined by the amount of the fares, which amount, if very small, may not in all cases do more than just cover the cost of conveyance. It is plain, however, from the circumstances above noted, to what an extent fares may be lowered without incurring a detriment to dividends of more than one per cent. at the very most. We shall shortly see what ground there is for supposing that, were the lowering of fares, even to a still more considerable extent, a normal and not a galvanic policy, were the machinery, carriages, and methodical arrangements of companies constructed with the prospect of carrying by every train 800 or 400 passengers instead of 50, and had the public, by growing familiarity, adapted their habits of life to the novel opportunities of travel placed within their reach, the inland trade of the country, being largely developed, among other causes, by the vastly increasing conveniences of

transport, in such an event the owners of railways would experience no detriment whatever, and most probably would even gain, perhaps largely, by the change.

In the meantime, and in confirmation of the position that the profits of companies do not depend upon the absolute amount of the fares charged, but upon the relation of that amount to the cost of carrying the passengers—that is, to their number, there is another series of facts which deserves careful attention. On looking at a list of all the railways in the country, with the fares charged and the dividends payable noted in separate columns, there is no mathematical expression yet invented which could generalize the ratio borne by one to the other. Some lines with the lowest fares pay the highest dividend; some lines with high fares pay no dividend; some lines with high fares pay a high dividend. This investigation is further interesting as showing the extreme variety of principle, or even capriciousness, by which the fares would seem to be regulated throughout the country. The North and South Western Railway now return a dividend of 6 per cent. Their charge for 100 miles is 5s., 4s. 2d., and 2s. 6d., for the several classes, and is the lowest in the United Kingdom, as their dividends are among the highest. The North London charges a little more, and likewise pays a dividend of 6 per cent. This line is, for its length, the most expensive in the kingdom, its construction having cost as much for one mile as would pay for ten miles of an ordinary line. With respect to the variety of fares imposed, the Stirling and Dunfermline Company charge the traveller 50 per cent. more than the North and South Western; the Caledonian charge 38 per cent. higher still; the Lancashire and Yorkshire charge 30 per cent. more than the Caledonian; the London and North Western 20 per cent. more than the Lancashire and Yorkshire. So with the others in an ascending scale, till it comes about that the Carmarthen and Cardigan Company charge 450 per cent. more than the North and South Western.

We have thus seen that, if only trains could be tolerably well filled, through the removal of irresistible obstacles in the way of vast quantities of would-be travellers, especially of the poorer classes, that is, by a very great diminution of fares, the cost of conveying each passenger would be indefinitely reduced. The sources, however, from which profits are to be provided, are, from the very nature of the case, reduced at the same time, and so often as for a temporary purpose, the experiment has been hitherto made, a certain loss, however small, has been undergone. Now it is utterly absurd and out of place to make an appeal to directors, any more than to any other producers or monopolists, *ad misericordiam.* It is their nature, and it is even their duty, as trustees of the shareholders, to extract the uttermost farthing, in payment for their commodities, that the existing market admits of. Any temporary compromise, any indulgent concession to the pitiful supplications of the public, any hypocritical tenderness for the interests of the State, would only be an illusory and transient concealment, not the healing of the wound.

There are only two rational courses for the public to adopt: one is to prove, by an irrefragable argument addressed to directors, that a very considerable diminution of fares would certainly and immediately result in their being able to declare a dividend conspicuously higher than at present. The only other course is to urge upon the legislature that a systematic reconstruction of the whole railway system has become indispensably essential to the continued welfare and improvement of the community, and, saving the rights of all in possession of vested interests, not to rest till such reconstruction on wise and just principles has been actually accomplished. The public reasonably complain, not that directors are selfish, immoral, or unpatriotic (for this would be as futile a ground of objection as it is untrue), but that such is the existing system of railway management and tenure of railway property as to carry with them the inevitable consequence that, for ever so small or indefinite an advantage to the owners of that property, the largest interests of the whole community, and of little short of every single individual going to compose the community, must be remorselessly set at naught. The difference of carrying at one farthing, or at fourteen farthings a mile, may make scarcely a perceptible difference in favour of the dividends of a company: it has generally, when tried under the most unpropitious circumstances, made a difference of not more than one-half per cent.: it has never, in a single instance, been known to make a difference of more than one per cent. Yet, in order to secure this extra half, or one per cent., it is morally incumbent on the directors to keep up fares to the highest possible pitch, if necessary for attaining that end. We need scarcely even hint at the enormous issues, as to all that concerns the happiness, the wealth, the mental and moral improvement of millions of the population, that hang suspended on the adoption of the high or the low tariff.

Before saying more on this obviously just ground of national dissatisfaction, we shall advert to the affiliated subject of excessive charges for packages, merchandize, and minerals. It will be convenient to take, as a sample of the rest, that which comes nearest and most directly home to every one—the charges for the conveyance of coal.

According to Mr. Gooch's report already referred to, which we need not transcribe in full, the cost of conveying a ton of coal on what was then the Eastern Counties line was one shilling and fourpence for a hundred miles, or, from the pit's mouth to London, less than two shillings a ton; the cost of carriage per hundred miles is, no doubt, much the same on all the other lines. The price charged to the contractor by the company for conveying a ton was four shillings and twopence per hundred miles, or a little over eight shillings from the pit's mouth. In the session of 1863, evidence was given before a committee of the House of Lords by the manager of the Midland Company, to the effect that, after the company had brought coal from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire at a charge of six shillings per ton, a demand of two shillings per ton was made for passing over the lines to Ken-

sington basin. The result is that, whereas coal can be bought at the pit's mouth, in some districts, and transported to the metropolis, at a total expense of seven or eight shillings a ton, four times that price is paid for every ton on reaching its destination. The profits to the companies are manifestly three or four hundred per cent. As a flagrant instance of the public recognition of the most perverse claims of monopoly in the conveyance of coal, we may cite the recent rejection of the Bill sought for by the Great Eastern, which would empower them to make a line to the North, by a junction with their main line near Cambridge. The length, with branches, was 134 miles, and the estimated cost, 1,500,000*l*. They proved to the Committee that, so favourable were the gradients, a locomotive of ordinary power on such a line would be able to drag 400 tons; so they would be able to bring coals to London in any quantity at a *shilling* per ton. The Great Northern and Midland Companies determinedly opposed the bill, and it was rejected in the following memorable terms:—"You propose (said the Chairman) to have a railway with gradients such as no other railway in England has obtained; you can carry coals in trains of 400 tons load upon it, profitably, at a rate of one farthing per ton per mile; but it is not fair to other companies that you should be able to work at so low a rate(!) I do not see the justice of this proposition of a farthing per ton, and your bill is rejected."

This investigation into the existing prices and profits of coal-traffic has introduced us to a new cause, though underlying all the others, of the extortionate charges in excess of what is, or ought to be, the necessary cost of conveyance—that is, the ill-regulated monopoly which universally characterizes the existing system. The enormous charges are no longer here, as with passenger-traffic, because the trains are almost empty, and therefore the carriage of solitary travellers inordinately costly, but simply because the companies have it in their power to impose what charges they like, and they, like all other reasonable merchants, exercise their power to the full. It is the fact of such a monopoly being in the hands it is, and not the exercise of it, that is the legitimate ground of revolutionary murmurs. And as the terms "monopoly" and "competition" are bandied about in the discussion of the subject with more freedom than intelligence and precision, it may be well to step aside for a moment and ascertain what they here mean. Certainly the interpretation placed upon these terms by railway companies would, of itself, give us little light, for nothing can be more fluctuating and self-contradictory. So long as a company is before Parliament, menacing the interests of old and neighbouring lines, the principle at the root of traffic administration in England is, forsooth, and ever was, unbridled competition. So soon as ever the bill is obtained, it is found out that, as to all railway property called into existence from that day forward (at least until the company stands in need of a new branch), a special custom in favour of railways derogates from the common law, and declares the correct and sole

principle applicable to railway companies to be that of the most peremptory and stringent monopoly.

Now there cannot be a doubt that the axiomatic principle now recognised in all legislation, as well as justified by the most unquestioned results of economic science, and further fortified by the moral support of the whole community, is that of allowing, in all branches of trade whatever, unlimited rivalry and competition. Excepting the peculiar concessions made in favour of patents and copyrights, which are only ephemeral in their nature, and are themselves not exempt, in the present day, from the assaults of an invidious scepticism, in no case whatever does the legislature, within the limits of the United Kingdom, interpose in favour of the seller of a commodity, for no other purpose than with a view to protect his prices against the competition of others. But it is no less true that for other purposes of a public, moral, or high political nature, the legislature does constantly interfere, and it is admitted on all hands that it may beneficently and justly do so. On such grounds it rigidly confines, and ever has confined, on many sides, the general right of contract, of using property, and of inviting custom in open market. Because they infringe some wise, or unwise, restriction imposed by the legislature, or some moral notion recognised by the same authority, contracts are every day being unhesitatingly annulled in courts of justice. Because the laws of health, or of police, or the public laws of beauty are violated, after building a house on his own ground, and to his own taste, a man may have to set to work to pull it all down. The right of exercising a learned profession or certain specific trades, and publicly courting the patronage of the public, is hedged round with the most jealous strictness, with a view, not to favour the narrow personal interests of men, but to promote the general good of all. It is solely on public grounds that the universal principle of unlimited competition is confessed—it is on the very same grounds, and no other, that each exception to the principle must at every moment of its continuance strictly justify itself. The presumption is always against such an exception, and its life must be passed in animated and incessant self-defence. *Ubi cessat ratio legis cessat et lex.*

Now, applying these pervading rules of our policy to the particular question before us, it is manifest that all talk of free competition in the matter of railways is so much loose and inexact verbiage, or rather irrational cant. From first to last they stand upon a special and exceptional basis, to which the most broadly acknowledged claims of landholders, and the immutable interest of the community in the use and aspect of the national soil, have, by a series of legislative acts, been forcibly compelled to give place. From the nature of the case, no traffic but their own can compete with them on their roads. The distinct character and excellence of their mode of conveyance has diverted all the chief traffic from the ancient highways, and it is only through occasional competition with each other that they find, for a time, any natural and spon-

aneous check upon their exactions. It is obvious that the concession of what is practically an exclusive right of carriage throughout the entire kingdom, and which in its inception overrode the most ancient and indefeasible rights in property that the country knows, never could have been granted and never was granted, simply for the advantage of the companies themselves. An absolute gift to be irresponsibly used by some of the community against all, has been seen to be utterly irreconcilable with all modern policy and every recognised principle of legislation. The only possible justification of the very being of a railway company is, that the monopoly conferred upon them is exercised in a way to promote the greatest conceivable advantage to the public, consistent with a fair and reasonable remuneration to the shareholders for the capital subscribed. So long as railway companies in vain seek to justify their position in this way, they cannot look for the support of public sympathy any more than for the suffrages of members of Parliamentary Committees, whenever they appear to oppose the construction of an indefinite number of new and hostile lines. So long as those who can travel are charged exorbitantly above what would be necessary to ensure a fair profit under a reformed tariff, and the large mass of the people are arbitrarily prevented from travelling at all, to the injury of their health, their minds, and their material welfare; so long as an arbitrary impost of four hundred per cent. on the cost of carriage is levied upon one of the first necessities of life in this climate, coal,—just so long will the outcries of the public become louder, and yet more loud, till such a legislative interference be imperiously demanded as shall show far less tenderness to the vested rights of shareholders than that evinced by the Act of 1844.

Before concluding this part of the subject there is one matter to be considered, which, in the event of adopting a lower tariff, will be equally important to all owners of railways whoever they may ultimately be. Apart from a view of the social necessities of the people crying so loudly for increased opportunities of locomotion, and of the natural abuse of a monopoly once conceded to the companies in confiding simplicity, or rather fatuity, and without taking adequate precautions by way of enforcing obvious limitations in its use, it is important to form some estimate of the probable pecuniary effects upon railway property, as a merely commercial interest, of a reduction of fares. As with all other events in the future, so with this, we can only form, at best, a plausible conjecture, and, for this purpose, must turn to account, as best we may, the data supplied by the past. Now we have seen that the immediate effect of reducing fares by the inordinate amount of seven-eighths, as in the contest between the Edinburgh and Glasgow and the Caledonian Companies in 1854, and which continued for the space of one year and a half, was a loss of dividends on one line to the extent of one per cent., and on the other of one half per cent. A similar result is given by the history of other competitive fights between neighbour-

ing lines, and the result is not discouraging to the hopes of even the most sanguine advocate of reduction. In the case, somewhat analogous, of the reduction of postage at the end of the year 1839, to about one-sixth of the former average charges, an exactly similar phenomenon was presented. In the first year after the change the net revenue fell from one million and a half to half a million. It is only within the last year or so, twenty-five years after the alteration, that the net revenue exceeds what it was under the old system of charges. The analogy, however, tells unfairly against the probable effect of reducing railway fares, because a far smaller proportion of new machinery and additional organization, for the purpose of accommodating the increased number of travellers, would be required in the case of railways than has been rendered indispensable in the case of the Post-office. The quantity of letters now written, exceeding by 800 per cent. those written in 1839, the additional number of posts sent out, the novel and costly modes of transmitting them by land and by water, the remote districts and outlying countries receiving, for a trifling increase of postage, their post-bags with a certainty and frequency scarcely enjoyed by the great towns of the kingdom thirty years ago, all go to enhance, in a peculiar way, without any parallel in railway prospects, the increased expenditure on the part of the Post-office, and therefore largely diminish its profits. This analogy of the Post-office is only here employed to intimate that a temporary loss from a sudden lowering of charges is far from a sure indication that the new charges may not be, ultimately, far more reproductive than the old ones, especially where, as with railways, the cost of carrying every passenger becomes so notably diminished in proportion as the passengers are indefinitely multiplied.

The habits of a people with respect to moving from place to place cannot be changed in a day. It requires a new generation, growing up in possession of the new opportunities, and with tastes and tendencies yet uncrystallized by the freezing restrictions that confined their sires, to avail themselves freely of the boon. The poor workman would be among the last to profit from what would benefit him the most of all. He has acquired fixed habits of labour in the place of his birth, for (it may be) a pitiful reward, and knows as yet nothing of the neighbouring districts where work is abundant, and where every labourer can command his price. He has lived with his family immured in some stifling alley, and can only learn from experience the yet unguessed-at sweetness of being cheaply carried miles away to his daily toil, and of returning each evening to a healthy and happy home. These considerations are of special importance, because it is, even under the present system, from third-class passengers that railway companies get the largest measure of their returns. In 1862 the number of passengers in the third-class and parliamentary trains exceeded the number in the second-class by 58,585,242, and exceeded the number in the first-class by 82,849,130. In the same year the receipts from the third-class and parliamentary

trains exceeded the receipts from the second-class by 621,029*l.*, and exceeded the receipts from the first-class by 1,806,770*l.*

So far as past statistics of lines that have temporarily lowered their fares, not compelled thereto by virulent competition, and therefore not lowering them by such an inordinate amount, can prove anything, the results are strongly in favour even of the immediate pecuniary benefit of a moderate reduction. The London and North Western were induced, much at the instance of Mr. W. Richardson Roebeck (then the manager of the Stour Valley Railway), to reduce their fares in varying rates of a fourth or fifth of the previous proportions in the district. "The development of traffic," we are told, "was such as to astonish Mr. Roebeck himself and the other local agents and managers, particularly the unwonted development of sparsely populated lines; and these lower fares were, in their opinion, highly remunerative, and would have been more so if the fares had been maintained."

Again, in a paper read at a meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Mr. Chadwick mentions, as an instance of the remunerative effect of low fares, that the receipts per train at a penny fare from Shrewsbury to Upton Magna were in December, 1858, 1*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*; but on the return to a fare of threepence halfpenny in November, 1859, the receipts per train fell to 4*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* The receipts per train from Shrewsbury to Walcot were, at a penny, 14*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, and, at sixpence, they fell in October, 1859, to 4*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*

These are only adduced as specimens of general statistics, raising a *prima facie* case in favour of the possible advantage, even to the owners of railways themselves, of a considerable reduction in fares. No doubt this advantage would be far more considerable in some districts than in others, and chiefly so in those parts of the country where travelling is a matter of business with the large masses of trading, labouring, or manufacturing population, rather than of luxurious indulgence and recreation with the wealthy few. Even on the most favourable view of the future, and not reducing the fares lower than to one penny, one half-penny, and one farthing, for the several classes, it might take as much as five years, on an average of all the railways in the country, for the dividends, upon the supposition of any decrease at all, again to reach their present height. It is for this very reason that, inasmuch as no purely commercial corporation can, and no private owners of property will, undergo a possible sacrifice, extending over so long a time, and depending on its ultimate justification upon nothing better than cogent mathematical probabilities, some means must be immediately resorted to of effecting a root-and-branch reformation in the ownership and management of railway property. What means are at hand for carrying out this urgently demanded scheme, what is the best practical mode of at once bringing those means to bear, and what are the real or imaginary obstacles in the way of so doing, we shall shortly have to consider in detail. In the meantime, the radical unsoundness

of the present system viewed abstractedly and disembarrassed from all questions as to the most appropriate remedial scheme, presents yet a further aspect, that is, the one due to the inefficient and disorderly mode of government thereby necessarily entailed.

II. It is an unquestionable property of the existing system of railway management, that it unites in itself all the vices due to indefinite division and want of co-operation, together with all those due to an intimate combination of interests severed from, and most frequently opposed to, the general interests of the community. It is not easy at once to say, still less to predict for the future, whether the country has more to fear from the friendships or from the enmities of railway companies among themselves, whether the more formidable symptoms be their separate weakness or their combined strength.

In the first place, whatever the public may seem to gain by mutual discord in the way of a slight reduction of fares and charges, whatever complacent self-satisfaction the more superficial and short-sighted among them may attempt to extract from a loyal deference to the claims of "free competition," the fallacy of applying this term, by a mere metaphorical use of it, to the case of railways, has been seen to be as patent as it is dangerous. We have already pointed out that, at the time of the first creation of railway property by the legislature, a new modern monopoly, like some child-Hercules, was conjured into life, and, solely with a view to the largest interests and lasting welfare of the nation, the common principles of free competition were absolutely suspended. Wherever, and to what extent soever, these principles have, in the course of railway history, been allowed unfettered play, it has been, not by virtue of their own inherent force and vitality, but solely in furtherance of the self-same objects to secure which alone the monopoly itself was conferred. The end to be reached is, and ever was, the greatest in quantity, the surest in stability, and the longest in duration, of public advantage. The ordinary and normal way to this end, selected and sanctioned by the legislature in the case of railways, has always been, and still is, the insurance of some gain to all at the price of permitting large and disproportionate gains to a few; in other words, the concession of a monopoly. Within certain ill-defined limits, and for supposedly sufficient reasons, the number of sharers in this exclusive boon is from time to time enlarged, those indulged with the new license being selected on a principle somewhat analogous to "free competition." If to this we add a certain amount of fair contention for the public favour on the part of neighbouring or parallel lines, we shall have exhausted every possible occasion on which the notion of "free competition" can be legitimately employed. So far as the principle finds a place in the legal theory of railway property, it is isolated, exceptional, and arbitrarily circumscribed in every direction.

So much for what is not only the legal constitution of our present system, but the only view of it even tolerably conformable to sound

policy. It is at once then manifest how anomalous and almost idiotic, were they not so prudently calculated for their end, are the customary arguments in the mouths of companies before Parliamentary committees, as well as the strange conflicts with each other, and still stranger treaties, entered into elsewhere. The old companies are never wearied with harping on their vested rights and incommunicable privileges, thinking little, and caring less, for what sole purpose those rights and privileges were alone conceded, and on what a solemn and precarious tenure they can alone be held. The effect of their persuasions and too potent influence is, that new lines or branches, even of supreme importance to the public good, like that of the Great Eastern, for the purpose of the coal trade, alluded to above, have to be hopelessly abandoned. The new companies come with a different tale, equally false and equally plausible, claiming bills to enable them to construct lines the most improvident and pernicious, in the well-worn name of "free competition." Like evil effects follow, so often as these, too, have their way. The public is not better served, the capital of the country is squandered in unproductive expenditure, the land is alienated and destroyed for ever, and the face of the country in every direction is hideously and needlessly desecrated.

Among the ways in which the complex relations of existing lines among themselves are prejudicial to the public, we may especially notice the habit of guaranteeing dividends by one company to another in order to keep up prices, that of buying up or leasing small lines or portions of lines, and the indefinite capacity for amalgamation. In his evidence before the committee of 1844, Captain Laws especially noticed the power of purchase exercised by railways, and instanced the circumstance of the York and North Midland Company having bought up the Leeds and Selby line, not for the purpose of using it, but for closing it up and taking passengers and goods by a circuitous route on their own line, charging what fares and rates they thought proper. The variation and consequent uncertainty of charges, particularly in the case of goods and packages, is an incalculable evil, and is known to be a great obstacle to their transmission by merchants and others, thereby operating most unfavourably on trade. The want of harmony in the time-tables between opposed companies is a vast inconvenience to travellers going a long distance, and is a proportionate discouragement to travelling such a distance at all. The occasional necessity of changing carriages and the difficulty of fixing officials with their proper responsibility when travelling over several lines, are all petty flaws adherent to the multitudinous systems of government under which a traveller for a long distance must pass, and in their aggregate mount up to considerable mischief.

Notwithstanding, it is less in their rivalry than in their alliances that the true danger lies. There are, in all, seventy or eighty distinct companies in the United Kingdom, of which about thirteen are of giant proportions in relation to the rest. They resemble a number of indepen-

dent political communities, and, as with these, however successfully an artificial "balance of power" may be for a time maintained, there is ever at work a native tendency to congelation and universal empire. In the case of states, there are many reactionary causes at work to put off the day of absorption and consolidation. In the case of railways all influences tend in one and the same direction. Every argument drawn from saving in administrative expense, or from the benefits of mutual insurance against temporary ill-fortune; from availability of a larger capital to promote new undertakings, and assist, throughout a precarious period, old ones; from increased simplicity, and, in fact, from all the considerations we ourselves have repeatedly urged, and shall urge again, tend to one and the same point: the unqualified value of consolidation. And the work is going on around us on every side, and will go on. The Great Eastern, the Midland, the London and North Western, the North Eastern, are all agglutinated masses of heterogeneous atoms, fused together by the glowing fire of keen and intelligent self-interest. Like the modern Prometheus, the nation has manufactured a monster, and it well behoves the nation to recognise its dimensions and measure its power.

The malign influences due to this prodigy are two-fold. Its own interests, so far from being identical with those of the public, are directly antagonistic thereto; and, at whatever points these irreconcilable interests conflict, railway companies are obliged by no sense of responsibility whatever to prefer the general interests of the public to their own. When we speak of the interests of railway companies, it is safer, perhaps, to limit the meaning of the term to their interest as generally interpreted, in fact, by directors, and as most likely to be always interpreted by the overwhelming proportion of ordinary shareholders. In the larger and more precise use of the expression, there is every reason to believe that the interests of companies and of the public are ultimately one.

Now, to show that the apparent interests of the companies and the real interests of the public are in a normal state of internecine strife, we need only call to mind that, with the companies, the primary and most constraining necessity is a return for the capital expended, as large, certain, and as immediate as may possibly be. To this prevailing consideration every other minor object must be imperiously forced to give way. First, the return must be *large* or the *largest*, and hence the accommodation provided must be the least costly the public will tolerate. Wages of labour must be reduced to a minimum, and extended over the smallest possible surface, to secure which the largest amount of work must be extracted, by night and by day, from the smallest number of drivers, pointsmen, signalmen, and guards, no matter how over-wrought their brains and hands, or how frequent the terrific accidents brought about through their jaded incapacity. So far, indeed, as the payment of penalties or damages might tend to diminish profits, there is little enough cause for undue alarm to the shareholders, because the average yearly sum

payable on this head admits of being calculated accurately beforehand at only one farthing a mile for every train. Again, as little expenditure as possible can be lavished on increasing the comfort of second-class carriages, on the appropriation of smoking carriages (a want urgently felt by those who smoke and do not smoke alike), on the provision of even tolerable refreshments, on effecting a communication between the guard and driver, so loudly demanded, and on increasing day by day, according to the guidance of experience and invention, the safety and the convenience of travelling. For the same reason, as we said before, a superior advantage of one per cent. or one-half per cent. to the shareholders must be grasped without a moment's hesitation or remorse, whatever the enormous differences in the fares entailed on the travelling public, and whatever the consequences to the general welfare of the whole community.

So, secondly, the returns must be *sure*. No experiment can be tried nor the minutest risk incurred which might hazard a pecuniary loss, however transcendent the possible gain, and however firmly based the grounds for anticipating it. Whether or not existing charges are now fixed at the most remunerative amounts, whether or not an increase in number or variation in time of the trains at present despatched, whether or not new modes of constructing carriages or ensuring punctuality and a more exact correspondence between the different functionaries who regulate the traffic, be practicable and desirable, may be issues of incalculable magnitude to tens of millions of travellers in every year. But there is in every change an indefinite possibility of diminution of profits. The directors, as trustees of an Argus-eyed body of capacious shareholders, are compelled to restrict their tentative measures within the narrowest and safest possible compass, and to forego all those ulterior though contingent advantages which form the most appropriate reward of every other commercial undertaking. As before, the permanent welfare and improvement of the many must, perforce, give place to the transitory interests of the few.

And thirdly, the returns must, above all, be *immediate*. Constituted as railway companies are, made up of fluctuating numbers of individuals of all ages, ranks, habits, and degrees of intelligence, the large majority wholly ignorant and careless of the particular concerns of railway management, and even the more critical minority paying only a slight and superficial attention to the details, the sole pledge of prosperity the directors can hold forth is palpable profit, and the only recognisable form of that profit is a quick return to capital invested. This is a further obstacle in the way of lowering fares, even with the most gorgeous and well-assured prospects of adequate remuneration in the not-distant future. The same cause renders the improvement by railways of unoccupied and thinly-populated districts for a short time likely to prove unprofitable, an idle freak of fancy, whose very conception is the notorious brand of quacks and swindlers. The harvest may be a golden one in the future, and assuredly to be

relied on by reference to the laws of nature the most firmly established, but it must be relinquished, unsown and unreaped, seeing that the claims of a few individuals now living are ever to be preferred to those of a whole people living and yet to live.

Such are a few solitary specimens of the eternal conflict waged, as things are, between the interests of the companies and the public. We have said further, that the railway companies are practically exempt from all responsibility, and as they coalesce, through the assiduous process of amalgamation ever going forward, they become more and more so every day. Never has a civilized state generated and embraced in its bosom such an *imperium in imperio* before. Enthroned as the companies are in the imaginations of the vulgar by the colossal magnitude of their operations and the enormous physical energy and unresting industry their very existence implies, their indirect influence is of a kind the most penetrating and irresistible. If to this be added the intimate personal connexion adroitly propagated between the companies and the members of one or both Houses of the legislature, whereby, it is said, 200 directors have seats in the present House of Commons, and also a like connexion existing between the companies and those citizens whose riches are the most abundant, credit most undisputed, and authority most commanding, it requires no eagle's vision to descry, towering up in the midst of the free institutions of Britain, a novel and portentous Power, divorced from the interests, and irresponsible to the sovereignty, of the nation at large. A faculty of unlimited taxation, of imposing arbitrary restrictions and capricious regulations without control, and of impeding, preferring, or completely arresting the national traffic, will recal more than the feudal tyranny of the Middle Ages, with none of its correlating obligations. Surely the nation will watch with a wary eye whither it is floating, and call upon its rulers by a statesmanlike effort to provide, while the opportunity of effecting a contract honourable and beneficial to all parties so prominently offers itself, a single courageous remedy for the multifarious and growing evils of railway rule.

III. It is a favourite truism, repeated again and again by writers in the most respectable daily papers in favour of the existing system of railway ownership and administration, that "people themselves always best manage their own affairs." In the name of this very adage we claim at least an attentive and a patient hearing for a system wholly opposed to that now found amongst us. It is just because none have so deep and prevalent a concern in the economy, the comfort, and the safety of railway travelling as the public at large, that those several ends are more likely to be attained when the instruments of attaining them are in the hands of the whole body, than when in the hands of any section of the whole. To the smaller section these several objects are only valuable as secondary means to the attainment of another primary and incomparable prize, that is, adequate profit on capital invested. To the

whole body of the public sufficient remuneration is, indeed, an essential and indispensable condition, but at best it is only a secondary and subordinate means to secure for themselves and their goods what is to them the first and foremost end in view: cheap, easy, and safe carriage from place to place. This being so, it is in the ownership of all railway property by the people, and its management solely on behalf of the people, that the solitary hope of the nation lies. To such readers as are not content supinely to stand aghast at a policy because it is more lordly in its proportions, and based on wider and more farseeing and profounder considerations than the ordinary piecemeal legislation of the hour, we shall proceed to demonstrate that such a transfer from the shareholders to the people is practicable, as we have already endeavoured to show that some such bold reformation cannot be dispensed with.

Now, in order to examine the practicability of such a transfer, it will be convenient to consider in order, first, the legal opportunity that was happily provided twenty-one years ago, by a rare exercise of legislative foresight, and now for the first time is actually offered, of effecting by means of an equitable contract, a complete change of railway ownership and management. The relative situation and existing resources of the two contracting parties will be the next obvious matter of analysis. The terms of the contract that would appear least open to objection from any quarter whatever will then be precisely determined; and lastly, it will be matter of important inquiry what special mode of availing themselves of their new position, if once attained, is most likely to exempt the public from all the vices of the present system, and secure to them inviolate all, and more than all, the indisputable good it contains.

The legal opportunity that now is presented of reforming the railway system was provided by the Act of 1844. That Act was passed, on the urgent recommendation of the late Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, by a majority of 186 to 98, and in consequence of the report of a committee of the House of Commons, which examined all the principal directors, managers, and influential or intelligent officials connected with the chief lines in the kingdom. At the time of passing the Act, the whole railway system was an unprecedented and gigantic experiment. Many lines were paying as much as ten per cent. dividends; the people were electrified with pleasure and admiration at the startling results in the way of convenient and rapid travelling so instantaneously produced on every side of them; and, in the face of the exuberant satisfaction of the whole nation, it required more than common honesty, intelligence, and courage to interpose a *veto* to railway usurpation in the name of the people and of those yet unborn. If any one would thoroughly comprehend the spirit of the debate, and the true purport of the Act that resulted from it, he cannot do better than study the speech of Mr. Gladstone at the time, and the report of the committee, together with the evidence adduced before it. "The intention of the bill, was, in the event of the legislature, after a fair trial and proof of the system

then in being, deeming the purchase of railroads by the State politic and expedient, to remove the preliminary bar which exists on the ground of public faith, to leave the question entirely free and open and unfettered by the numerous and complicated considerations which then beset it." The evils that have, in fact, occurred, and are now looming still more ominously in the future, could not then be more than very dimly conceived; but conceived they fortunately were, and railway proprietors were by this Act distinctly and openly warned that, in whatever concessions the nation hereafter made to them, it reserved to itself the plenary right of calculating from time to time the exact measure of those evils, and if need be, of violently shaking itself free from them. A period of twenty-one years, expiring in 1865, was allowed to owners of all lines created in and after 1844, to which alone the Act applied, to develop their system, to approve themselves in the country's eyes, to establish the incomparable claims of an adverse and despotic monopoly, or to stigmatize it in a way nothing but experimental proof could. They have been weighed in the balances, cautiously, patiently, even charitably: and who shall say they have not been found wanting?

The terms of the Act enable the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, if they shall think fit, at any time after the expiration of the term of twenty-one years, to purchase any such railway to which the Act applies in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty, upon giving to the company three calendar months' notice in writing of their intention, and upon payment of a sum equal to twenty-five years' purchase of the annual divisible profit, estimated on the average of the three next preceding years.

Assuming that the proposed contract is actually to be entered upon, that an occasion loudly demanding it has actually arisen, we may go on to review the relative situations and resources of the two parties to the contract. On the one side are the shareholders of all the railways in the kingdom the bills for which were obtained in and after 1844. A few of the companies comprising these shareholders are receiving large dividends, as things now go, that is, to the amount of five and a half, or even six or seven per cent. upon their invested capital; the larger number receiving a more moderate return, and a few receiving no return at all. It may be remarked that, owing to a multitude of causes, such as large and temporary expenditure upon new branches and upon permanent works, alterations in the tariff, the repayment of loans, or commercial and social accidents and variations, it results that the current dividends payable at any given time upon a 100*l.* share form only the roughest, and even sometimes the most misleading criterion of the market value of that share. Hence the error in the Act of 1844 of taking the average annual divisible profits of even so long a period as three years as a basis of valuation. Again, whatever may be the current dividends payable to shareholders, and whatever the market value of their share at any given time, the security for the dividends and that value remaining where they are for so much as five years to come is of the weakest possible description.

The degree of this security is different for each line and fluctuating for all lines, even from day to day.

It needs only to watch the vehement animosity and little less than unscrupulous spirit of opposition to all competing claims by which directors are actuated, to measure their sensibility to the causes which may strike at the popularity of their own lines. A shorter and parallel road, easier gradients admitting of heavier trains and cheaper carriage, even speculative schemes never brought to bear, are hostile breezes blowing from every quarter, and ever making the most prosperous lines tremble to their foundations. It is almost pitiful to read the lachrymose and apologetic complaints made by directors, when accounting to their shareholders for past litigation, of the unresting competition that keeps assailing them on every side. At a late half-yearly meeting, the Chairman of the Midland Company dolorously lamented that, of the new projects before Parliament, about *one hundred* proposed to do something or other with the Midland. Mr. Bidder, a director of the Great Eastern, defended a proposed line which would compete with the Great Northern, on the lugubrious and somewhat vindictive consideration that the latter had invaded the Great Eastern district at Hertford, Cambridge, and Lynn, and they were now trying to get into Norfolk. The chairman of the Great Northern was equally complimentary to the unselfish aggressiveness of the Great Eastern. We may here just notice that this cause of depreciation and insecurity to the value of railway property is entirely due to the fact of the interest in profits being confined to one body, the shareholders, while the power of affecting to any amount these profits is confined to another body, adverse and unsympathizing, the governing public. Were these now incompatible claims and faculties in one and the same hands, the probable effect that every proposed line would have on the moneyed interests of the whole system would assume its due place as a material item of consideration.

We have thus noticed the variability and instability that, from the nature of the case, attaches to all railway property possessed as at present. As to the actual gross amount of capital invested in railways, it came up at the beginning of 1865 to the sum of 425,000,000*l.*, distributed between ordinary capital, preferential capital, and loans. The nett returns for 1863 yielded on the whole invested capital within a small fraction of four per cent. There is reason to suppose that the nett returns for last year would be about four and a half per cent. Investors can purchase at a rate which will pay them five per cent., and inasmuch as the ordinary capital is over 215,000,000*l.*, the market value of this at four and a half per cent. interest will be 194,000,000*l.* So much for the position, expectations, and property of one party to the proposed contract, the shareholders. The question next to be answered is, what sort of return can the public give as a fair and reasonable price for the transfer?

In the first place, the public, acting through the legislature, can give security, the highest and most unexceptionable known in the mer-

cantile world,—security only limited by the character, the strength, and the longevity of the nation itself. It can at once relieve the shareholders from a situation we have seen to be full of disquietude and well-grounded embarrassment, even, it may be, of future insolvency and ruin. The public can further secure for ever to the shareholders a fairly compensating annuity, calculated upon the average value of their expectations, and also upon a correct estimation of the improved value of the new security with which it is accompanied. It can further give a bonus upon every share transferred to itself, sufficient to induce the holder, not only to acquiesce in, but to welcome and desire the exchange.

Such being the general capacities of the parties, next, as to the precise terms of the contract. There are many grounds for excluding from consideration the specific suggestions contained in the Act of 1844. They are merely suggestions which, however valuable they had been, would in no case have been acted upon without fresh recurrence to legislation, and they are, in fact, open to many critical objections. The two main questions are, What is a fair price to give? and, Where is the money to come from?

Now, for the sake of adopting some definite figures, certainly not less, and perhaps not much more, than what would give satisfaction to both parties, we shall name the sums suggested by Mr. Galt, that is fifteen per cent. on the market value of an original share, and four or five per cent. on loans and preferential capital, as a suitable bonus to be paid to shareholders on the exchange of every railway share or loan of 100*l.* for 100*l.* Government stock, and, taking into account the vastly-increased security, consider three and a half per cent. interest on every 100*l.* stock as an equitable yearly payment to the shareholders, in lieu of the dividends previously received. Thus the market value of the original shares was seen to amount to 194,000,000*l.* The bonus on this, calculated as above, would be 29,000,000*l.* The preference or guaranteed capital or loans was 210,000,000*l.*, and the corresponding bonus would be 10,000,000*l.* Thus the total price to be paid would be 443,000,000*l.* If this payment were made by the assignment of newly-created stock, bearing interest at three and a half per cent., the yearly payments by the nation to the shareholders would be 15,500,000*l.* We shall shortly arrive at the same price from another point of departure.

Now there meet us at this stage two classes of alarmists, who have to be separately dismissed. The first class are of an imaginative cast, and stand simply aghast at what they choose to call "adding 400,000,000*l.* to the national debt." The ideas of these good people are in such a state of honest confusion and self-contradiction that it is not easy to know where to have them. They have probably a kind of hazy notion that the operation recommended is equivalent to lavishing vast sums at once in unproductive expenditure, and likely to have something the same effect as a hotly-contested European war, lasting for several years,

and with England at the head of it. Well may our narrow conceptions of all political subjects suggest to foreigners that we have learnt them behind the counter. It is perhaps scarcely worth while dissipating these clouds of misconception by noticing that the so-called creation of public debt in all cases whatever is nothing more than a convenient political fiction to express in metaphorical terms the perpetual liability incurred by the State to pay an annuity of such and such an amount to the so-called proprietors of that stock, until the liability be redeemed by the payment of money exactly and nominally equivalent to the stock described. The usual legal consideration for granting such an annuity is the advance of a quantity of cash to pay the wages of soldiers, sailors, and the like, and to build ships and carry on expensive wars. In the present case the consideration is the transfer of ownership in railways, and of all the rights to receive the profits accruing therefrom, and to interfere in their management. To suit these morbid minds, the new stock might be kept quite distinct from the old, denominated by a new name, and the interest made conspicuously payable, in the first place, out of railway profits.

The other class of objectors are nervously apprehensive of the effect on the money market of a sudden and convulsive opening out of four hundred millions' worth of new stock. Now the whole force of this obstacle is enclosed in the gratuitous use of the words "sudden" and "convulsive." Nothing has been said by the advocates of this measure to prevent the operation of transfer being gradual and cautious, waiting partly on the disposition of companies to close with the tender on terms agreeable to both sides, partly on the actual state of the money market being such, that Government security, to the amount of the price agreed upon, at three and a half per cent., presents sufficient attractions to favour the completion of the contract. It is extremely desirable that, if possible, the proposed measure should not be forced on shareholders and directors, but that they should meet it half way; and, with this view, the measure must be carried out slowly and tentatively. There are only two ways in which the money market can be convulsively and injuriously affected: one by a sudden appearance or disengagement of capital in search of investment, the other by a sudden birth of new schemes demanding capital and presenting hopeful prospects of profitable returns. Taking in the whole means of investment throughout the country, neither one nor the other of these influences can in any way be set at work by the mere gradual exchange of securities, as between the shareholders and the public, here advocated. It will not of itself set free a farthing of money now invested, nor open out a single avenue for new investment which did not, in one form or other, exist before.

Now, having disposed of these two classes of irrelevant objectors, we may approach the consideration of what seem to be the most equitable terms of the contract from a different point of view. The sum paid by the public to railway companies in the year 1864, in the

way of fares and charges, amounted to 81,156,397*l*. The average annual cost of management is about 15,000,000*l*. Thus the actual annual sum to be made good to the shareholders, or else to be redeemed by some sufficient compensation, is about 16,000,000*l*. Now, if the system in all its detail of high fares, charges, and the rest, were maintained as it at present exists, the mere trusteeship and responsibility of management being made over to the State, the same profits would satisfy the same dividends, and the difference would be to the old shareholders, only that due to fresh security enormously surpassing in strength the old, and to the public that due to whatever saving was effected by an uniform administration and a more cautious admission of competing lines. But the very object of the proposed transfer being that henceforth the cheapness, safety, and comfort of travelling be the first consideration, and a reproductive investment only the second and ever subordinate one, we must provide in our estimate against the possibility of an immediate pecuniary loss, in consequence of the lowering of fares and charges. We have seen that such a loss does sometimes follow temporary changes in fares, and, in what may prove ultimately the most profitable districts, the loss may at first be most conspicuous. Thus it is safer to anticipate that, during the first few years of the change, the loss yearly may, as in the parallel case of the Post-office reform, amount to some considerable sum. We shall not be charged with extenuating it unfairly if we name 5,000,000*l* as the conceivable loss every year on such a reduction of fares and charges as shall bestow what is, perhaps, the largest amount of benefit upon the greatest number of the population. Now, in order to make up this sum to the public, we can set off against it at least (say) 2,000,000*l*, to be saved by the simplified mode of organization the new ownership involves. The remaining 3,000,000*l* is fairly to be deducted from the yearly payments due to the shareholders on account of the additional security imparted to their claims. The average difference of interest, apart from the value of the security, arising from the investment of 100*l* in Government and railway stock, is 1*l*. 10*s*. Supposing, under the new system, this sum accruing from every 100*l* of invested railway capital be equally divided between the new and the old owners, who both have their special claims to part of it, the whole value yearly payable to each, that is to say, three-fourths per cent. on all the railway property in the kingdom, valued at 400,000,000*l*, will be just 3,000,000*l*, the sum of which we were in quest.

Now, it is important to notice that the two calculations we have made exactly tally with each other. We have approached the question of terms from both sides, that of the buyer and that of the seller; and, so far as the rough statistics at present ready to our use admit of our forming an estimate, we have found the fair and reasonable price to be the same. From the point of view of the buyer, or the public, we saw that an equitable price would be the creation, in favour of the shareholders, of new

stock to the amount of 448,000,000*l*, with interest accruing at three and a half per cent. The yearly sum thus payable by the public to the shareholders would amount to 15,500,000*l*. From the other point of view, that of the shareholder, we have just seen that, whereas the actual value of dividends, calculated at their present worth, of which they would be deprived, would be something over 16,000,000*l*, yet, in consideration of highly improved security, a yearly payment of considerably less than this sum would be amply sufficient by way of compensation.

A great deal of confused thought has struggled for expression to the prejudice of calm deliberation on this subject, on the alleged ground that Government is notoriously unfitted to manage any large concern partaking of a commercial character. It is wanting in the requisite machinery, and it has neither the energy, the skill, nor integrity to use well the machinery that might be put into its hands. A few unequivocal facts will readily clear away these mists.

We have already noticed that the time is coming, and is already partially come, when the whole railway system must and will be submitted to the management of either one sole corporate body, or to a very limited number of such bodies. The pressing question is, whether, inasmuch as this prospective amalgamation is an inexorable necessity that cannot be eluded, the direction of so complex and gigantic a system shall be undertaken for the people or against the people? It must be regulated with a primary view either to the largest remuneration of a few, or to the convenience and social welfare of all. Competition, acting according to its natural laws, and forcibly blending these two ends in one, is here reduced to the narrowest limits, and in the long run is signally inoperative. It is only from a body constituted out of themselves, directly responsible to themselves step by step, and removable and alterable at their own arbitrary will, that the people can look for a keen preference of the national interests to all minor ends. It evinces much ignorance and inconsiderateness to urge that the Government, as such, is unfitted to engage in concerns of this nature by the very conditions of its being. In the first place, the reform here advocated does not imply of itself any change whatever in the directorate or the trusteeship of railways, but only a substitution of the whole nation in the place of a limited body of shareholders, or, in legal language, of one set of *cestui qui* trusts for another. It is a familiar enough idea in all other undertakings that subordinate workmen may be induced to work to the highest amount of efficiency by identifying, through some temporary arrangement, their interests with their success. All contracts and sub-contracts for architectural and other works, among which are those for large Government works, offices, dock-yards, forts, barracks, ships of war, and the like, are conducted on this invariable principle, and whatever omissions or neglects may creep into the details, the principle itself is unassailably strong.

Now it will only be necessary to allude cursorily to some of the obvious methods of regulating railways, in the event of their purchase by the State, without descending into minute details. There is first, the method of leasing them out, either to the present or to new companies, the lessees being selected on the principles of free competition. The companies contracting to manage the lines would derive their remuneration either from a fixed percentage on the gross returns, or by means of being allowed to reserve to themselves a fixed sum for every mile of the line. The main point here demanding attention would be the insertion of stringent covenants to repair in every contract of lease, and a scrutinizing valuation of all the rolling stock of the railway on every change of tenants. This method is specially applicable to the construction of new lines. Again, there is the method, specially favoured by Mr. Galt, of having all the lines throughout the country managed by a Central Board, which might be formed of the most experienced members of present railway boards, and represent in fit proportions all the existing companies. This would secure men specially acquainted with the peculiar situation and wants of all the lines. They might be presided over by a Minister of State, with a seat in the Cabinet, who, of course, would be changed with the Ministry. This would in some way assimilate the Railway Board to the Indian Board, the Board of Trade, and the Poor Law Board. Or, the president might be a permanent and irremovable officer, resembling the chiefs of departments in Somerset House. If to either of these last schemes it be objected that the Government patronage would be alarmingly increased, it is answered that the appointment of innumerable subordinates must rest in some hands or other—that, in the probable and more and more impending event of general amalgamation of companies under the present rule, a system of patronage will be generated far more capricious and arbitrary, because totally irresponsible, than any that could possibly grow up under the auspices of a government so constituted as ours. Indeed, already the larger and larger diffusion of competitive and educational tests, and the rapidly-advancing belief in their unapproachable value, are rendering obsolete this venerable outlet for political recriminations.

We have said nothing hitherto upon the subject of railway systems as they exist in other lands. The only case that could be strictly serviceable for our purpose would be that of a country having tried both the conflicting systems in their entirety, one after another. But no such precedent is to be found. The modes of railway ownership and management abroad are either mixed and fluctuating from year to year, as in France, and even from one line to another, as in Prussia, or extend over a very small area, as in Belgium, so that almost any conclusion whatever might be supported by a partial and one-sided reference to any one of these countries. Certainly it must be confessed by all competent observers, that a superficial view of foreign modes of administration, whether on the score of cheapness, comfort, or

safety, gives a result vastly preponderating in their favour as compared with ours. The true gist of the whole problem was firmly grasped by M. Rogier, the Minister of Finance in Belgium, when the project of constructing State railways was first introduced into the Belgian Chambers in 1884. "No," said M. Rogier, "the state of affairs in which competition corrects the evil does not apply here: whoever holds the railways holds a monopoly, and that should only be allowed to exist in the possession of the State, subject to the responsible advisers of the Crown."

We have thus explored in detail all the evils that tenaciously adhere, and cannot but adhere, to the existing system of railway ownership and administration in England. We have gone on to describe, with full particularity, that special mode of reconstruction which is implied in the so-called purchase of railways by the State. The practicability of such purchase has been, it is submitted, adequately demonstrated, while the objections to carrying it out in fact have been fairly met, and in every case conclusively set aside. Apart, however, from such partial exceptions to particular aspects of the scheme in view, there remain still to be encountered two important classes of fundamental objections which strike at the very root of the whole mode of remedy here insisted on. These two sources of disinclination to entertain the new conception, even in thought, are due to two several courses of thought, equally popular and equally false. The one is an ignorant and irrational distaste to what is termed "centralization;" the other is a kind of moral reluctance to interfere arbitrarily with the property of railway companies in land.

If we were at present engaged in an historical analysis of complex ideas, with all their current associations, no more interesting subject of experiment could be laid hold of than the complex notion usually present on the use of the term "centralization." The simpler ideas that go to form the complex whole are constructed in part out of observations, generally most inexact, of what exists in neighbouring countries, in part out of the magnified image presented by an alarmed imagination. The annihilation of all local and subordinate authority, together with those habits of self-reliance and independence such authority best tends to foster; capricious interference on the part of ill-informed officials far from the spot at every stage in the actions of those beneath them; the remote responsibility incurred by the governing body and the opportunities for a despotic use of their power—such conglomerate ideas form only a portion of the terrific phantasm conjured up by the use of the term "centralization." Under some constitutions of the State, and in the case of some departments of government, it is undeniable that such mischiefs as these may, and do really, exist, where all local and independent authorities are needlessly superseded. But in the case of railways, under such a constitution as that of England, all thought of such calamities is irrelevant and absurd. From the very nature of locomotion, which is implied from first to last, all local, partial, and

particular claims are merged in the universal interests of the whole community everywhere present. It is the country at large, and not a special district of it, that has the deepest concern in ever so minute a branch of railway by which that district is traversed. So long as the House of Commons continues to maintain an effective check on ministerial administration, the responsibility of managers under a centralized system would far exceed anything hitherto known or conceived. As representation in that House becomes more complete, it will be more and more the people alone, and no bureaucratic coterie, as the objection suggests, who will regulate, punish, and reward. All the possible vices of centralization being here away, all the conspicuous advantages of that method of government will be present in the largest possible measure, inasmuch as no undertaking can gain so inordinately as that of railways by the use of combined intelligence, ready co-operation, economic service, and unity of administration.

The last form of general objection rests upon ground which is becoming day by day more demonstrably untenable. It is being seen with ever-increasing and more and more convincing clearness that, in a country like England, whose population is constantly swelling up to the brim, the means of living at all, and then the ways of living not quite despicably, are becoming the first and most engrossing cares of the State. No narrow individual interest, be it ever so plausible or ever so antique, will be able long to hold its ground in the face of a crushed and suffering population. To distribute the land of the rich among the poor and rich would be unjust, only because it would be unserviceable, and just because it would be palpably unserviceable, the dream of doing so is rightly abandoned to charlatans and traitors. But for the State to ignore decisively the existence anywhere out of itself of absolute property in the national soil, and to resist the silent and slowly progressive invasion of what once were, and ever should be held, the indefeasible rights of all in every part, is nothing else than policy the most honourable and the most sound. It is due far more to public causes and national accidents than to the labours of proprietors, that the produce of land, and therefore land itself, has increased so exorbitantly in value and demand. What the State alone must thus be taken to have conditionally given, the State can, in all reason, on making fair compensation in another form, and on sufficient cause shown, take away. It is confessed in our daily policy and even in our law, however reluctantly in some quarters the theory may be conceded, that neither individual landowners nor corporate bodies can hold land otherwise than as transitory tenants of the State. The more clearly this doctrine is recognised and the more openly it is avowed, the nation will address itself to grapple with the special problems of legislation affecting land, as they from time to time present themselves, with all the more serene intelligence and the more unflinching courage.

ART. II.—THE ROYAL HOSPITAL OF BETHLEHEM.

1. *Report, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix of Papers, from the Committee appointed to Consider of Provision being made for the Better Regulation of Madhouses in England.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, July 11th, 1815.)
2. *Return to an Address of the House of Lords for Copies of all Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, and the Evidence presented by them to the Home Office as to the State and Management of Bethlehem Hospital, and of all Correspondence thereon; and of the Observations of the Governors of Bethlehem Hospital on the Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Secretary of State.* (Ordered to be Printed, March 15th, 1853.)
3. *Report of the Charity Commissioners on Bethlehem Hospital.* Parliamentary Paper, 382. 1865.
4. *Annual Report of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem for the year 1864.*

WHOSOEVER aspires to effect some great reform in any department of human thought or action, whether moved thereto by a laudable ambition, or inspired by humane feeling, should not look back only to the lofty height on which in the distant past stands the great reformer, and hope that he may reach an equal height of glory in his day and generation, but should rather look abroad and scan the dreary prosaic events in which he is living; should mark well the scarce perceptible motion of any current of progress in the face of interested prejudice and ignorant opposition; and should not fail soberly to reflect how little is thought of him who is spending the energy and sacrificing the comfort of a life in doing good to the world in spite of itself. Then, if he still hold fast to his benevolent aim, let him in firm resolve and with patient endurance, without illusion and without exultation, nerve himself to enter upon a thorny and uncertain path, on which it may be that he will have to sink down and fail. Not only petty jealousies, irritated prejudice, offended self-interest, malignant envy, and all the host of evil passions that go to strengthen the great army of obstructiveness, will be found arrayed in hostile line against the champion of progress; but his bitterest sorrow will be to find himself opposed and misunderstood by many whom he knows to be well-meaning and sincere, but who cannot conceive of other and better things than those to which they have been accustomed. Such men unconsciously become a part of the system in which they have lived and to which they have grown; they move contentedly in the old ruts, and only that which has been is with them that which shall be. Any one starting forth on a new path, with unfamiliar aspirations appears to them as a madman, or a self-seeking schemer, or at best a phenomenon utterly unintelligible, but of which they entertain the sincerest distrust, while they are the most formidable enemies of the reformer, because they are conscientiously so, and because they are in the closest sympathy with the stag-

nation which he labours to abolish. Throughout all time it has been so, and to the end of time it must, by the nature of things, be so; in one way or another the reformer is despised and rejected of men—a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. When not actively opposed and openly reviled, his work is not seldom being done while men wist not of it—while they hide, as it were, their faces from him; and it is commonly completed, and the self-sacrifice of his life over, before the world awakens to anything like an adequate consciousness of its vast importance. Often, too, it happens that he survives not to behold any fruit of his labours—has only a glimpse of the promised land; and, like Moses of old, lies down to die in solitary sorrow on some lonely Pisgah, while others joyously gather in the harvest which he has sown with much painful toil. And when they have gathered in the fruits, they slowly call to mind him who has been their benefactor, place him on a pedestal of glory amongst the great ones of the past, and determine with one consent that his name shall live for evermore. Having paid which debt of gratitude to the past, they proceed forthwith to resist the reformer who is living and labouring among them, and with all their might strive to crush him out.

The cost to the individual reformer being so severe, and the strength required of him so great, even when the rare opportunity offers, it is no wonder that there are many who refuse to become martyrs in the cause of humanity; that there are others who break down in the unequal conflict; and that but few centuries have a great reform to boast of. How many years has man lived upon earth, and how few has he profitably employed! It may not be amiss, then, that the present century, in which a great social reform has been accomplished by the labours of a few men, should be reminded of the noble work that has been done, and called to take some thought of the difficulties that have been patiently surmounted, and of the vast gain that has accrued to humanity. Familiarity with the modern and scientific treatment of the insane is apt to make us forget that it is of quite recent birth, and that within the memory of many now living it would have been thought the wildest madness to dream of dealing with these afflicted beings otherwise than as with the most dangerous animals. Not in any country nor at any period before this century, was there a just conception of the insane as victims of disease, whom it was necessary to treat as such, and of mental derangement as the perverted function of a diseased organ; and even at the present time this conception has not gained full admission into the mind of every legislator, or of the general public. Happily, mankind is capable of being moved through feeling to a practical course, the theory of which it does not fully appreciate. This was what happened in regard to the insane. The horrible revelations of their miserable condition aroused public compassion, and there were found men of humane feelings and enlightened views sufficiently far-seeing, patient, resolute, and energetic to realize the better feelings in a

better system of treatment. It is now the fixed habit in this country to treat the insane as sufferers from disease, and it is not deemed necessary or thought right to apply any sort of mechanical restraint even to the most excited maniac. Such a vast reform has been accomplished in our time by the labours of a few determined men, and some of them who were leaders in the fight are still living, strangely unregarded, and entirely unrewarded, by an age which owes them so much. We propose now, then, to exhibit the course of progress from the old and barbarous system of chaining up the insane, to the modern humane and enlightened system of treatment; to point out through what difficulties the advance was made, and to indicate, as far as it is yet visible, the path of future progress. To this end it will be most convenient to take the history of Bethlehem Hospital, the management, or more correctly the mismanagement, of which has, at different times within the last fifty years, been the subject of special inquiry by a committee of the House of Commons, by the Lunacy Commissioners, and twice by the Charity Commissioners. It has been the last stronghold of an obstructive policy, and the congenial home of the worst iniquities of an iniquitous system, with which through all time to come its history will be identified; for, as truly said in the House of Commons, if ever any public establishment has covered England with shame, it is Bethlehem Hospital. The periodical public interference which has been necessary in order to bring this hospital up to the level of similar institutions, has resulted in certain reports, enumerated at the head of this article, that are now valuable records; in them we witness the gradual breaking down of the old system of barbarity and obstructiveness under the pressure of enlightened opinion brought to bear from without; and they are thus trustworthy landmarks on the road, by help of which we are enabled to realize how fearfully bad the old system was, how difficult was its destruction, and how great has been the progress.

Before proceeding to elicit from these reports the history of the destruction of the old, and the growth of the new, system of treating Insanity, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the manner of dealing with the insane at different times and in different countries, in order to show how entirely new the modern scientific system really is. By the Eastern nations, generally, it would appear that the insane were regarded, according to the manner of their madness, either as inspired by some divine spirit, and then consulted as oracles, or as possessed with some evil spirit, and avoided as having a devil in them. As in the different powers of nature good or evil spirits were supposed to reign, according as their influence was beneficial, or appeared malignant, so in the unaccountable perversion of human nature displayed in the vagaries of insanity, men saw the good or the evil spirit, according as these were harmless or offensive. In the latter case, it was often supposed that so great a degradation must proceed from divine anger, and be a punishment inflicted by divine agency. It can

scarcely admit of doubt, however, that many insane must have suffered a violent death, in accordance with the prevailing law of vengeance which ordained an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; for it is the nature of insanity to rebel against and to outrage the established laws and customs of society, and on any such crime the Mosaic laws would press most severely. The ancient Egyptians—a wonderful people in many regards—seem to have arrived at a far more just conception of the nature of insanity than other nations at that time; for they had at both extremities of Egypt temples, surrounded by shady groves and beautiful gardens, to which melancholics in great numbers resorted in quest of relief, and in which varieties of games and recreations were established for the amusement of the mind and the invigoration of the body, while the imagination was impressed with the finest productions of the sculptor and the painter. Perhaps it was in Egypt that Pythagoras, the first Greek philosopher who practised medicine, learned this plan of treating insanity, afterwards introducing it, along with the doctrine of metempsychosis, into Greece. At any rate, Asclepiades, who is said to be the founder of a moral treatment of insanity among the Greeks, adopted a humane and rational system: music, love, wine, employment, exercising the memory, and fixing the attention, were his principal remedies; and he recommended that bodily restraint should be avoided as much as possible, and that none but the most violent should be bound. The theory of the supernatural origin of the madness of Orestes proves, however, that the Greeks generally had very erroneous notions of its nature as a disease, and of the mode of its causation.

Hippocrates was undoubtedly the first to recognise the true nature of insanity; he clearly perceived that the brain was the organ affected, and that there was nothing more divine in one disease than another. *Ἐποὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάτω δακτεὶ πάντα τὰ νόσθεα θεῖα εἶναι καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἕτερον θεϊότερον. οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἀλλὰ πάντα θεῖα.* And if we are to believe genuine the account given of the interview between him and Democritus, it is impossible to esteem too highly his diagnostic power. The people of Abdera, thinking Democritus to be mad, because of his strange behaviour, sent for Hippocrates, in order that he might give them his opinion, and, if needful, exercise his skill upon the laughing philosopher. "When Hippocrates was come to Abdera, the people of the city came flocking about him, some weeping, some entreating of him that he would do his best. After some little repast, he went to see Democritus, the people following him, whom he found in his garden in the suburbs, all alone, sitting upon a stone under a plane tree, without hose or shoes, with a book on his knees, cutting up several beasts, and busy at his study. The multitude stood gazing round about to see the congress. Hippocrates, after a little pause, saluted him, whom he re-saluted, ashamed almost that he could not call him likewise by his name, or that he had forgot it." Thereupon ensues a long discourse, in which Democritus gives excellent reasons for his sin-

gular behaviour, and shows satisfactorily that he has good cause to laugh at the miseries, the madness, and the follies of mankind. "It grew late: Hippocrates left him; and no sooner was he come away, but all the citizens came about flocking to know how he liked him. He told them in brief that, notwithstanding those small neglects of his attire, body, diet, the world had not a wiser, a more learned, a more honest man; and they were much deceived to say that he was mad." It is plain that Hippocrates knew better than many modern physicians how to distinguish between eccentricity and disease. More explicit views respecting the different ways in which the brain was affected in insanity were enunciated by Galen, who, indeed, has made many admirable observations, still instructive and worthy to be had in remembrance. Indeed, it is a matter of wonder that they should ever have been so completely forgotten, as they unquestionably were.

In the middle ages, under the blighting influence of an ignorant and intolerant priesthood, all rational views of the nature of insanity seem to have perished. There was a return to primeval superstition and to a barbarous treatment. If the poor madman were orthodox in his ravings, and capable of being used for the promotion of the interests of the Church, he was canonized like St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscans, who loved to strip himself naked, and to dress himself fantastically, who saw visions, and who was chained down in a dark room as a madman by his own parents. Another saint, St. Rosa de Luna, mixed gall and faeces with all her food, in token of humility and by way of penance; Agnes de Jesus, with like humility, refused to destroy the vermin which swarmed in her hair; St. Catherine of Sienna believed that she was received as a veritable spouse into the bosom of the Saviour; and St. Theresa not unfrequently reproached herself that her nightly raptures and salacious ecstasies were not sufficiently free from voluptuous bodily feelings. On the other hand, if the manifestations of insanity took a heterodox form, it went hard with the sufferers, numbers of whom were burnt alive as atheists or heretics, or as having had converse with the devil. Meanwhile it is probable that the insane, who were harmless, wandered about the country living on the charity of people and of the monasteries; and there can be no doubt that many of those who committed violence suffered as ordinary criminals. There was no conception of insanity as a disease demanding, like other diseases, medical treatment: the light which Hippocrates and Galen had thrown upon it was completely extinguished.

It was in 1547 that Henry VIII. granted to the City of London the suppressed priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem, which had been founded in 1246 by one of the Sheriffs of London, "to make there a priory, and to ordain a prior and canons, brothers, and also sisters, when Jesus Christ shall enlarge his grace upon it;" and "for to say divine service there for the souls aforesaid, and all Christian souls." This house the City of London converted into a

hospital for the reception of lunatics, thus founding the first hospital in England specially devoted to the reception of persons of unsound mind. It stood in Bishopsgate ward, without the city wall, where now is Bethlem Court off Bishopsgate-street, "in an obscure and close place," says Stowe, "near unto many common sewers, and also was too little to receive and entertain the great number of distracted persons, both men and women." Accordingly, in 1675, the second Bethlehem Hospital was built in Moorfields, a stately and magnificent structure, with gardens before it. "And besides the garden, there is at each end another for the lunatic people to walk in for their refreshment, when they are a little well of their distemper; and that part fronting the fields hath iron gates in several places of the wall, to the end that passengers as they walk in the fields may look into the garden. This large fabric is built of brick and freestone; the gate, or entrance, all of stone, with two figures of a distracted man and woman over the gate." The eighth picture in Hogarth's "Rake's Progress," which was painted in 1735, is evidently founded on observations made in the wards of this Bedlam, and may serve to convey some idea of the scenes in it. The rake, his face wrung with the last strain of human suffering, lies dying in the arms of the poor weeping woman whom he had seduced, his ankles loaded with chains, and the physician leaning over him; in one of the cells is seen a naked figure on a straw bed, the chains round his wrists hanging over the bedstead; in another cell sits a crowned figure, and a mad astronomer occupies the centre of the picture. These miserable creatures, chained on their straw, were made objects of exhibition to the idle and the curious, just as the lions in the Tower were. One of the entries in Mr. Peppys' Diary is:—"Stept into Bedlam, where I saw several poor miserable creatures in chains; one of them was mad with making verses." Steele, again, in the "Tatler," mentions how he paid a visit to Bedlam with several friends, in order to show them the sights there. No cruelty, however extreme, but what familiarity will divest of its horrors, blunting the feelings of the most humane, and obscuring the judgment of the most enlightened of men.

Thus cruelly things went on year after year, until 1815, in spite of the occasional protest of some benovolent person who was horrified with the painful scenes that he had witnessed. Words cannot express, nor mind conceive, the countless cruelties practised within the walls of old Bedlam—cruelties such as would righteously cover with eternal infamy those who were in any way responsible for them, were it not that their names are, happily, for the most part buried in oblivion. And yet the governors of this wealthy charity could have had no interest and no pleasure in its mismanagement; they gave their services without recompense, and no doubt conscientiously; and they sincerely resented the suggestion of public interference. It is ever so; more suffering is caused in the world by want of thought and by obstructive prejudice than by heartlessness and

wilful design. For the Bethlehem system was not at that time general; it had been superseded by that more enlightened and humane system, which receiving its first impulse from the great uprising of outraged human feeling in the French revolution, had been initiated by Pinel in France, further developed by Esquirol, and carried into admirable operation at the "Quakers' Retreat," near York.

At last the troublesome reformer, so offensive to official indolence, and to hostile iniquities, though hallowed by age, appeared, and in spite of opposition, forced his way into Bethlehem Hospital. Mr. Edward Wakefield, who for many years had been in the habit of visiting all places where insane persons were confined, first visited the hospital on April 25th, 1814, and made another visit on May 2nd. What he found on these occasions is recorded in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. In the women's galleries, one of the side rooms contained about ten patients, each chained by one arm or leg to the wall, the chain allowing them merely to stand up by the bench or form fixed to the wall, or to sit down on it. The nakedness of each patient was covered by a blanket, made into something like a dressing-gown, but with nothing to fasten it in front. This was the whole covering, the feet being naked. In another part he found many of the unfortunate women locked up in their cells, naked, and chained on straw, with only one blanket for a covering. In the men's wing, in the side room, six patients were chained close to the wall, five handcuffed, and one locked to the wall by the right arm, as well as by the right leg; he was very noisy; all were naked except as to the blanket-gown or small rug on the shoulders, and without shoes—their nakedness and their mode of confinement gave this room the complete appearance of a dog-kennel.

"In one of the cells on the lower gallery we saw William Norris. He stated himself to be 55 years of age, and that he had been confined about 14 years; that in consequence of attempting to defend himself from what he conceived the improper treatment of his keeper, he was fastened by a long chain, which, passing through a partition, enabled the keeper, by going into the next cell, to draw him close to the wall at pleasure; that to prevent this, Norris muffled the chain with straw, so as to hinder it passing through the wall: that he afterwards was confined in the manner we saw him, namely, a stout iron ring was rivetted round his neck, from which a short chain passed to a ring made to slide upwards and downwards, on an upright massive iron bar, more than six feet high, inserted into the wall; round his body a strong iron bar, about two inches wide, was rivetted: on each side the bar was a circular projection, which, being fastened to and enclosing each of his arms, pinioned them close to his sides. This waist-bar was secured by two similar bars, which, passing over his shoulders, were rivetted to the waist-bar, both before and behind. The iron ring round his neck was connected to the bars on his shoulders by a double link; from each of these bars another short chain passed to the ring on the upright bar. We were informed he was enabled to raise himself so as to stand against the wall on the pillow of his bed in the trough bed in which he

lay; but it is impossible for him to advance from the wall in which the iron bar is soldered, on account of the shortness of the chains, which were only twelve inches long. It was, I conceive, equally out of his power to repose in any other position than on his back, the projections on each side of the waist-bar enclosed his arms, rendering it impossible for him to lie on his side, even if the length of the chain from his neck and shoulders would permit it. His right leg was chained to the trough, in which he had remained thus encaged and chained for more than twelve years."

A marvellous example truly of what the human constitution may accommodate itself to! Poor Norris was not released from this confinement until about three weeks or a month before his death, which, notwithstanding the opinion of Dr. Monro, the physician then at the head of the medical department, may well be thought to have been hastened by the treatment to which he was subjected. That gentleman being asked whether he did not think that the pulmonary complaint of which Norris died might have been produced by the great quantity of iron he wore for so many years? replied, "I think not." Again asked:—

"Do you think a person could have had about him a weight of iron, say six or eight-and-twenty pounds; that he could have been confined to his bed without being allowed to turn round for nine years, or without being able to get out and sit on the edge of his bed, being chained by the head by a chain only twelve inches from the iron stanchion, and that would have no effect upon his general health?"—"It did not appear to have any general effect upon his health—he was in very good health till within a very short period of his death."

The apothecary coincided in his colleague's opinion, and even became enthusiastic about the excellence of restraint by means of irons. In reply to a question, he asserted that to secure the patient with irons was a thousand times less objectionable than the strait-waistcoat, and that, footlocked and manacled, he was rendered an "innocuous animal."

It was revealed furthermore, by the examination of Dr. Monro, that it was the custom at particular seasons of the year, May, June, July, August, and September, "to apply general bleeding, purging, and vomit," without any discrimination of cases. It was asked whether the bleeding and vomiting were performed at the same period, or periodically, like the other modes of treatment, and the reply was—"They are ordered to be bled about the latter end of May, or the beginning of May, according to the weather; and after they have been bled they take vomits once a week for a number of weeks; after that we purge the patients; that has been the practice invariably for years, long before my time; it was handed down to me by my father, and I do not know any better practice." Besides the acknowledgment and approval of this remarkable system of medical treatment, the investigations of the Committee elicited the disgraceful and almost incredible fact that a male keeper was employed to attend to the refractory female patients. Certainly Dr. Monro could not give satisfactory answers upon

this point, though much pressed, and could not recollect that the Chamberlain of the City of London had interfered and dismissed a certain male keeper named King; but the evidence of the apothecary, who was thereupon re-called and re-examined, leaves no doubt that this abominable practice was the regular custom of the hospital.

"Was not a man appointed to do the duty of keeper to the women only?"—"That has always been the case." "Do you remember a keeper of the name of King?"—"Perfectly." "Was not King, when keeper of the female patients, charged with being too familiar with a female patient of great beauty?"—"The patient herself did charge him with that." "He being keeper of the female patients at the time?"—"Yes, she complained to me of it." "Did not the Governors, from learning that fact, direct that no man should again be put as keeper of the women?"—"I do not recollect that they came to any resolution upon that case; it was about three years ago. Some years ago, a female patient had been impregnated twice during the time she was in the hospital; at one time she miscarried; and the person who was proved to have had connexion with her, being a keeper, was accordingly discharged."

It was too plain, as the examination by the House of Commons proceeded, that the Committee of the Hospital often did not see the patients for months, but that these were left to the care of the medical attendants, who in their turn appear to have left their work to the keepers, and to have done little more than give the sanction of their authority to the system of neglect and brutality in force, and uphold and defend it when attacked. Any one reading their answers to the close cross-questioning of the Committee of the House of Commons, and appreciating the spirit which inspired them, cannot fail to be convinced that the iniquities exposed were but a partial revelation of numbers done in secret and never known, and will even now shudder at the imagination of the cruel sufferings undergone by the unhappy patients already sufficiently afflicted by their disease.

Such, then, was old Bedlam, and such were the iniquities of which it was the home. Last in persistence in the old system of treatment, and worst in its mode of carrying it out, its story, as revealed by the investigation of the House of Commons, has become the eternal disgrace of England, and is still quoted in all parts of the world as evidence of the way in which the insane were treated in this country in 1815. Not justly so, however: chains had for some time been abolished in most other asylums; and it was with horror and indignation that the public discovered the system of cruelty that was being practised, and insisted upon its instant abolition. Indeed, the only persons not horrified by the painful disclosures were those immediately responsible for the disgrace.

In 1815, the new Bethlehem Hospital was built in what was then St. George's-in-the-Fields, but what is now a densely populated part of a low lying district of London, and where, hemmed in and overlooked by houses, it still stands. In front of it, as in front of old

Bedlam, there is a small garden enclosed with iron palings, to the end that passengers, as they walk past, may look in "and see the lunatic people walk for their refreshment when they are a little well of their distemper." Though the old system of cruelty had perished with the old fabric, and could not possibly be restored, yet the traditions of the past did not entirely die out, but appear to have passed by a hereditary transmission to the new fabric and the new officers. The body was dead; but the spirit remained alive; the chains could not be restored, but mechanical restraint of every other kind—canvas gloves, strait-waistcoats, hobbles, and wrist-locks—was systematically employed. Once more the cry of intolerable suffering within was heard without its walls, and once more it was determined to institute an official investigation into the condition of the hospital. Accordingly, in July, 1851, the Commissioners in Lunacy commenced a searching inquiry, examined different witnesses, and finally presented to the Home Secretary a report announcing that several patients had been subjected to harsh and improper treatment by the attendants—that they were neglected by the medical and other officers of the institution; that the bedding, clothing, and accommodation were unfit and insufficient; that the health of one had been materially injured thereby, and the life of another put in peril; and pronouncing "the management and condition of the hospital in many material respects most unsatisfactory." In reading the evidence taken by the Commissioners, it is striking how much the story in 1851 is a repetition of the story disclosed in 1815, allowance being made for the difference of time. There is, happily, a limit to the distance at which the most inveterate obstructive institution or individual can lag behind the spirit of the age. There was no patient now found chained as poor Norris was chained until death released him—that was impossible even at Bethlehem in 1851; but the same heartless neglect, the same spirit of obstructiveness, the same inefficient superintendence, the same strong feeling evinced that the magnificent revenues of the wealthy charity existed for the sake of administrators and officials, and not administrators and officials for the purposes of the charity, and the same incapacity to perceive that the condition and management of the hospital was of any just interest or concern to any one but those who derived interest or profit from it—all these were as plainly exhibited as when they were more completely realized in a more iniquitous practice. The Report of the Commissioners seems to have fixed the responsibility of the bad state of things in great part upon the treasurer: he having, by his own confession, no power whatever except as a member of the board of management, had, by his own authority and at his own pleasure, actually taken from the resident medical officer the duties of classifying the female patients, of deciding which of them should be employed, and of regulating the employment, and of determining in which wards they should be placed; and had invested the matron with this power. He had, in fact, unwarrantably and most inju-

diciously assigned to her the whole moral treatment of the female patients; and all this mischief he had done of his motion without reporting such interference to the governors. The hiring and discharge of attendants and servants were also in his hands. The evil consequences of a state of things in which the medical officer had all the responsibility, and no power, while the treasurer assumed all the power and no responsibility, may easily be imagined. There was no unity in the management of the hospital, and the patients were grossly neglected and cruelly treated; female patients in the basement of the building were found to have regularly slept entirely naked on loose straw, with only a blanket over them, the poor creatures crawling under the straw in order to try to get warm; and the Commissioners intimate their belief, notwithstanding official denial, that female patients were actually laid naked on the stone floor and mopped with cold water. The backs of the patients were excoriated through lying in wet and dirty straw; and one wonders not, after reading the evidence elicited, that health was sometimes materially injured, and life put in peril.

It would not serve any good purpose to go at length through the evidence taken by the Commissioners, in which facts denied by one witness are admitted as undisputed by another, and statements repudiated at one time by the same witness are acknowledged at another; but it is impossible to restrain surprise and disgust at the singular defence of such neglect and cruelty which Dr. E. T. Monro, who for thirty-five years had been the principal medical officer, and who was the son of him whose reputation suffered so much by the disclosures of 1815, does not shrink from making for himself. "The modern idea appears to incline to that hard-working attention to minute particulars which has never hitherto characterized the mental physician exercising a high profession in a liberal manner; and if the duties of the future medical officer are to be so minute, and so extensive, and so laborious, he must, indeed, be of a very different grade and calibre from all physicians who have heretofore exercised this high calling." It is heartily to be hoped that future mental physicians will be of a very different grade and calibre, and we are convinced that there is nothing by which not the insane only, but the medical profession, will gain so much as by the revolution which Dr. Monro dreaded. This gentleman being closely questioned as to whether a letter, complaining of the ill-treatment to which a patient had been subjected, had not been read at a meeting of the committee of the hospital where he was present, replied, "If I were to speak the truth from my heart, I believe not." Being then pressed as to the particular day on which it was actually read, he said, "I beg your pardon; I will recall what I just said." Then, after a little consideration, he added, "I am taxing my memory to the utmost, and upon second thoughts I do remember," that the letter was read.

It was furthermore elicited by the inquiry that it was the regular practice to discharge a patient whenever, through the progress of dis-

sease or through the effects of neglect and ill-treatment, the health had been so reduced as that death might be apprehended. "All patients," said Dr. Monro, "who are so sick as to require the attendance of nurses are inadmissible; and when they become sick we send them to their relatives. They are discharged as being sick and weak. We do not pretend to provide for any but for the casual sick, and they are never admitted sick and never kept long if they are."

Meanwhile, though Bethlehem Hospital was the scene of such cruelties, and though mechanical restraint had been in systematic use there up to within eighteen months of the date of the commissioners' inquiry, the great modern reform in the treatment of the insane had for some time been accomplished, and the principles of kindness and of moral control had superseded terrorism and mechanical restraint in all other asylums. It was in September, 1889, that Dr. Conolly presented his first report, as resident physician, to the magistrates of the Hanwell Asylum; and it was in that report that the abolition of mechanical restraint in that large asylum was announced. Dr. Conolly had entered on his duties as physician on the 1st of June, 1889, and on the 21st of September there was not a single patient in restraint. "No form of strait-waist-coat, no hand-straps, no leg-locks, nor any contrivance confining the trunk or limbs, or any of the muscles, is now in use," he writes in his first report. Even at so early a period he was able to say "that, notwithstanding some peculiar difficulties, the noise and disorder prevalent in some of the wards have already undergone diminution; that instances of frantic behaviour and ferocity are becoming less frequent; that the paroxysms of mania to which many of the patients are subject are passed over with less outrage and difficulty; and that, if cases are yet seen which appear for a length of time to baffle all tranquillizing treatment, they chiefly, if not exclusively, occur in acute mania, the symptoms of which would be exasperated by severe coercion, or among those who, having been insane many years, have been repeatedly subjected to every variety of violent restraint."* The experiment had previously been made on a small scale at the Lincoln Asylum by the united efforts of Dr. Charlesworth and Mr. Hill, and made successfully. Indeed, it was from witnessing what had been done there that Dr. Conolly was convinced of the practicability of abolishing all forms of mechanical restraint, and determined to carry out the non-restraint system on the large scale which his opportunities at Hanwell afforded. "The example of the Lincoln Asylum, in which no patient has been put in restraint for nearly three years, came also powerfully in aid of an attempt to govern the Asylum at Hanwell by mental restraint rather than by physical." Once the humane system of treatment had

been proved successful in an establishment containing at that time nearly one thousand patients, embracing every form both of acute and chronic insanity, it was certain that it must be applicable to every case of insanity, and to every asylum containing insane patients. Accordingly in the face of much prejudice and many obstacles, all forms of bodily restraints for the insane were dispensed with; and after an experience of three years at the Hanwell Asylum, it was established beyond all dispute "that the management of a large asylum is not only practicable without the application of bodily coercion to the patients, but that, after the total disuse of such a method of control, the whole character of an asylum undergoes a gradual and beneficial change." Every succeeding year afforded new and stronger proof of the great benefit of the entire disuse of mechanical restraint; asylum after asylum throughout the country made cautious trial of the new system, ending with its entire adoption, and much praise of its efficacy; and at last that which had been sneered at and rejected as the benevolent dream of enthusiasm was accepted generally as an article of faith not to be questioned. As ever happens in the case of any great practical reform, the non-restraint system was at first declared absurd and impracticable, then grudgingly accepted as worthy of trial under certain circumstances, and finally assimilated into the public habit of thought as a movement not new, nor one for which any individual could justly claim special credit.

How little the inherent justice of the reform would have availed, but for the individual conviction and individual energy by which, through good report and through evil report, its triumph was secured, may easily be perceived by any one who will reflect on the condition of Bethlehem Hospital in 1851, as disclosed by the inquiry of Commissioners in Lunacy, and contrast it with the condition of Hanwell Asylum ten years earlier. Faithful to its traditions, that hospital clung to an evil system as long as this had any lingering vitality, and abandoned it with regret when its utter decay rendered it a public nuisance, calling for public interference. The way in which the governors of Bethlehem received the recommendations of the commissioners proves plainly enough how blind they were to what the welfare of the insane demanded; and it is truly disheartening to read the observations which they thought proper to make in reply to the severe condemnation passed upon the mis-management of the hospital. The commissioners had felt it their duty to reflect upon the treasurer's conduct, to which undoubtedly they thought much of the evil in the state of the hospital was due; and the reply of the governors, signed by this very treasurer, is, that the course adopted by him had been proper and judicious. They are of opinion also that the use of straw covered with a blanket is not unsuitable for the bedding of patients insensible to the calls of nature, and indeed enter into various reasons to show how admirable and indispensable in such cases such bedding is. They could not venture formally

* The Reports of John Conolly, M.D., the Resident Physician of the County Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell, to the Michaelmas Sessions, 1842.

to approve the practice of putting patients on straw, stark-naked, or, as they more euphoni-ously put it, without a proper supply of night-gowns; but they did not fail to display a lingering love of that practice, and positively to make a sort of defence of it in respect of suicidal patients. To one of their physicians, from whom nothing damaging had been elicited by the commissioners, they feel it due to express their opinion that "all his proceedings in connexion with the hospital have been characterized by industry and kindness;" while they are sorry that the other physician, who had made damaging admissions in his evidence, had not entertained correct views of his duties, "proving the propriety of those changes in the medical staff that have been recently made."

Of the three hundred governors of the hospital at that time, not more than half a dozen probably were really responsible for its unsatisfactory condition, or for the unsatisfactory defence unwisely put forward. Most of them were content to give their support to an excellent charity, and to leave the administration of it entirely to those who, from whatever motives, showed greater interest in it, and gave greater attention to it. This is a fact in the history of many charities, which has been productive of much mischief; and assuredly it would sometimes be much better that a man should cease to be a governor if he ceases to give any thought to the government, than allow the weight of his name and character to be used by a few self-seeking men to prop up a system of gross mismanagement. The governors of Bethlehem in their defence lay stress on the fact that "they assiduously and gratuitously devote a large portion of their time to the superintendence of the charity, and being above the suspicion of having any interested motives, or that they can possibly have any other object than for the perfect good of the institution," they feel it right to express their conviction "that if a mode of investigation, similar to that adopted by the commissioners in their case, were to become general, it would discourage the supporters of numerous public charities, and would deeply injure many of those great institutions of benevolence which are universally regarded as the brightest ornaments of the land." Now what is the real value of such a statement in such a case? It was true, without doubt, as regards the governors generally; but viewed in relation to the actual circumstances, it was simply a complaint on the part of the person principally reflected upon, the treasurer, that unless he were allowed to go on managing affairs as hitherto, and, by such management, inflicting unspeakable suffering upon many unfortunate patients, he would be discouraged. It was surely far less likely that the Commissioners in Lunacy should have interested motives than an officer who, in addition to the power and influence attaching to his office, was provided with a furnished residence at Bridewell Hospital for his services to the charity. There is, unhappily, too much reason to think that many of our large public charities, which, like Bethlehem Hospital, have magnificent endowments, are grossly mismanaged,

and, instead of being "the brightest ornaments of the land," they have been so warped from the noble purposes of their founders, as to make right-minded persons grieve heartily. Is it not too true that some of them, falling infinitely short of their just aim, have become vast accumulations of wealth, on which multitudes of parasites cling and live?

To an unprejudiced looker-on, it must have seemed strange that the governors should give so many excellent reasons in favour of a system, in order that they might forthwith abolish it, and so many excellent reasons against the recommendations of the commissioners, in order that they might forthwith adopt them, and carry them into practical operation. Now this was precisely what they wisely did: they accepted the resignations of their physicians and other officers, making them the scapegoats to carry their sins; they appointed a responsible medical superintendent, protecting him from the undue interference of the treasurer, entrusting him with paramount control of the treatment of the patients, and making him responsible for the entire internal management of the institution: they initiated a new and excellent system, with many new officers to carry it into effect. They did not, however, think it necessary to change their treasurer. Though the commissioners had significantly expressed their opinion that the horrible practice of making women lie naked on straw had prevailed for years, and had gone on without challenge from, or even, as it is stated, without the knowledge of the treasurer, the physicians, the resident apothecary, and matron, and had expressly included the treasurer in their censure; and though physicians, apothecary, and matron all resigned, yet the treasurer remained in office. It may well be doubted whether this was not most unwise: the only certain guarantee of an effectual reform is to sweep away, along with the abuses, all those who have been implicated in them. If this is not done, the old spirit is almost sure to revive, and sooner or later to bring forth its accustomed fruits.

Under the new system of management instituted, and under the effectual superintendence of the new physician, Dr. Hood, the condition of the hospital was greatly improved, and it was speedily brought up to the level of similar institutions: for the first time in its history it became an asylum of which the country might be justly proud. No sooner, however, did Dr. Hood resign his office, having well earned the reward of a higher position, than the condition and management of the hospital again excited public attention, and in April, 1864, necessitated another inquiry by the Charity Commissioners. It was found that the rules in force were so framed as entirely to frustrate the true object of the charity: that there were special enactments made to exclude all those insane persons who were so violent or troublesome as to require the special care of an attendant, all who were epileptic or paralytic, all those who had been insane more than twelve months, all those who had been in any other asylum, all those whose precarious condition threatened the dissolution of life, and all those whom disease

or physical infirmity rendered unfit to associate with other patients—all, in fact, who were likely to give any trouble or to require particular care, and were in special need of the benefits which the hospital had been founded to supply. Taught by the bitter experience of the past, the governors seem to have determined that they would not again run the risk of being accused of neglecting and cruelly treating troublesome patients, and consequently to have admitted no case of insanity that was not likely to do them credit. Assuredly it must have been a very hard matter for any lunatic, consistently with his remaining insane, to avoid falling under one or other of the excluding categories. Dogberry instructed the watch that if they met a thief, they should suspect him by virtue of their office to be no true man, and thereupon not apprehend him, but let him steal himself away: the officers of Bethlehem were instructed by their rules, that if a lunatic were brought for admission, they should, by virtue of their office, suspect him to be no sane man, and thereupon not admit him, but drive him elsewhere, and presently thank God that they were rid of a troublesome person. It may be doubted whether in the history of public charities there is a more flagrant instance of injustice than is afforded by this great hospital, with an income of more than £22,000 a-year, providing only for a little more than two hundred insane persons carefully selected from the multitudes urgently needing help. On the 1st January, 1863, there were, exclusive of criminals paid for by the Government, only 201 patients in the hospital; and on the 1st January, 1864, there were 212 patients. In the three years previous to 1843, the admissions of curable patients were 896; in the three years previous to 1853, the number was 898; and in the three years previous to 1863, the admissions were 520. In these three last years there has been, as compared with the three years previous to 1853, actually a decrease of 878 in the admissions, although the demand for asylum accommodation for the poorer members of the middle class has become year by year more and more pressing: on the 1st January, 1863, there were 201 patients in the hospital, although the income was amply sufficient to maintain more than twice that number.

A fact which necessarily came prominently forward at the time of the public discussion concerning the hospital, was the utter unsuitability of the site and building for the purposes of a lunatic asylum. Lord Shaftesbury, giving expression to the strong opinion of the Lunacy Commissioners, condemned it in the House of Lords.

"We take exception," he said, "to the present construction of the building. We maintain that it is most unfit for the purpose. This building was constructed at a time when strait-waistcoats were in vogue, and every patient was immured in a gloomy cell. Though not intended for prison, it was constructed on the same principles as a prison."

And again—

"A most important objection to Bethlehem Hospital as a place for the treatment and cure of insanity

remains to be noticed, viz., the unfitness, according to modern opinions, of the building, in respect of its construction and management. The general aspect of the hospital externally and internally, notwithstanding the efforts made within the last few years to enliven the corridors and day-rooms, cannot but exercise a depressing influence upon the inmates, whose means of outdoor exercise are so limited and inadequate. The commissioners in the case of asylums for pauper lunatics would never sanction plans upon the principle of Bethlehem Hospital."

This condemnation of the site and structure of the building was endorsed by the Medical Psychological Association and by the public press, general and medical. And yet, in spite of the agreement of the most competent authorities and of humane men, in spite of an excellent opportunity offered by the proposal of the governors of St. Thomas's Hospital to take the site and the building, in spite of the opposition of the more enlightened of the governors, in spite of the fact that in every country it is now thought necessary to remove asylums for the insane from the crowded towns into the open country, where there is room for out-door exercise, and where there is the opportunity of systematic employment for the patients—essential means of treatment—in spite of all these, the old spirit of obstructiveness prevailed, and it was unhappily determined that Bethlehem Hospital, the home of chains long after chains had disappeared from similar institutions, the last refuge of strait-waistcoats, manacles, straw-bedding, and cruel neglect, should not be unfaithful to its historical character, but should continue to coop up its patients in a prison-like building, and in miserable yards overlooked by neighbouring houses, when open country, cheerful building, opportunity of occupation on farm and garden, are universally admitted to be essentially requisite for the proper treatment of insanity, and are insisted upon in every pauper asylum. That it must sooner or later be moved to a more appropriate site in the country and be made to answer the demands of science and humanity, can admit of no question whatever; but it is painful to think that so excellent an opportunity, and one, probably, which will not recur, should have been lost through the ignorance of those who, having the power, had not a knowledge of the modern requirements for the welfare of the insane. It is painful to think that Bethlehem Hospital should still remain a cause of reproach to England throughout Europe; that foreign physicians who visit this country for the purpose of studying the mode of treating the insane, and who inspect Bethlehem Hospital, attracted by its well-known name, should return home with the belief that the English system, so widely renowned, is an imposture. They easily learn the defects of Bethlehem, but many of them do not learn how universally it is condemned.

In the course of the discussion as to the advantage of removing the hospital into the country, there was, certainly, one good reason urged for keeping it on its present site: this was, that it was conveniently situated as a school for the clinical study of insanity. Indeed, such study

was provided for in the rules which ordained that the resident physician should admit as pupils medical students, that he should give, during each term, a course of lectures, to be illustrated by cases, and that he should also examine the several pupils, and recommend to the committee the most efficient for appointment as clinical clerks. None of these things, however, were done: not a lecture was given at the hospital, no clinical clerk was appointed, no use whatever was made of the valuable material for instruction which it contained; and it appeared, that as far as any good which it had done for science, it might as well have stood in the desert of Sahara as in St. George's-in-the-Fields.

The result of the investigations of the Charity Commissioner, Mr. Martin, and of his examinations of witnesses, was a series of recommendations for the better government of the hospital, and for the better use of its vast revenue. After making certain suggestions with regard to the management of the funds, Mr. Martin recommends that a branch establishment for patients should be provided in the country; that the outrageous rules for excluding patients who were proper objects of charity should be abolished; and that the hospital should be made available for clinical instruction. The changes thus pointed out are undoubtedly most necessary, and if honestly carried into effect cannot fail to be great improvements on the present system; but they certainly do not meet all the requirements of modern reform. The opinion of the Commissioners in Lunacy, whose special knowledge and large experience of what is required for the insane are great, must carry more weight than that of a Charity Commissioner, who cannot be expected to be familiar with the principles of the modern scientific treatment of insanity. Mr. Martin seems, indeed, to have failed to perceive the essence of the matter in dispute between the public and the obstructive governors of Bethlehem; it was not a question of affording a few selected cases of insanity a pleasant change in a country house, but it was a question of certain essential requisites, according to modern opinion, for the proper medical treatment of insanity. To provide a branch establishment in town for the temporary reception of patients, while the hospital itself was removed into the country, would better fulfil the demands of humane and scientific treatment. Suitable employment in farm and garden, and sufficient space for out-door exercise, where the unfortunate patients may not be objects of the gaping curiosity and the vulgar ridicule of the idle and the impertinent—these are essential to a modern hospital for the insane. Whether such means exist or not constitutes in such case the difference between a hospital and a house of detention. Undoubtedly a branch establishment in the country would be a priceless boon to some of the poor patients confined in the present prison-like building; but it is easy to see that the cost would be out of all proportion to the benefit conferred, and that it would simply become another means of squandering the funds. The only reform worth entering upon

is the complete reform pointed out and insisted on by the Commissioners in Lunacy, advocated by scientific opinion, and adopted in other countries—the removal of the hospital to a country site, and its reconstruction and reorganization in accordance with the most approved modern principles. Then, only, will it rightly fulfil the important aims of its foundation as these declare themselves in the light of modern progress.

It is no wonder that the weight of obloquy which pressed upon the administration of Bethlehem Hospital was too great to be borne in silence, and that an attempt was made in the annual report for 1864 to show how successful it had been in curing the insane, and how little deserved, therefore, were the attacks made on the site, building, and management. In that report the "attention of the governors and all those interested in obtaining accurate information on the important question of the cure of the insane, is earnestly requested" to certain so-called statistics, which had been compiled by some volunteer defender of the hospital, and eagerly accepted by the authorities. From a comparison of the admissions into Bethlehem, and those into forty-four public asylums, it is made out that the cures in the former were actually 18·16 per cent. higher than the average per centage of other public asylums—that, while only 88·86 per cent of the patients admitted were cured in these, as many as 52·02 per cent. were cured in the much abused hospital. But that is not all; while there is an average of 18·54 per cent. of deaths in the public asylums, there is only 5·05 per cent. in Bethlehem, or, in fact, 8·49 per cent. in favour of the hospital. With a trusting confidence, sublime in its simplicity but terribly misplaced in its object, it is contended that "these facts distinctly show that the situation of Bethlehem Hospital cannot be unhealthy, and that its natural advantages are very great." The surprising part of the matter is, that any one so entirely ignorant of the simplest elements of statistical science, as the author of those figures is proved by them to have been, should have ventured to put forward results so extravagant; but it is more surprising still that any body of men should have covered themselves with ridicule by thoughtlessly accepting them. Such marvellous results might well have startled the most ignorant or the most credulous. A mortality of 18·5 per cent. is a mortality of 135 in the 1,000, while the supposed Bethlehem mortality of 5·02 per cent. is a mortality of 50 in the 1,000; so that the outrageous claim made for the hospital, as against other public asylums, is that is positively saves 85 lives in 1,000. The mortality of the British army, on the deadly Gold Coast, is, as Dr. Robertson, the successful defender of the public asylums, has aptly observed, only 37 in the 1,000 more than in England; and yet, deadly as the service on the Gold Coast is deemed, yet deadlier in their influences on the recently insane, in the ratio of 85 to 37, stand the asylums of the home countries as compared with Bethlehem.* Such figures

* On a recent attempt at the Comparative Statis-

cannot be treated seriously; they have been arrived at simply by ignoring every principle of statistical science as relating to the comparative death-rate of any given population or disease. The death-rate has moreover been calculated on the admissions instead of, as is always rightly done, on the number resident. So again with regard to the recoveries. No notice whatever is taken of the several important circumstances in the character of the cases admitted, which, independently of place or method of treatment, materially influence the results. For example, there is no consideration given to the important question of age, although it is established that, under the age of twenty-five, as many as three-fifths of the insane recover, while, after sixty, scarce more than one in six recovers. And yet the very erroneous table given in the Bethlehem report shows that as many as ten public asylums, receiving all sorts and conditions of cases, attained a higher percentage of cures than Bethlehem Hospital. The "Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of Lunacy," which gives the correct statistics of different asylums, shows that the proportion of cures in Bethlehem, notwithstanding the careful selection of cases for admission, is exceeded by other public asylums; and that its mean annual mortality, notwithstanding its systematic rejection of every case that seemed likely to die, and of every case that seemed not likely to get well, was 57 in the 1,000, while at the Warneford Asylum, Oxford, the annual mortality was 21 only in the 1,000, at Coton Hill, 52, and at the Retreat, 52. As far as any argument in such case can be founded on figures, it assuredly strengthens the general condemnation of the site, structure, and management of the hospital.

Does not the history of Bethlehem Hospital reveal, only too plainly, how vast are the difficulties in the way of practical reform, even when its principles are universally accepted? Ever as the course of progress takes a different direction, and as new questions arise, does the old spirit reassert itself, and as it resisted advance in the past, so again resists the impulses of present progress. Were it not that nature has happily put a period to human life, it may be doubted whether any great reform would ever be accomplished. But as the old men, imbued with the spirit of bygone thought, drop away, younger men, inspired with the spirit of progress, take up the work and carry it on, until they, in their turn, become old and petrify in cold obstruction. In some of the large London hospitals, it has recently been found necessary to enact that the officers should retire after reaching a certain age; so much had these noble charities suffered by the tenacious clinging to office of those whom age had rendered incapable of fulfilling their duties. Had this excellent rule been always in force at Bethlehem, how much obloquy would it have escaped—how much cruel suffering might have been spared to numbers of unfortunate patients—how great a reproach might have been spared

to England! Had the rule been in force even during the last few years, it cannot be doubted that some response would have been made to the humane and scientific views of the age, that something would have been done to make this wealthy charity meet the pressing claims for the benefits which it was so well capable of supplying. To point out what these needs are is to pass the severest condemnation on the administration of the hospital, and to present the most conclusive evidence of its inefficiency.

A special and most urgent want at the present time, repeatedly and earnestly insisted on by the Commissioners in Lunacy, individually and collectively, and by every one whose experience has made known to him the great necessity, is that of suitable asylum accommodation for the poorer members of the middle-class—those who are poor, but not poor enough to be paupers. For such persons, as Lord Shaftesbury truly says, "nothing worthy of the name of treatment or accommodation can now be obtained, except at a cost which is ruinous to clerks, tradespeople, and hard labourers in various professions. The misery that follows affliction of this kind in families such as I have mentioned is indescribable." What is to become of the father of the family, and of the family dependent for support upon his daily exertions, when he is struck down with insanity—the most expensive of diseases? At the same moment he becomes a terrible expense and the means of livelihood cease. Or, what shall he, with an income on which he can just contrive to maintain his family, do when his wife or one of his children is so miserably afflicted? As a matter of fact, the suffering caused by insanity amongst the lower middle-class is beyond description. Repeated attempts have been made to furnish asylum accommodation suitable to their means, and with partial success. There are eleven middle-class public asylums in England, receiving between 500 and 600 patients; but they are mostly situated in the northern and midland counties, and are not sufficient for the demands made on them there—for the southern and home counties there is no similar provision at all. In Scotland there is excellent provision of the kind; there are seven chartered asylums, built by private benevolence, and which are now self-supporting. Now, the want felt everywhere in England is, as may be supposed, most grievously felt in the metropolis, where the high pressure of active competition leads to frequent mental failures, where so many persons are day by day entirely dependent on the work they do, where health is capital, where not to go forward in the race is to go back. For the insane poor there is everywhere the most ample and satisfactory provision made in the different county and borough asylums; but these admirable institutions cannot admit any but paupers. The true mission of Bethlehem Hospital is therefore plainly marked out—to supply the asylum accommodation so pressingly needed for the lower middle classes. With its magnificent income of more than £32,000 a year rightly applied and faithfully managed, it has funds enough to provide for at least 400 insane persons, without

tics of Bethlehem Hospital and the English County Asylums. By C. L. Robertson, M. D.—*Journal of Mental Science*. October, 1865.

making any charge whatever for maintenance. But it is not necessary, nor is it perhaps well, that it should receive all patients entirely charitably; those who could afford to pay for their maintenance might pay a moderate sum, and those who could only afford to pay a little towards their maintenance might pay that little. Thus would the revenues of the hospital be considerably increased, and its capacity of doing good be largely extended; instead of receiving only 200 patients, there might be accommodation provided for 600 insane persons. Thus would one of the most urgent wants of the day be met, and thus would the hospital best fulfil the charitable aim of its foundation.

Another want sorely felt in the metropolis is the opportunity of clinical instruction in mental diseases for medical students. With the exception of Dr. Conolly's lectures, delivered at the Hanwell Asylum thirteen years ago, when he was physician, there never has been available means of gaining a knowledge of this most important branch of medical practice; year after year men enter on practice, never perhaps having seen a single case of insanity. And yet they not only have to treat this most serious disease as they have to treat other diseases, and to treat it at that early stage when there is always the best and sometimes the only chance of success, but they are called upon in courts of justice to give evidence with regard to it that may affect both property and life. On them, again, is imposed by law the duty of signing certificates of unsoundness of mind, under which an insane person is deprived of his liberty. Considering the serious and sacred interests involved in a medical opinion respecting insanity, and the grave responsibility incurred by the medical man, it is plainly most desirable that mental diseases should receive particular attention, and be a necessary branch of medical education, instead of being entirely neglected, as they are at present. But it is only within the last year that the Senate of the University of London, recognising the importance of a knowledge of mental diseases, and willing to insist on such knowledge from the candidates for degrees, has been compelled to refrain from issuing any compulsory regulations to secure that most desirable result, solely because of the absence of means and opportunity of instruction; it was impossible to enforce on the student a knowledge which it was impossible for him to get. How much the public interests and the medical profession have suffered by the long neglect of the study of insanity may easily be imagined by any one who calls to mind the great scandals that have occurred in regard to cases of insanity, and reflects on the outrageous character of the evidence frequently given in courts of justice. Whether an insane person who has committed murder is hanged as a criminal, or confined as a lunatic, is notoriously very much a matter of accident; and it is beyond question that persons really sane are sometimes acquitted as insane, while others really insane are executed. And what else can happen so long as men are called upon to give scientific evidence respecting a most obscure disease which they have never had any oppor-

tunity of studying, and perhaps, as may happen, of which they have never seen an example? By affording clinical instruction in mental diseases at Bethlehem Hospital, by instituting a course of lectures, and by making the hospital, like other metropolitan hospitals, a school for the scientific study of disease, the governors would not only supply a grievously felt want, but they would greatly advance the interests of medical science, and confer much real benefit on the public. But if they should persist in ignoring those claims and duties arising out of the interests entrusted to them; if they refuse to give the needy insane the full benefit of the vast revenues of which they have the charge; if they persevere in closing the doors of the hospital in the face of the afflicted rightly demanding its charitable help, and in the face of those who may justly claim the opportunity of clinical study which it is so well fitted to supply; then the importance of the subject is so great, and the public interests concerned so grave, that it may be hoped, and confidently expected, that parliamentary interposition will take place, and secure for the future the just application of the funds and the good government of the hospital. It is impossible that a lunatic hospital so strongly condemned by those who are the official guardians of the insane, and by public and scientific opinion, can be allowed to continue to be, as it has unhappily hitherto for the most part been, an ever recurring scandal and disgrace. It is impossible that those entrusted with the administration of a wealthy public charity can be allowed for ever to deprive the public of the full benefit of its magnificent income, and to frustrate the noble aim of its foundation. If the many excellent and benevolent men whose names are found in the list of governors would but cease to be only nominal governors, and begin to take a real earnest interest in the government of the hospital, then assuredly would enlightened views prevail, and a reform, proceeding from within, obviate the necessity of a public interference otherwise inevitable.

Painful as it is to find any institution for the insane falling short of the humane and scientific requirements of the age, and calling for public censure, there is yet one point of view from which the fact may be regarded with some gratification. When we call to mind what was the treatment of the insane at the beginning of this century, and reflect on what it is in which Bethlehem now falls short of modern requirements, we are enabled to realize vividly the great reform which has been accomplished. And there is the best hope of the endurance of the new system, because it is not a practical improvement dictated only by the transitory impulses of benevolence, but it has been deliberately organized in accordance with scientific theory of the nature of insanity, and approved by successful trial. Science and practice have gone hand-in-hand, and have furthered one another's progress. Herein lies the vast difference between the modern theory and treatment of insanity, and the theory and practice which have prevailed at any other time. The disordered mind is distinctly recognized as the func-

tional manifestation of a diseased organ; and though very little is known of the actual morbid conditions in the organ, yet the investigations of the microscopist are steadily revealing the evidences of disease where a little time since none were recognizable, and those who have given the greatest attention to the subject are those who are most surely convinced of the invariable existence of organic change. Where the subtlety of nature so much exceeds the subtlety of the means of investigation, it causes no surprise and no disappointment that the senses, with their present aids, cannot yet penetrate the most secret recesses of her complex operations. But to conclude from the non-appearance of morbid change in some cases of insanity to the non-existence thereof, as was at one time done, would be the same as if the blind man were to maintain that there are no colours, or the deaf man that there are no sounds.

In conclusion, it is interesting to observe how gradually, but surely, the scientific theory of insanity is influencing modern psychology. As pathological phenomena often afford valuable aid in the determination of physiological problems, so the manifestations of the mind disordered are frequently alterations in the conditions of a psychological problem such as cannot be produced artificially—experiments, in fact, made by nature, but which are most instructive and helpful in the formation of an inductive science of mind. And so it is happily coming to pass that madness, once the subject of foolish superstition, and afterwards the prey of ignorant and brutal keepers of asylums, is now becoming the study and care of scientific physicians, and is taking its due place in the appropriate system of scientific development. Those who think it no shame to make a foolish sneer at medicine, because it is not an exact science, and because it cannot cure the Cattle Plague, and who venture to depreciate what it has done for mankind, would do well to reflect upon what it has done for the insane, and to remember that it is to the medical profession, little aided from without, that the great reform in the treatment of the insane is due. It can admit of no doubt that, when questions now occupying a large space in public attention have long been entirely forgotten, this reform will be remembered as one of the chief glories of this century.

Postscript.—During the passage of the foregoing pages through the press, there has been announced the death of him to whose firm convictions, benevolent feeling, and persevering labours the modern humane reform in the treatment of the insane mainly owed its practical origin and consummate triumph. Dr. John Conolly has now gone where praise can neither reach, nor censure touch him more; but though he has passed away, the great work which he accomplished remains a noble monument of his life, and cannot but abide in the memories of men as long as humane feeling and benevolent aspirations live in their hearts.

ART. III.—THE SITUATION IN AUSTRIA.

1. *Stenographische Berichte der 2ten und 3ten Sessionen des Abgeordnetenhauses.* Wien: 1863-4.
(*Stenographic Reports of the 2nd and 3rd Sessions of the House of Representatives.* Vienna: 1863-4.)
2. *Siste Viator. Ein Gedenkblatt für Oesterreichs Völker.* Wien: 1865.
(*Siste Viator. A Memento for the People of Austria.* Vienna: 1865.)
3. *Oesterreichs Staatsidee.* Von FRANZ PALACKY.
(*Austria's State-idea.* By FRANCIS PALACKY.)
4. *Drei Jahre Verfassungstreit. Beiträge zur jüngsten Geschichte Oesterreichs.* Von einem UNGAR. Leipsig: 1864.
(*Three Years' Constitutional Conflict. Contributions to the latest History of Austria.* By a HUNGARIAN. Leipsig: 1864.)
5. *Parlamentarisches Taschenbuch für den ungarischen Reichstag.* Pesth: 1866.
(*Parliamentary Pocket-book for the Hungarian Diet.* Pesth: 1866.)
6. *Stenographische Berichte verschiedener Oesterreichischen Landtage.* Wien: 1866.
(*Stenographic Reports of Different Austrian Diets.* Vienna: 1866.)

AGAIN the eyes of statesmen, and all who take an interest in Continental politics, are directed with more than usual attention to the Austrian Empire. Again there is a change of scene in the constitutional drama which is being enacted in that heterogeneous State. Again national and party spirit runs high, displaying marked contrasts in opinions respecting the latest phase of Imperial policy, and also in the feelings and expectations with which the future is regarded. Exactly three years ago we laid before the readers of this Review a *résumé* of the important events of the years 1860-1, and of the motives which had induced the Emperor of Austria, on the 20th October, in the first of those years, suddenly to surprise and gladden the hearts of the various peoples over whom he held sway with the solemn declaration that the system of absolutism was at last positively renounced, and that henceforth, for the State as a whole, and for the different kingdoms and countries—in harmony with their historical rights and modern requirements—constitutional forms of legislation and government would be established. We further called attention to the mixed sentiments of pleasure and dissatisfaction with which the provisions of the October Diploma had been received by the different nationalities; pointed out the errors committed by Count Goluchowski, whom the Emperor had entrusted with the portfolio of the Interior, that he might carry out his intentions, as well as other causes of discontent, in consequence of which his Majesty ere long found it necessary to call a more popular functionary to his aid, under whose influence fresh Imperial decrees were published in the following February, introducing a centralized parliamentary régime for the Empire as a whole. In these new decrees, the so-called Patent, the spirit of the original constitution was in several

respects departed from; and although great satisfaction was thereby given to Vienna centralists, and indeed, to the population of the Austro-German provinces in general, yet the Slavonic races, and many enlightened politicians in all parts of the empire, found serious cause for complaint, seeing in the form the Constitution had received in the February decrees the deathblow to their hopes of progress, based on the principles of justice to all the nationalities, self-government, and the continuity of historical rights. The prospect of an amicable arrangement with Hungary, moreover, became greatly diminished.

After a careful survey of the policy of M. de Schmerling—the new Minister for the Interior—and of the proceedings in the “minority parliament” to which he had given life, up to the close of the first session of nearly twenty months’ duration, we expressed our conviction that in neither were to be found the germs of vitality; and we indulged the hope that ere long the Emperor would place the management of affairs in the hands of other statesmen, of men with broader views and more catholic sentiments of freedom, in order that the Constitution might be remodelled more in harmony with the promises of the Diploma. Late events have given reality to our prophecies and aspirations: after a five years’ trial of a one-sided central Parliament—which Hungarians steadfastly refused to acknowledge, and from which the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia had, on principle, withdrawn—Francis Joseph last July again changed his Ministers, and on the 20th September, in a “Manifesto” to his people, he appealed to them all for confidence and support in a policy of conciliation and mutual agreement respecting the form of the central representation of the Empire. In a “Patent” of the same date, countersigned by all the Ministers, he further suspended the action of the lesser Reichsrath, greatly to the satisfaction of three-fourths of the population of Austria. That the most politically educated nation, the Hungarian, is included in this numerical estimate, is well known; and viewing the fact that two-thirds of the people on this side the Leitha* have approved the September Manifesto, it would seem that at length the Emperor had entered upon a path which must lead to a solution of his difficulties. Notwithstanding this wide-spread approval, however, the task which the present advisers of the Crown have undertaken, will—apart from the Hungarian question—tax to the utmost their energies and skill, in consequence of the decided opposition they encounter from a very compact and influential body of politicians, belonging to the German and bureaucratic elements of the empire.

It will assist in the understanding of the situation if we cast a rapid glance at the history of the suspended Reichsrath. When the first session was opened, nearly all the cis-Leitha Diets had elected their quotas of representatives to the Lower Chamber. In the speech from the Throne, the hope was expressed that the Diets of Hungary and connected countries would

likewise soon select and send representatives, that the Reichsrath might thus become complete. In a short time the Diet of Croatia assembled, but as it refused to accept the Diploma and February Patent, it was forthwith dismissed. The Hungarian Diet met too, but, from causes hereafter to be mentioned, it did not even come to any discussion of the October and February Constitutions, and was likewise soon dissolved. In Transylvania no Diet was convened, and thus the Government continued to uphold the principle that the assembly in Vienna was the lesser Reichsrath only. Nevertheless, as Schmerling wished to give as much support as possible to the Constitutionalists, an Imperial declaration appeared at the close of 1861, to the effect that ministers were authorized to lay the Budget of that year before the Reichsrath, and that, although it was only the lesser body, and had not the right to deal with the question, yet the Emperor would receive its resolutions as if they were those of the complete Parliament. A few months later the Budget for 1862 was also submitted to the House of Representatives, despite the objections raised by the Conservative and Czech members. Both Budgets were passed with but trifling restrictions, and the propositions of the Government for new taxes and new loans met with approval. In these and other matters the lesser Reichsrath acted as if it were the full body, and the ministers, in most cases, tacitly allowed this proceeding.

The second Session began in June, 1863, and lasted till the middle of February, 1864. In the speech from the Throne, the terms “lesser,” or “full Reichsrath,” were not mentioned, the word Reichsrath only being used. No Diet had been convened in Hungary or Croatia; but in Transylvania a Diet based on new *octroyé* laws had been called. The Magyar population, which previous to 1848 had been the dominating one, refused to accept these new electoral laws, and consequently took no part in this Diet, which it declared to be illegal. It consisted entirely of members of the Saxon and Roumain nationalities, who at once accepted Diploma and Patent, and in the autumn of 1863 elected members for the Reichsrath. Upon this, the Government declared the Reichsrath was to be considered as complete, and in many ways took pains to make the difference between full and lesser Reichsrath as little apparent as possible. In this Session subjects were dealt with, often on one and the same day, which legally belonged only to one or other of those bodies, the representatives from Transylvania (a great part of whom were officials) being called upon to leave the House or return to their seats, according to circumstances. In this Session, likewise, the Reichsrath received the Government proposals for further increase of taxation and new loans in a very accommodating spirit, opposing the ministers only by striking out inconsiderable sums required for the army and navy. In respect, however, to necessary and urgent requirements for these services, the Upper House was on the side of the ministers, till at length this branch of the Legislature yielded to pressing appeals of Schmerling and the Minister of Finance, who declared that they had been obliged

* The river separating Hungary from Austria.

to give way in the Lower House, for otherwise it would not have been possible to procure another much-needed loan. The unpleasant position in which the Upper House had thus been placed, tended in the end to shake its confidence in the State minister.

The powerful party of German centralist-Liberals, whose seats were on the left side of the Lower House (as is the case in all the Austro-German Diets), consisted originally for the most part of personal friends of Schmerling, and of others who shared his sentiments. Indeed, several of the chief speakers on this side owed their elections to his personal influence. These men naturally felt grateful to him for having, so to say, smothered the Diploma, and placed power in their hands. Yet this was not enough. They wanted, as quickly as possible, to make use of their majority to introduce changes in the Constitution, agreeing with their interpretation of Liberalism—changes which could only be accomplished if the “lesser” were in every respect considered equivalent to a “full Reichsrath.” They wanted, in particular, a law acknowledging the responsibility of ministers, the necessity for their resigning whenever a majority in the Lower House should be against them—a law, in fact, clearly beyond the function of this fractional Parliament to pass. On the other hand, they likewise wanted to legislate on subjects exclusively relating to the countries on this side the Leitha, and which legally belonged only to the lesser Reichsrath. The party on the left having by degrees actually succeeded in rendering the difference between full and lesser Reichsrath but little apparent, it was in their interest to perpetuate this state of things by exercising the functions of both promiscuously. By thus proceeding, it was in their power to make the Government feel that without such concessions as they desired, the supplies would not be voted; for by occupying the House with business properly belonging to the lesser Reichsrath only, the introduction of the Budget could be delayed at pleasure until the Cabinet had to give way. Schmerling’s position, therefore, came to be very peculiar. On the one hand, he had to convince the Emperor that only through his influence over the House could the Liberals be induced to grant the supplies for the army and other services of the State; whilst on the other hand, he had to prove to that party that he alone understood how to obtain for it the desired concessions. These manoeuvres succeeded the first year. By degrees, however, it came to an end with the concessions which Schmerling himself was disposed to make (he never, for instance, could be brought to acknowledge the responsibility of ministers to a majority of the Reichsrath), as well as with such as he could persuade the Emperor to grant. Thus at the close of the second Session a complete disunion between him and the left became apparent. The question of ministerial responsibility, in especial, embarrassed him greatly. At the beginning of the second Session, the House of Representatives had wanted to make a draught for a law on this head which Schmerling prevented by declaring, that as it was only the lesser Reichsrath, it was not qualified so to act. Later, how-

ever, when the members from Transylvania were procured, the Liberals declined to deliberate on the Budget, unless the responsibility of ministers was acknowledged. This led to an explanation by Schmerling that the Emperor accepted the principle of the responsibilities of ministers, and that as soon as the Hungarian question should be solved, a law to that effect would be introduced. In continual disputes and compromises time passed away; meanwhile, the state of the finances became more and more gloomy, for the burthens of the people increased, owing to the rapid growth of the National Debt, and at the same time a continually enlarging deficit. What the inevitable result of this state of things must be, neither ministers nor Reichsrath took seriously into consideration, and nothing occurred likely to lead to an understanding with Hungary. In many parts of the empire, particularly in the Slavonic countries and Tyrol, discontent was greatly on the increase.

On the 12th November, 1864, the third Session of the Reichsrath began, and now the Government, in contrast to its previous conduct, attempted strictly to define and separate the functions of the lesser and the complete Reichsrath. The speech from the Throne announced that the representatives were assembled principally that they should exercise the functions of a complete Reichsrath, and take into consideration the Budget for 1865-6. When this business should be brought to a close, and not till then, the House was told, would it be permitted to enter upon the duties of the lesser Reichsrath. By proceeding in this way, the Government probably intended to prevent the party on the left from mixing together different kinds of business, and thus postponing at their pleasure the consideration of the Budget. The ministerial tactics were little to the taste of the Liberals, and the debate on the Address gave convincing proof, if such were needed, that the breach between Schmerling and the left was complete. But now at last the House began in all earnest to take into consideration the state of the finances—a thing it could equally well have done in former sessions. There was now, likewise, some talk about the necessity of an arrangement with Hungary. In this Session contentions on the financial question were almost of daily occurrence. At the first attack on the Budget, the Government was induced to express its readiness to strike off 20 million florins from the sum originally demanded, in case the House would pass the remainder in a lump for the financial years 1865-66. This, however, the House refused to do, and began to occupy itself with the separate items. The exchequer meanwhile becoming nearly empty, the Minister of Finance explained to the House that he must forthwith be credited with 120 million florins in the pressing interests of the State. By way of instalment, 18 millions were granted; but every further demand, it was said, would be refused, until the Budget, as revised by the House, should be accepted. With this arrangement the Minister of Finance had to be satisfied, and he accepted the 18 millions. Whilst the debates and contests on the Budget

were in progress, the Emperor, contrary to the wish of his ministers, undertook a journey to Pesth. There hopes were raised, and the promise was given that the Diet would soon be summoned. Subsequently Majláth was named Court-Chancellor, and this, too, shortly after Schmerling had explained to the Lower House that it could be only with the ultra-Liberal party in Hungary that an understanding would be possible, as in the party to which Majláth belonged were to be found his decided opponents. About the same time the debates on the Budget began in the Upper House, and in this, too, the truth at last was spoken. Archduke Rainer, and with him the whole party of Schmerling in the Cabinet, now resigned. Previous to his official appointment as successor of Schmerling, Count Belcredi declared it possible to carry on the business of the State with the reduced Budget. Upon this, it was accepted by the Upper House; soon afterwards Belcredi was named Minister of State, and on the 27th July the session of the Reichsrath was brought to a close.

This historical retrospect of the lesser Reichsrath—however imperfect, as some useful legislation was likewise undertaken by it—may suffice to show that its suspension was neither a capricious nor arbitrary act on the part of the Emperor, but forced upon him by circumstances beyond his control. It will also show—to quote the words of the author of the pamphlet second on our list—that “Schmerling did not fall by parliamentary action; not in consequence of the adverse votes of his originally pliant followers. Neither did he fall, as has been asserted, because he was unable to come to an understanding with Hungary. In this view cause and effect are confounded. The understanding with Hungary failed because the system which Schmerling pursued was doomed to fail, and for the simple reason that it was opposed to the innermost nature, the life-conditions and the requirements of the countries of which Austria is composed.” Indeed, shortly before the end of his ministerial career, he candidly confessed, much to the annoyance of the Vienna Radicals, that a complete Reichsrath was an impossibility. Nevertheless some of his former supporters have latterly attempted to make a distinction in principle between the Reichsrath and the minister, with the view of exalting the former at the expense of the latter; and it has been asserted in the Diet of Lower Austria, that “just as the Reichsrath had prepared the way for an arrangement with Hungary, it was sent about its business.” We can find no facts to warrant this assertion; for although, as we have mentioned, in the last session there was some cry in the House for an understanding with Hungary, yet it was always connected with the impossible condition that Hungary should acknowledge the Reichsrath. “If, indeed,” says the author we have just quoted, “a complete parliament of all the lands on this side the Leitha had been a reality, and not a fiction, then the position of Hungary would have been very different, and its history have run a rapid course. If the other members of the realm had lost their in-

herent character, if that which neither the patriarchal régime before the revolution (1848), nor the despotic power of Bach, nor the parliamentary absolutism of Schmerling could accomplish, had by any other means obtained, and all the kingdoms and countries on this side the Leitha been welded into a uniform homogeneous and centralized whole, then of necessity either the empire must have been broken up, or the western half, with its machine-like power, must necessarily have destroyed the political organism in the eastern half.” It is, in fact, to this attachment to their historical rights, to the requirements of national development, and to the inherent repulsion of so large a portion of the people of Austria to any system of rigid centralization, that Hungary now, in all probability, owes its last chance of preserving its individuality; whilst, such are the laws of action and reaction, the devotion of the Hungarians of all classes to their time-honoured *constitutio civica*, has mainly assisted the patriots in the western countries of the empire.

Count Richard Belcredi, the present minister for the Interior, is a second son, and descended from a family of Italian origin, long possessed of landed property in Moravia. He is still in his prime, having been born in February, 1823. In early youth he was sent to the public school of a small provincial town in Bohemia, whereby he came into nearer relationship with the citizen classes than is usual with youthful members of the aristocracy in Austria, who are generally educated at home. His school education completed, he became a student of law at the University of Prague. Soon after he had there taken his degree, he entered into the administrative service of the State. In the year 1854 he became chief (*Freischaupmann*) of the political circuit of Znaim; in 1861, chief of the political administration in the province of Silesia; and in May, 1863, he was advanced to the post of Vice-President of the Government in Bohemia. A year later he was made Lord-Lieutenant (*Statthalter*) of that kingdom, and a member of the privy council. As a deputy from the Diet of Silesia, and subsequently from that of Bohemia, he entered the Lower House in the Reichsrath, seating himself in the centre, on the so-called “Count's Bench,” and voting for the most part with the ministers. He did not often rise to speak, but whenever he did, he gave unmistakable proofs of sound knowledge of the subjects under debate, and of a highly-educated and logical mind. Even those who did not share his opinions did justice to his urbanity, and to the comprehensive and lucid way in which he explained his views. His intellectual powers were equally conspicuous in the sphere of his official duties. Untiring activity, well-grounded knowledge, and a great talent for organization, soon caused him to be considered one of the most distinguished functionaries in the Administration. A quick workman himself, he also well knew how to stimulate his subordinates and keep the State mechanism in rapid movement. Under his control, the usual complaints of bureaucratic dilatoriness lost their

point. In the Reichsrath, Count Belcredi seems to have avoided any expression of opinion on those important Constitutional questions which agitate the minds of opposing parties. When he, therefore, became Minister of State, speculation was rife as to the way he would shape his course—whether it would be more in harmony with the views of the Federalists, or those of the Centralists. His motto, however, was said to be “political centralization and administrative decentralization.” His measures, so far, have been decidedly favourable to self-government, simplification, and diminution of bureaucratic control.* Probably for this reason, and for another presently to be mentioned, he is not popular with the officials in general; and, contrary to the usual policy of this class, the greater number of those having seats in the different Diets have lately voted against the Government. From those who are acquainted with Count Belcredi we have gathered that, previous to his acceptance of the onerous post offered him by the Emperor, he was careful to acquaint the monarch with his views and prospective measures. He strictly defined, it is said, his conditions, demanding and receiving promises of support. In addition to the post of Minister for the Interior, the Count is President of the Cabinet, a position not accorded to his predecessor; and he likewise, for the present, holds the portfolio of Minister of Police.

An article openly attributed to Count Belcredi, which appeared early last November in a Vienna paper favourable to the Government (*Wiener Abendpost*), and which went the round of the Austrian press, affords considerable insight into the views of this minister. It is considered to be in answer to two articles published in another Vienna paper (*Die Presse*), from the pen of Count Eugen Kinsky, in which the September Manifest was attacked. In his reply, the minister aims at showing that this attack is based upon a blind, perhaps wilful, ignoring of the real cause of its promulgation, and of the vital principle at issue—namely, “a true appreciation of the actual circumstances in the various countries of Austria, and of the necessity for a solution of difficulties by mutual agreement.” With regard to the suspension of the law on the representation of the empire, and the unreasonable demand that a limit to this measure should at once be fixed, the writer says, “The chief ground for this step has been stated to be the impossibility, according to right, of making one and the same constitutional form (*Verfassungsbestimmung*) a subject for deliberation and decision in one portion of the realm, whilst in the other it was being acted upon as an established law of general applicability.† The suspension, moreover, apart from any capricious interpretation of motives, displays the evident purpose of calming the public mind, and rendering it more open to

compromise in that quarter where the law on the representation of the empire has encountered the most strenuous opposition. This suspension, however, can in no respect be considered in itself as an end, but merely as a withdrawal of constitutional life from its localization to extend it into general activity by embracing all the peoples (*Völker*) of Austria.” The article further shows, by citing paragraphs in the Diploma and Patent, that it is only by the exercise of sophistry, by making use of isolated passages in the latter document torn from their connexion with preceding paragraphs in the former, to which they refer, that arguments against the September Manifest are supported. It is shown, in particular, that—

“Article II. of the February Patent distinctly refers to a letter from the Emperor on the 20th October, 1860, to the Hungarian Court-Chancellor, wherein it is said that the fundamental State affairs (*Staatsrechtliche Verhältnisse*) of Hungary must be definitively settled by the Diet of that country in the sense of its laws; such settlement being also distinctly stated in the February Patent as the preliminary condition of the validity of the constitution of the Empire. So long as this condition is unfulfilled, it is not legally possible for the Hungarian Diet to send representatives to the Reichsrath; and as long as this possibility does not obtain, there can be no question that the law respecting the representation of the Empire is *de jure* inoperative. This law has, however, for some time been actually in operation, but this rested upon a fiction, or more correctly expressed, upon an anticipation: upon the unrealized hope that the preliminary condition mentioned in the Patent would subsequently receive force from some kind of State action.”

In another part of the article it is said:—

“Although the western half of the Empire has not already acquired a right to a central representation, yet to render a legal claim to a common (*gemeinsame*) treatment of affairs, common to all, practicable, is in every case an object which the Government, as well as the people, must most earnestly strive to accomplish.”

The Chief Minister himself having—as we have but imperfectly shown by a few extracts from a long and closely reasoned article—descended into the journalistic arena to measure his strength with an antagonist considered worthy of his pen, the conflict of opinions respecting the September Act was carried on with redoubled vigour in the Austrian press in general. Thus, before the meeting of the Diets, arguments *pro* and *con* were exhausted, and the Centralists and the Federalists (as the adherents of the Government are called) had fully made up their minds how to act. The leading politicians of the Austro-German Diets in particular had held a meeting in Vienna, and come to a general decision on their resolutions and addresses to the Throne. All the Diets of the countries on this side the Leitha, seventeen in number, met towards the end of last November. We give below, in a tabular form, the votes for and against the present Government in the different Diets, with the population of the countries represented, the number of members in each Diet, and their quotas of deputies to the Reichsrath, according to the Patent of February, 1861:—

* For instance, he has reduced the number of circuits (*Kreise*) in the different lands, increased the administrative functions of local elected authorities, and placed the rural police in the hands of the communes.

† This passage is the same as one in the September Manifest.

Countries and Seats of Diets.	Population represented.	In respect to the Sep. Patent; Votes for and against the Ministry.		Number of Members in the	
				Diet.	Reichs- rath.
Galicia—Lemberg	4,612,000	149	1	150	38
Bukowina—Czernowitz	462,000	30	—	30	5
*Moravia—Brünn	1,877,994	51	42	100	22
*Carniola—Laibach	451,941	18	12	37	6
Görz-Gradiska—Görz	195,000	18	6	22	2
Istria—Parenzo	235,000	30	—	30	2
Trieste—Trieste	95,000	36	4	40	2
Dalmatia—Zara	404,499	32	3	43	5
Bohemia—Prague	4,705,525	118	97	241	54
		18,038,959			
Lower Austria—Vienna	1,681,697	10	46	66	18
Upper ditto—Linz	707,450	12	34	50	10
Styria—Grautz	1,056,773	7	50	63	13
Salzburg	146,769	—	26	26	3
Silesia—Troppau	443,912	1	30	31	6
Carinthia—Klagenfurth	332,456	7	28	37	5
Vorarlberg—Bregenz	102,000	2	18	20	2
		4,471,057			
†Tyrol—Innsbruck	774,000	—	—	68	10
		518		398	

It will be seen in the above table that seven of the Diets, representing a population of about four and a half millions, have, either in resolutions or addresses to the Throne, expressed more or less dissatisfaction with the September Act. It has been most decidedly pronounced in the addresses of the Diets of Lower Austria and Vorarlberg. That of the latter little province was couched in language so violent and disrespectful to the Crown that it has not been received. In this land, as in Tyrol, the greater portion of the country population has always been opposed to the policy of the late Government; and it has been owing to the influence of the Protectionist wealthy German manufacturers and the people in their employ (most of them immigrants from Switzerland and Southern Germany) that the action of the Diet has been decided.

The Diets of Galicia, Bukowina, Bohemia, and of the coast-lands (Istria, Trieste, &c.), have acted in a direction contrary to the above, and have presented addresses to the Throne expressing deep-felt gratitude for the September Manifest, and the change of policy involved therein. The Diet of Dalmatia likewise voted an address approving the Manifest, but at the same time regretting the suspension of the lesser Reichsrath. This clause was introduced through the influence of the officials, too many of whom, owing to Schmerling's election manoeuvres, have seats in this assembly, greatly

to the dissatisfaction of the Slavonic population of that country. If we include Dalmatia, the Diets which, in addresses to the Throne, have expressed approval of the September Act, represent a population of upwards of ten and a half millions.

We have perused and pondered the speeches for and against the Ministry in nearly all the above-named Diets. In each the political chief, or some high functionary of the land represented, explained and defended the Government measures, using arguments substantially the same as those we have quoted from the article by Count Belcredi. In the Austro-German Diets, particularly in that held at Vienna, opposition to the Government has been the most strongly, indeed in some instances, vehemently and satirically pronounced. But the powers of oratory, sarcasm, and special pleading in this Diet, as in others, appear to have been exercised in vain as regards influence over the voting. The speakers, indeed, seem mainly to have aimed at the applause of the galleries (which they earned in a fashion opposed to our English notions of Parliamentary etiquette), and of the press on their side. The best and most temperate speech of the Opposition is that of the Automist, M. de Kaiserfeld,* in the Styrian Diet. He exhausted all the logical arguments against the suspension of the lesser Reichsrath. (His opponents say he stirred up much logical dust to obscure the vision as to the common-sense bearing of the question.) But he did full justice to the loyal bearing of the present Ministers, in having allowed the freest expression of opinion in the press on the September Act, and abstained from those measures of terrorism and corruption which prevailed under their predecessors. The essence of the speeches on the Centralist side in the dif-

* Although, as regards confidence in the present Ministry, the votes in these two Diets were as above, yet in neither were motions of addresses to the Crown, to express thanks or dissatisfaction, carried. That for the expression of gratitude for the September Act was lost by a majority of 8 in the Diet of Moravia; that to express dissatisfaction lost by a majority of 9.

† The Diet of Tyrol did not enter into any discussion of the September Manifest. It was received in silence. The Diet is not satisfied with the present Ministry on the Protestant question. It never, however, approved of Schmerling's policy.

* The Automists are anti-bureaucratic, and wish to accord a certain amount of self-government to the separate Diets. But they demand the continuation of the lesser Reichsrath as a means of liberal legislation for all the cis-Leitha countries.

ferent Diets, as likewise of arguments in the press, may be shortly expressed as follows : The central Parliament is the chief feature of the February Constitution, declared by the Emperor to be irrevocable. It had existed for five years with the sanction of the monarch, and had taken root in the consciousness of the people. Its suspension is both illegal and impolitic; impolitic as shaking faith in the word of the Emperor, and unhinging the public mind by further changes. The continued activity of the Reichsrath is therefore demanded as an acquired right (*erworbenes Recht*), since the wilful absence of a portion of the representatives of the Empire could not legally deprive those who had taken possession of the constitutional ground of the further exercise of their legislative functions. On the other side it has been advanced: that not in one provision of the Imperial decrees is the spirit of the Constitution to be found, but in the collective sense of all, in the Diploma as well as the Patent, viewed as an organic whole; that the Diets were originally pronounced, and have continued to be, the basis and source of constitutional life; that from these bodies the deputies to the Reichsrath were elected; that the complete Parliament had never become a reality, and the lesser body had only been exceptionally authorized to legislate on common Imperial affairs; that the suspension of the law on the representation of the Empire is no infringement, still less a repeal of the Constitution itself.

On which side is the greater weight of argument, we must leave our readers to decide. In Austria itself, opinions on the question of right are greatly biassed, as in all countries where complicated political or social questions are at issue, by particular interests and predilections. The so-called "logic of facts" may be found on the one side as on the other. The one appeals to the fact of three long sessions of a central Parliament; the other points to the still empty benches in the temporary building outside the Schotten Thor,* at the close of the last, as proof sufficient that a central Parliament, in the form which it had originally received and tried to make permanent, had not gained the approval of the far greater portion of the people of Austria.

We give a few extracts from speeches in the Diet of Lower Austria† by members who had belonged to the lesser Reichsrath, and been prominent figures on the ultra-Liberal side. They have a characteristic meaning. "The 20th of September," said Herr Schindler, "does not appeal to Austria, but to the nationalities of Austria; no one can therefore be surprised that German Austria has replied as we have done in our address" (that of the majority.) . . . Dr.‡ Berger remarked: "The

* The number of delegates present was usually 100 to 120 only.

† In this Diet Schmerling again took his seat, and voted against the motion for the address to the Crown.

‡ The title Doctor prefixed to names does not refer to the medical profession, but to that of the law—attorneys and notaries.

firm combination, the unanimous proceedings of the German party will triumph as surely as the Monarchy can exist only on the basis of complete unity." Dr. Hofer said: "I am a member for the German city, Vienna, and will throw a little light on the German side of the question. The German element has above all things the claim (*Beruf*) to direct the State, Austria. The splendour of Germany is gone; it is become a confederation of states, which does not satisfy the hopes of the German nation. But Austria has a position in this league, and it is the duty of the German constitutional party to battle to the utmost against the suspension of the Reichsrath." Dr. Trotter, in a violent tone, spoke of "the injury caused by the suspension of the Reichsrath from the stand-point of the German question;" adding, "We Germans have founded this realm; we have sacrificed our freedom, our development, our connexion with our German motherland, for the Imperial idea. We are the only ones who place the State above the nationalities." The party to which these members belong carried an address to the Throne, not only demanding the continuation of the lesser Reichsrath as a right, but also asking the monarch—who had just declared against the whole system of *octroyé* constitutionalism—to re-invigorate the constitutional apparatus of Schmerling, and at the same time enlarge its competency by another act of Imperial power. They requested, in fact, "that in due time the results of the negotiations with the Diets of Hungary and Croatia in respect to the constitution of the whole realm" (which results, the Emperor had said, in his Manifest, are to be "laid before all the Diets for their equally important consideration") "should be submitted to the lesser Reichsrath." "This," it has been remarked in a newspaper favourable to the Government, "is the demanding as a right the continuance of a privilege opposed to right." And again, "If the present Ministers had followed in the footsteps of the former, a complete Parliament which never has existed, must have been *octroyé*, and all the nations of Austria not represented in it pronounced to be contumacious."

The Slavonic members in the Styrian and other Diets, in contrast to the ultra-Germans, if they have occasionally given more vent to their wounded national feelings and their wants, than politically wise, yet, on the whole, have only asked for even-handed justice and fair play; and many have displayed sound and statesmanlike views. They have emphatically pronounced their Austrian sentiments, their loyalty to the Crown, their desire to see the empire strong. They have asked for self-government, but without detriment to centripetal force, and they wish the power of the Austrian state to be based on harmony and mutual aid. "It is union, not uniformity we require," exclaimed a Slavonic member of the Styrian Diet.* "I am Unionist, not Centralist," said,

* After the address of this Diet in opposition to the Government became known, four of the members with German names, who had been elected in Slavonic districts, received addresses from their con-

too, Bishop Fessler in the Diet of Lower Austria. Indeed, not all the Austro-Germans are opposed to the present Government, or inclined to turn a deaf or supercilious ear to the requests of their Slavonic neighbours. It is the Liberals *par excellence*, who approve of race privileges, and of electoral laws favouring one nationality: who rejoice, too, at the assistance they receive from the bureaucracy. They may be sincere admirers of a strictly centralized constitutional system, worked according to their fancy, and protecting their interests in trade and manufactures, as well as in politics. The Liberalism of this party, indeed, seems to be all for home consumption, and free at least from the leaven—if leaven it be—of democracy in its larger sense. It partakes too much of the oligarchical character to suit the wants and feelings of the various populations of Austria. As a member of one of the Diets, in answer to the German Centralists, exclaimed, "The despotism of a class is just as little favourable to the welfare and development of the people as the despotism of an autocrat." In the Diet of Upper Austria one honest democrat stood forward to denounce the doings of the Centralists:—

"In the ever-memorable year '48," he said, "he had belonged to the party of the people, or rather, he had been a democrat, since the people is no party, but all, the State itself. He was still a democrat," he added, "although he had lost the ground on which he had stood, for he no longer saw the people, but only a population frittering away its strength in pursuit of separate interests. Democracy was his faith, his hope, his religion. He had not signed the proposition for an address (censure of the Government) because the motive of it displeased him. You, gentlemen," he added, "put the law above everything, and deduce from it your rights; I, on the other hand, hold firmly to the rights of the people, and deduce the law therefrom. In your time you have accepted the Constitution as a gift from the Emperor. I considered it an instalment of the rights of the people. The framers of the address should have fixed their eyes more on the populations of Austria than on the lands on this side of the Leitha. The essence of the September Manifest gave him more satisfaction than the February Patent. The former aims at a confederation of peoples (*Völkerbund*); the latter, at a separate league (*Sonderbund*). He therefore moved that the fundamental principle of the September Manifest—unity of the realm with due regard to the variety of its parts—be placed above all mere formal considerations; that the Diet await the settlement of this unity through the free constitutional co-operation of all the peoples; that at present it devote its time energetically to the affairs of the land; and lastly, that in respect to the regulation of common affairs and the representation of the Empire, the present Diet should be dissolved and a new one elected."

In that galaxy of Imperial, kingly, arch-ducal, ducal, princely, &c. crowns which are supposed to adorn, or oppress, the brows of the ruler of Austria, the Crown of Bohemia is second in importance only to that of Hungary.

stituents, amongst them 100 heads of communes, expressing the strongest disapprobation of their conduct in voting against the September Act.

We therefore bestow a few words on the Diet of the first-named kingdom. Although of the entire population of Bohemia, the Czechs are 61 per cent. against 38 per cent. Germans* (the rest being chiefly Jews), yet owing to the unjust distribution of the franchise, the Czech members of the Diet are not more numerous than the German, there being about 70 of each. The Czechs sit on the right side of the House, the German Centralists on the left; the class of "large landed proprietors," numbering likewise about 70, three-fifths of whom belong to the high aristocracy and nobility of the country, form the centre. The late Ministry was supported by a considerable number of these large landed proprietors, but with the change in the Imperial policy many of them have likewise changed their views, or, from feelings of loyalty, have given their votes for the present advisers of the Crown. Thus the opposing nationalities being in equilibrium, it is the centre which has carried the address to the Emperor, expressing deep-felt gratitude for the September Manifest, and the promise to lay the result of the negotiations with Hungary and Croatia before the legal representatives of Bohemia and the other countries, &c. The German party, through their chief spokesman, Dr. Herbst, tried to carry an amendment expressing their dissatisfaction at the suspension of the Reichsrath, but failed; and, much to their surprise, the late Minister of Finance, Von Plener, voted against it.† The Presidents of both Houses of the Reichsrath have likewise seats in this Diet, and both of them spoke and voted against the address of the majority.‡ The offi-

* Of the entire area of the country 64 per cent. belongs to the Czechs, 38 ditto to the Germans.

† The "Bohemia," an organ of the Germans in Prague, takes credit for the party it represents that it did not leave the House in a body, and thus render the address impossible. A law respecting the Diet makes it necessary that more than half of the whole representatives must be present, and that an absolute majority of that portion should agree, to pass any measure. It is threatened that the Germans will render a revision of the electoral laws impossible by absenting themselves. Any alteration of these laws would require the presence of at least three-fourths of all the members, and two-thirds of that number to be of one mind. The Germans have just checked the revision of the Game Laws by leaving the House in a body on finding themselves opposed in a particular clause by the whole centre and the right! (Czechs).

‡ Subsequently Prince Carlos Auersperg, the President of the Upper House, and four other noblemen, resigned their seats in the Diet. Prince Auersperg gave as his reason some observations in the speech of Count Lazansky, the Government representative, to the effect that the suspended Reichsrath had never rested on a legal basis. These observations, the Prince said, had exposed him to the contempt and ridicule of a section of the House. Although Count Lazansky denied that his words contained anything offensive, or that any one could venture to question the wisdom and propriety of any members of the Diet, who, obeying the call of their sovereign, had been members likewise of the Reichsrath, yet the five noblemen persisted in giving up their seats, and new elections were ordered.

cials, too, in this Diet, as in those of the Austro-German countries, have for the most part voted likewise against the Government. In consequence of this, some surprise and dissatisfaction has been expressed in the Czechish press, and this has called forth satirical retorts in the papers on the German side. The Czechs are ridiculed for their inconsistency, and reminded of their own complaints in former sessions of the Diet of the subserviency of officials to the late government, to which circumstance they had attributed the majorities against their propositions. Now they should be glad to see, it is said, that Government functionaries can exercise an independent judgment. But these rejoinders lose much of their point, for the Czechs principally objected to the unfair use of Government influence under Schmerling's régime in procuring seats for so large a number of officials, whom they considered unfit to represent the sentiments and interests of the people. They call attention, too, to words of the late Minister for the Interior, pronouncing it to be the duty of officials to vote on all occasions with the Government. Though not approving such a general demand, yet functionaries in high position, if unable conscientiously to support a *de facto* government, ought, it is said, to resign their posts. Many of the official class, from motives of conviction and consistency, may be in opposition to the present Government. But another and selfish motive is apparent, too, for the Germanizing and centralizing policy of the late Ministry and of the lesser Reichsrath could not possibly succeed without the aid of a powerful bureaucracy. *Hinc illa lacryma!* In these and other remarks on the same topic, we are far from insinuating that all Government functionaries must necessarily be deficient in patriotism and love of liberty. We are acquainted with several in Bohemia, men of high principles and enlightened views on politics, and who have at heart the public good. As a rule, however, the class of officials, by education, *esprit de corps*, and its interests, is opposed to self-government.

We must content ourselves with giving one extract from a speech in the Prague Diet—that of Dr. Rieger*—considered one of the most gift-

ed and eloquent men on the Czech side—because in tone and argument it stands in favourable contrast to the speeches of the German Centralists, which we have mentioned above:—

Rieger expressed "his deep admiration of the wise, liberal, and trustful words of the September Manifest, which placed the final decision on the Constitution in the hands of the people, giving to no one race privileges over another. The entire population of Bohemia," he said, "without regard to nationality, ought to feel grateful to the monarch for respecting the rights of their country. Although the Czechs were different in race from others in Austria, yet they were ready to unite with all in a central council to deliberate on the more important affairs of the realm; whilst in a narrower sphere each nation could follow that path which would best lead to the development of its material and spiritual welfare. Whichever nation in this struggle for improvement should prove itself possessed of the greatest capacity and wisdom, would of necessity obtain the greatest influence. To this one certain kind of hegemony must fall. But a hegemony of this nature was very different from one established by institutions and based on privileges. The Czechs would never rebel against a German hegemony of the moral nature alluded to, but rather accord to it a hearty recognition. But the Austrian Constitution cannot, must not, give privileges, unjust electoral laws—(great applause)—nor any institutions whereby one nation shall be artificially made to dominate over another. We demand that light and warmth be equally distributed amongst us. It is to a noble struggle that we are all invited by the September Manifest; and it is with deep concern we see in the centre of the Empire strong objections taken to the just and wise intentions of our common monarch, a refusal to tread that path which he has pointed out." He further expressed "his admiration for the results of German intellectual activity. But is it possible," he added, "that a nation which has achieved such triumphs in arts, science, and general literature, should fear to give political equality to other nations not yet so far advanced? Yet we have the melancholy fact before us. It is the small German Diets of Austria which have pronounced against the September Manifest, and rejected the hand which their neighbours have offered them in the spirit of friendship and conciliation."

On the whole, the Government may be said, both directly and indirectly, to have derived support from the proceedings in the Diets on this side the Leitha; for even the opposition of the German Centralists, it is argued, may not be altogether unwelcome to Count Belcredi, as strengthening his hands in the pending negotiations with Hungary. It must show the Ultras in that country that there is an influential party devoted to the February Constitution, and it places him in the position of mediator between

ject; but as the Diet of Bohemia has no power to alter the general criminal laws for all the Cis-Leitha countries, for the sake of uniformity they voted with the minority. This is a very different thing from "recommending the use of the stick for domestic servants"! The Vienna Centralist papers, always on the look-out to cast opprobrium on the Federalists, (stigmatized by them as Feudalists, &c.), have made the most of these votes, and it seems the "Times" correspondent has, without inquiry, taken his inspiration from those papers.

* As the Vienna correspondent of the "Times," in the issue of that journal of 27th January, has mentioned the names of this gentleman, and Count Leo Thun, Palacky the historian, &c., as having in the Prague Diet lately "recommended the use of the stick for domestic servants," it may be as well to state the facts. The Book of Criminal Law for Austria (*Strafgesetzbuch*, par. 413), says that fathers of families, heads of establishments, school-masters, &c., are permitted to punish children, wards, domestic servants, &c., if all other means of maintaining virtuous and orderly conduct fail. But corporal punishment must in no case amount to ill-treatment. In the Prague Diet a committee has lately been appointed to revise these laws for Bohemia. It left the above paragraph unaltered. Some members of the Diet, however, although unable to show that in the last eight years any domestic had been beaten in Bohemia, demanded its omission, and on being put to the vote it was struck out by a small majority. Count Thun, Palacky, &c., did not speak on the sub-

those contending for opposite national and political ends. On the other hand, it is well known to the Ultras in Pesth, that many of the Vienna Liberals have been disposed to come to an understanding with them, and to accept a Dualism as a means for the continuation of the "lesser Reichsrath" as legislative body for the Western half of the Empire, whilst the Hungarian Diet should form a kind of equivalent for the Eastern half. By this means, it is thought, the "inferior Slavonic races" could be conveniently Germanized in the one half, and Magyarized in the other. No doubt some of the German Liberals may consider this Dualism merely as a temporary expedient, as a means to an end—viz., the realization of their favourite dream—now embodied in a stereotype phrase, "the carrying of German culture to the East." It is known that the Magyars are not a prolific race, and the celebrated Herder long ago expressed his conviction that they are doomed in the course of time to be swamped by the overflowing tide of other surrounding nations. But be this as it may, and without attributing very far reaching motives to the Vienna politicians, it is a fact that the word Dualism has often been in their mouths, and held in *terrorem* over Czech and other branches of the Slavonic race, whenever they object to their centralizing policy. Some of the German politicians, moreover, build upon the extravagance in the demands of the Hungarians, and their obstinacy, trusting thereby to get the rudder of the State again into their hands.

Hungary in every case is Austria's most immediate difficulty. In Pesth, it may now be said, is its centre of gravity to be found: it would not be wise to venture on prophecies, for however acute the vision may be as to what lies on the surface, yet events now in progress—many of the motive forces of which are hidden from the eye—may rapidly change the aspect of the scene. In so far, however, as the history of the last few years throws light upon the future, much valuable information, and a basis for sound speculation, may be derived from the work which stands fourth in our list. The author, in a style far more animated and lucid than is usual in German political writings—the sense of many of which is often choked by a plethora of words and arguments—gives a complete history of the principles and acts of a party of patriots, some of whom, as members of the "enlarged Reichsrath," were introduced to the readers of this Review in 1868. This party, called by their opponents "the Old Conservatives," has for a long time past—more prominently since the revolution of 1848 was brought to an end by Russian aid, and military and bureaucratic rule introduced into the unfortunate country—been indefatigable in efforts to maintain its politico-historical rights, and at the same time mediate between the conflicting national and Imperial demands. In the period of their country's greatest prostration and suffering, it was these men who tried to impress upon those in power how favourable was the moment for concessions to the people, which then would have been joyfully accepted, whilst the country on its part would

have yielded all that was necessary for the reconstruction and consolidation of the empire. It was these men, too, who, even before the revolution, expressed the conviction—which the then aristocratic Hungarian Diet, moreover, pronounced to the monarch—"that absolute government in the hereditary lands could never agree with a constitutional régime in the countries pertaining to the Hungarian Crown; that this flagrant dualism frittered away the best powers of the realm; and therefore the Germano-Slavonic provinces must likewise receive a constitution." Our author also points to many occasions under the rule of Schwarzenberg and Bach, when these views were subsequently urged upon the consideration of the Emperor and his advisers. Again, in April, 1850, a party of Hungarian patriots,* twenty-six in number, including members of the chief families of the country, though warned by a person in high position "that they were playing with their heads," presented an address to the monarch, in which they courageously condemned the policy of the Government, and not only stood up for the constitutional rights of their own country, but earnestly recommended constitutional liberty for the whole empire. What these men, in their hearts as well as openly desired, was not rank or national privileges, for the Hungarian nobles, of their own accord had, in 1848, renounced the former, and acknowledged the principle of social and political progress. It is a rich and instructive chapter of history our author eloquently unrolls, and it is another proof to be added to those which the records of the past in our own country disclose, that men born to high position and wealth, and educated in the practice of constitutional rights, are often sincere and consistent advocates of true liberty and progress.

The "Hungarian" denies that the February Constitution was the outflow of the Diploma—as the party of Schmerling asserted—but rather in every essential point its very opposite. But even the Diploma, though the spirit of it was sound, and it offered to Hungary a constitutional influence over the affairs of the whole empire—an advantage it had never possessed—nevertheless took from the Hungarian Diet its positive right to vote taxes and recruits; whilst both in giving and taking it was directly opposed to the fundamental principle of their Constitution—viz., that no laws could be made or altered without the co-operation of both factors of the Legislature—the Diet and the Crown. Hungarians of no party could therefore consent to a bad precedent. "The constitutional rights of Hungary," it is argued, "are not the mere means of freedom and public good, but are the very foundation of the historical existence of the country as a State." The writer further explains and regrets the circumstances which caused the Patent to be substituted for the

* We give the names best known in England. Counts Felix, Henry, and Francis Zichy, jun. (3), Paul Széchenyi, A. Barkocz, Francis Esterházy, G. Apponyi, J. Batthyányi, E. Dessewffy, G. Andrássy, Anton Szécsen; Barons S. Josika, G. Majlath, jun., N. Banffy, &c.

Diploma, for, however the latter document displayed haste in its origin, and ambiguity in several of its paragraphs, yet, he adds, "there is no other solution of difficulties equally agreeing with the interests of the realm and the different countries, but that contained in the fundamental idea of the Diploma—viz., the united constitutional treatment of affairs common to the whole realm, with the greatest possible regard for the historical autonomy of the different countries, and for their political and national individualities." But Schmerling, under the pressure of the financial difficulties, and of the German Centralists, acted in a way opposed to the advice of enlightened Hungarians of the party we are speaking of, and evidently destined to postpone the settlement of the Hungarian question. The action of the counties (*comitaten*) after the publication of the Diploma is explained, though not justified.

"As soon as the nation saw the collapse of Bach's system," it is said, "and that it could again speak and act, the long-cherished, deep-felt, and bitter hatred of the whole people against all who had been connected with that system broke forth. The thirst for satisfaction for all the humiliations and tyranny of a twelve years' bureaucratic rule degenerated into blind rage."

Patience and soothing measures, which "the Old Conservatives" urged at that time upon the Vienna authorities, and again when the Diet was assembled, were above all things requisite. "A Hungarian (and not merely the Magyars)," says the historian of Bohemia in his pamphlet, "cannot feel happy, nor exist under a bureaucracy." "The kernel of the Hungarian institutions," he adds, "is so sound and full of vitality, that, according to my opinion, it ought to be transplanted to other lands. It contains the vigorous germ of true autonomy, without which neither civil nor political liberty can long exist, and at the same time a capability of endless reforms and improvements, without which all human institutions must fade and fall. Above all, the institutions of the county courts (*comitatämter*) and public assemblies, on the basis of election, has proved itself a true palladium of self-government."

It was natural that a people that had been educated under free institutions should, on regaining in part the liberty of action, commit excesses; and Deak's masterly address, appealing with unerring learning and argument to the facts of history in support of the legal right of his country to independence, should have been answered in a different spirit and in a different form to that recommended by Schmerling and his associates. The Hungarians, at the time we are speaking of, knew and felt that their passive resistance had succeeded, that bureaucratic government, and collecting of taxes by aid of the military did not pay. And if more was demanded of them than the "Personal Union," which Deak made out to have been all that had ever connected their country with the other possessions of the House of Hapsburg, they should have been dealt with tenderly, and offered the equivalent for concessions of constitutional rights—a proportional voice in com-

mon Imperial affairs—in a manner and form considered legal, and agreeable to themselves. The "Hungarian," however, in his work, whilst tendering his homage to Deak, as one of the most upright patriots and greatest jurists of modern times, and admiring his masterly "*plaidoyer*," nevertheless dissents from his view that a "Personal Union formed the only State-law (*Staatsrechtliche*) relationship of Hungary to the Hereditary Lands." "According to our view," he adds, "there was just as little a Personal union as a Real union of the two halves of the empire. It was some third form of union between these two, for which in theory there is no name. It was a relationship as difficult to explain theoretically as it would be difficult to investigate the system whereby the trees of primeval forests intertwine their branches." On this head our author says:—

"The Hungarian Diet has never had any direct influence over Imperial affairs. It never fixed the Budget for the country nor the realm. In respect to Imperial loans and other financial operations, it never had a vote; and as to Customs and matters of trade in general, it is a fact that they have always been settled without its concurrence, although this was not in harmony with the spirit and particular stipulations of the laws. The right, therefore, to decide on these matters, or at least on the greater part of them, was possessed by the monarch, as King of Hungary, no less uncontrolledly than as Emperor of Austria. Consequently, the right to take part in a constitutional management of affairs common to all the countries of the realm, which the Diploma offered the Hungarians, was a thing to be accepted, and if accepted, it followed that these common affairs could not be treated constitutionally both in Vienna and Pesth, for the separate halves of the empire."

Indeed, Deak, in his first address in 1861, by admitting the necessity for a combined treatment of common affairs "*from case to case*," accepted in principle what was required, and the logic of necessity would soon have shown that "*from case to case*," must be a continuous affair. The patriots who held these opinions were ever ready to mediate and promote a compromise; but in vain were their efforts to teach statesmanlike wisdom to the German and bureaucratic Ministers in Vienna. The Emperor, however, seems to have always listened willingly to the Hungarian statesmen, and to have been disposed to accept any reasonable compromise with the sticklers for the letter of the law. The clause in the laws of 1848, bestowing regal powers on the Palatine, together with the demand of a separate Ministry for Hungary, were no doubt the main causes why these laws could only in part be acknowledged by the Emperor to be valid, and the chief impediment to his coronation. But these laws; in their entirety, had been passed with the co-operation of the then King,* and even the Conservatives, as well as the party Deak and the Ultras, naturally required that the continuity of historical rights should be acknowledged.

* But under pressure, at the high tide of the general revolutionary movement in the Empire!

Now that the theory of forfeiture of rights through the revolution," on which the February Patent was based, has been abandoned, and that passions on all sides have had time to subside, it is to be hoped that all classes of Hungarians may listen to the "still small voice of reason"—that the Diet will consent to revise the laws of 1848, and, for the sake of forming an important part of a powerful empire, give up so much of national independence as is necessary for the objects the present Government is striving to attain. The speech from the Throne in Pesth has been in the true spirit of conciliation, laying emphasis, however, on the requirements of the empire as a great power, and on the necessity for a combined constitutional management of affairs pertaining to the whole realm. With all due admiration of the energy* and love of freedom and law so deep-seated in the Hungarian character, yet woe to the nation if it refuse to come to terms! and if, as regards its own future welfare, no less than that of the other nations of Austria, it should entirely disregard the truth in the old adage, "*Summum jus, summa injuria est.*"

"We will not assert," says the "Hungarian," "that theoretically the laws of 1848 make it appear impossible to keep the empire together. But in practice one thing would be indispensable: that the Governments and Legislatures on this and the other side of the Leitha, should be composed of gods superior to those of the Greek myth, without passion, and all wisdom, instead of men." The draught of the address in reply to the speech from the Throne, which has been laid before the Lower House in Pesth, is, like Deak's former addresses in 1861, extremely verbose. It contains fifty-eight long paragraphs. It is remarkably loyal in tone, but, in diffuse style, pleads for the letter of the law as regards the old Constitution, and demands the separate Ministry. There are passages in it, however, which seem intended to admit the thin end of the wedge of compromise, particularly as to the necessary unity in the treatment of affairs common to the whole empire. It rejects the October Diploma and February Patent, as bases of negotiation, and expresses great satisfaction that the monarch has acknowledged the Pragmatic Sanction as point of departure. The Austrian press in general, from different points of view, finds much fault with the address, which is considered by many as weak and disjointed, and the argumentation that of a lawyer, and not of a statesman. Should it be accepted in its present form by the Diet, the Emperor seems to be armed with patience, and the solution of difficulties which he so earnestly desires will probably in the end be realized. The Upper House is not satisfied with the draught, and the magnates have de-

cided by a majority of 88 (186 against 53), to present a separate address, for the drawing up of which a committee of 30 is appointed.

We have not space to enter fully into the Transylvanian and Croatian questions. As regards the first-named principality, Schmerling's election-manceuvre has proved as ephemeral as wily, and the Diet lately assembled at Klausenberg has supported the present Government by adhering to historical rights, and maintaining the union with Hungary on such conditions as at the same time will ensure the unity of the Empire. In respect to Croatia, its relationship to Hungary on the one hand, its desire of national autonomy, and likewise to see the "integration of the triple kingdom" (Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia), on the other hand, form a combination of perplexing circumstances which can only be settled after long negotiations and disputes. Deak, in his second powerful address to the Crown in 1861, denies that in the Laws of 1848 there was any intention of injustice, or any illegality towards Croatia. In the framing of these laws, representatives of that country took part, and the Hungarians, he says, "could not think that laws which placed the Constitution of the land in the interest of justice and freedom on a broader basis, and introduced Parliamentary instead of *dikasterial* government—(local courts), would not be as welcome to the people of the one country as the other." Events which soon followed seemed to prove this supposition to have been wrong. But Herr Palacky attributes the deplorable state of things in the countries pertaining to the Crown of Hungary in the year 1848, to the refusal of the Hungarian nation to accept the principle of equal rights for all the nationalities before the catastrophe at Vilagos in July, 1849, when its acknowledgment came just one year too late. And he not only blames the Hungarians in former days for their Magyarizing efforts, but in especial because, in 1860—when they got back their autonomy in part—they reintroduced their language* in all branches of the Administration, and in the schools of Slavonic districts. In no part of the Austrian dominions have members of this race been more systematically oppressed and denied the means of education in their mother tongue than in Croatia. To mention only one circumstance: Until quite recently concession has been refused for a newspaper in the Slavonic language to advocate Federalist views. The Croats have for many years past nourished a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the Austrian Government. They have considered themselves ill-treated after the great sacrifices they made in 1848 for the Imperial House and the unity of the realm. But for the people of this country, and cognate nationalities cherishing Federalist principles, Austria would with

* The energy, however, seems to be more prominent under excitement than a constant quality. The Slavonic inhabitants of Hungary do a great deal of the harvest and other hard work in the Magyar districts. The genuine Magyar is not free from the reproach of frequent laziness or listlessness, though he is eminently gifted with the spirit of independence and the talent for dominion.

* Until the year 1835 the Latin language was used in the Hungarian Diet and officially. The introduction of the Magyar language in the Diets, courts of law, in schools, and in the parish books, caused much bitterness of feeling in the other nationalities, and was one of the causes of the civil war in 1849.

difficulty have survived the convulsions of that revolutionary year.

There is now, however, a considerable party in the Croatian Diet—though not so numerous as the independent national party—in favour of the old connexion with Hungary (not incorporation, for that there never has been). It has likewise become clear that the principle of Dualism never would have found favour in Croatia, but for the dread of the centralizing and Germanizing policy of the Vienna politicians.* In Croatia the detestation of bureaucratic rule is equally strong as in Hungary. As the Diet is now sitting at Agram, discussing and disputing with much vehemence on a variety of national and political questions—for, in addition to the connexion of Croatia with Hungary, that with the military frontier districts, and its old desire for union with Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia are mooted—it is impossible correctly to calculate the future position and prospects of the country.† One important fact, however, is patent. The September Manifest has been favourably received by all parties, and in no part of the empire is there a stronger spirit of loyalty to the dynasty.

The monarchical feeling which so strongly pervades the greater part of the people of Austria, together with the peculiar Austrian and popular character and organization of the army, are main elements of the power of the empire. But another and yet more valuable element of strength may be derived from the principle—now at last thoroughly accepted by the monarch—of equal rights of the nationalities (*Gleichberechtigung*). The claims of different branches of the European races, their desire of preserving and further developing their “individualities” (as it is now the fashion to style national characteristics), is one of the most striking features of the present times. It has taken many of the older statesmen by surprise, and though when first forced upon their attention it was sneered at, yet it is now generally acknowledged that if not settled in a spirit of justice, and with due regard to existing ethnographical circumstances, it may lead to con-

flicts as deadly, and misery as profound, as resulted from the religious feelings and intolerance of former days. Long before 1848, many thoughtful and benevolent men in Austria, amongst whom Count Leo Thun deserves favourable mention, had taken up the question of national wants, and eloquently pleaded for the education of each people by means of its mother tongue, and in harmony with its traditions and inherited aptitudes. Views like these at first were thought Utopian, and were very distasteful to the Austro-Germans, and particularly to the bureaucracy. But, happily, men of great influence in the State, and the landed aristocracy in general, are now ready to admit the reasonable claims of the different nationalities. Still, in the countries where the races are mixed, as in Bohemia, together with much useful emulation, a lamentable amount of bitter feeling prevails. The Czechs have long chafed under a sense of oppression, and of late years have expressed their feelings, and used the liberty they have obtained in many ways most offensive to the other race so long accustomed to dominate. This bitter feeling of a long-oppressed and insulted race, though clothed in calm and earnest language, is prominent in the political essay by the historian of Bohemia; yet it abounds in sound views and reflections based on data supplied by the history of his own and other countries from early times to the present day, and it displays a true appreciation of the position and duty-call (if we may use this compound) of Austria. He enters into the idea, or *raison d'être*, of this State, and passes in review what has been thought on this head. For instance, the calling or task of Austria has been said at different periods to be—“The preservation of Western Europe from the Turks;” “the defence of the Papacy;” “the upholding the authority of the Church;” and lastly, “a spiritual conservatism in general.”

“Is there at the present time,” he adds, “no particular idea or task which Austria has to fulfil and develop? or is the time come when the various peoples of the empire, without common interests and objects, shall each think only of itself, and remain no longer united than the power of the sword shall decide? Various, if not always openly expressed, are the answers to this question. Many, particularly foreigners, deny the right of existence of Austria as a united realm; and because this empire for a considerable time showed itself to be the stronghold of European reaction, they consider it would be advantageous if it were dissolved into its original elements. Others, again, confess that Austria has a certain task to perform, but disagree in defining this task. Some wish to see in Austria the preserving power for Catholicism in general, and particularly as regards its eastward spread; whilst others demand that the equal claims of all confessions shall be upheld by Austria. Some say that its peculiar task is to extend German civilization and power to the East; whilst others, again, think that its special purpose is to be found at the present day—which, not without ground, is called the age of nationalities—in giving reality within its boundaries to the principle of the equal claims of all nationalities.”

It is this last idea which Herr Palacky ear-

* A member of the Diet has said: “Croatia is inclined toward Hungary, because Austria, as a member of the German Confederation, and in its efforts at centralization, is the enemy of Slavonism.”

† Since the above was in type, an address of the Croatian Diet has been presented to the Emperor in Pesth. It expresses gratitude for the September Manifesto, and desires to see the interests of the country brought into harmony with those of the throne, and also of the Hungarian Crown, with which, for 800 years, Croatia has been connected. The Emperor, in his reply, whilst upholding the integrity of the Crown of St. Stephen, has laid emphasis on the requirements of the empire as a whole.

‡ We use this word in a sense opposed to an aristocratic, or mere hiring character of a military force. All classes in Austria are liable to serve. The officers are for the most part of the citizen class; a considerable portion of them rise from the ranks, and no private soldier can be tried by court-martial unless one of his own rank and a non-commissioned officer form a part of the court.

nestly advocates. And he repeats again what he said in April, 1848, in reply to the "committee of fifty" then assembled in Francfort to deliberate on the interests of Germany, and who had invited him to join them in arranging matters for a German parliament: "Truly, if the Austrian empire had not existed long already, in the interest of Europe, in the interest of humanity itself, it would be necessary to hasten to create such a State." From this conviction—though wishing success to Germany in her efforts to attain constitutional liberty and unity—he declined the invitation, and neither the abuse of Germans for his efforts to save Bohemia from their eager grasp, nor the enmity he has drawn upon himself from the Austrian bureaucracy for his consistent advocacy of national claims, have ever led him to swerve from his principles.

In the course of his thoughtful and most instructive essay, he examines the views of the Centralist, Dualist, and Federalist parties in Austria, and comes to the conclusion that only in the principles of the latter is salvation for the realm to be found. Yet the federalism he recommends for this empire must, he says, "be *sui generis*, different from that of either Germany, Switzerland, or the North American States." He would give ample power to the central government, and have a sufficient number of the *élite* of the Diets of the various lands to form a senate for the constitutional treatment of common imperial affairs, reserving, however, for the Diets themselves legislation on all matters not indispensable for unity of the empire. He rejects the two-chamber system for the central legislation, but thinks it would be advantageously introduced for the larger kingdoms and countries. "I do not care," he says, "for the outcry this will raise amongst our privileged liberals; my wish is to see not only liberal but lasting institutions, and when it can be shown to me in history that a liberal constitution with only one chamber has lasted at least twenty-five years, I will confess I have been guilty of political heresy."

In considering the wants and feelings, the different capabilities and habits of the numerous nationalities in Austria; in considering, too, the tendency in mixed populations of the stronger to oppress the weaker, Herr Palacky confesses that at one time he believed it would be good if the Austrian State were arranged in groups of nationalities whose languages are more or less homogeneous. But this idea he soon gave up, and he now adheres to the principle of continuity of historical rights, in connexion with geographical and ethnographical circumstances, as more in harmony with the wants, and more fitted to promote the future welfare of the people. In this view he is no doubt correct, for as a basis of the unity and strength of states, physical geography is quite as important as ethnography. In the spirit or essence of the October Diploma, Palacky, like the Hungarian writer, finds the true principle of Austria's weal; though, like him, he points to certain ambiguities and short-comings in that document. Much that is most valuable as regards the state of things in Austria, and

suggestive as to general principles of politics and legislation, may be gleaned from the "Austrian State-idea." In that empire more than in any other, a conflict of principles is apparent, deeply affecting the welfare of society in general. We see those of self-government and centralization, the claims of strong and weak nationalities at issue. Doubtless there are advantages in strict centralization. It gives great concentration and power to the executive, introducing uniform and energetic action. But great evils and dangers, too, threaten every State which develops this principle too far.

It cannot escape thoughtful observers of our times, that there is a tendency in modern statecraft, and even in popular legislation, consciously or unconsciously, towards centralized social organization in ever increasing geographical areas. We see, likewise, that powerful states and nations are eager to absorb their weaker neighbours; for in political as in social life there is a disposition to measure the value of things by their size and quantity, and to disregard those advantages, those moral and æsthetical beauties, often to be found within a small and unpretending compass. Yet the cry of the nationalities and cognate peoples for recognition and sympathy is likewise a prominent feature of our days, and may partly be the reaction of the above-named tendencies. In Austria we find the possibility given that the conflicting requirements of the age should be reconciled, and we cannot but call the efforts of those statesmen both wise and just who approve of decentralization, and try to arrest progress in a contrary direction. If, in the course of time, such efforts are doomed to be fruitless; if, in every State, an amalgamation of races, the victory of stronger over weaker, and the spread of one particular language, be a desirable or inevitable end, yet no one can doubt that it should be attained by slow and moral means, and not by systematic oppression, causing not only a withering of national life, a loss of that charm and strength to be found in variety, but for ages to come a deep-rooted spirit of discontent. With respect to the German population of Austria, or any particular branch of the human family in other parts of the world, it may be more gratifying to self-love and the thirst for dominion to keep down other races whom less favourable circumstances have not allowed an equal degree of culture: such treatment may likewise seem to offer more palpable and immediate advantages than efforts to elevate by education. Nevertheless, not only is the love of dominion bad in itself, and opposed to moral laws, and—especially if the measures it prompts cannot be thorough—it often leads to results in the future which tax to the utmost the energies of enlightened statesmen to remedy, as we now see to be the case in regard to Ireland. The politicians of the high-handed, power-loving school overlook, too, the reaction of tyranny on the character of the nations whom they aim at exalting. Moreover, neither the religious views of the origin of man, nor the scientific theory of evolution, warrant the assumption that one or more races of man have been specially created for dominion. And as regards

European nationalities, philologists believe that their science proves the unity of their origin. If this be true, it follows of course that if some of these nationalities have degenerated under oppression and other unfavourable circumstances, they can be elevated likewise.

In Austria, till of late, the great variety of populations in unequal degrees of civilization, has favoured the absolutist principle of "*Divide et impera*." It is to be hoped, now that it has been renounced by the head of the State, and his present enlightened and unanimous Cabinet,* it may not be adopted by favoured nationalities as a means to their ends. The Germans, morally as well as politically, through their connection with the German Confederation, occupy a vantage ground. This connexion, on the one hand, though it renders the position of Austria complicated and difficult, yet, on the other, in view of the powerful and strictly centralized States, Russia and France, to the east and west, is a source of strength and safety for the empire. There can be little doubt that the German language and the peculiarities of the German mind will gradually spread. It is impossible to conceive that all the languages of the fifteen nationalities in Austria are possessed of great vitality. Still less can this be the case with the various dialects. The ethnographical map of Austria displays 120 different groups of nationalities, and the number of language groups are said to be as many as 2000.† It seems, however, very far from probable that Austria should ever become entirely Germanized, or even that the German element should prevail in one half of the empire, the Magyar in the other. It must be borne in mind that of the thirty-five to thirty-six million population of Austria, more than fifteen million are of the Slavonic race. Although not so compactly located as Germans and Magyars, yet they are now awakened to a sense of their importance. None of the Slavonic people occupy a more prominent position than the Czechs. Their language has been highly cultivated many centuries ago, and at a time when comparative darkness prevailed in Germany. It now again flourishes through a constantly increasing literature, and it is not likely that in Bohemia and Moravia it can ever be supplanted by another tongue. Dr. Rieger has lately, in an eloquent and closely reasoned speech in the Diet, advanced the equal claims of the Czech language to be again used in the University of Prague.‡ His arguments were

listened to with great attention, and have been approved by a portion of the German press. A committee subsequently appointed to report on his propositions, has decided by a majority in their favour. The electoral laws, too, of which the Czechs with ground complain, are under revision by a committee of the Diet. In the Diets of the other crown-lands of Austria, the distribution of electoral rights has likewise formed a prominent topic of discussion, and propositions for reform have in every case been met by the present government in a willing spirit. The electoral laws throughout the empire are based upon the principle of the representation of classes and interests,* and an equitable adjustment is now being attempted. Indeed, in nearly every respect the situation in Austria now presents itself in favourable colours. In every question of internal legislation and administration, not directly connected with the indispensable central power of the State, Count Belcredi steadfastly upholds the autonomy of each country. This conciliatory policy, so opposed to the bureaucratic and expensive centralization of his predecessor, is already productive of good.

Supposing, however, the improbable result, that in the end the *quæstio vezata*, the position of Hungary in relation to the other parts of the empire, should be settled by some compromise in the direction of Dualism, as some politicians advise, the future prospects of Austria would then be far from satisfactory. In reference to a Dualism, or any form of Constitutionalism not based on justice to the Slavonic race, the historian of Bohemia says: "On the Elbe and Moldau, the words *Non possumus*, may likewise be pronounced. For 1500 years, ever since the Czechish tongue was first spoken on the sacred Rip and Vysehrad, the Bohemians have lived in a never-ceasing war for the preservation of their national existence. We shall hold out as long as it please the Almighty to permit us. We may not openly rise in arms against any laws having legal validity for our country, but as long as we are free, we shall never be brought to approve of any not based on equity. Obedience we may yield, but those who desire to earn moral feelings, must deserve them." It is not merely the Bohemians, but the Slavonic race in Austria generally, that thinks in this way.

The October Diploma, and still more prominently the September Manifest, have pronounced the principle of equal rights for all the nationalities of Austria. When the Diet of Hungary shall have decided in what way the nation will be willing to forego separatist claims for the sake of forming part of a powerful and united constitutional empire, and these decisions shall

* This was far from the case in the last Cabinet.

† Kolb's "Handbuch der Vergleichenden Statistik." Leipzig: 1865.

‡ Of the students in this university in the winter 1864-5, there were 560 Germans and 813 Czechs, besides 13 Servians, 5 Poles, and 5 Slovaks, &c. The professors for the different faculties were 63 Germans to lecture in their language, and 10 Czechs. Examinations for degrees are exclusively in the German language. In the Polytechnic Academy in Prague the Czech tongue, a few years ago, was placed on an equality with the German, it being taken for granted this concession would not be injurious to German interests. The result has disappointed these hopes, for whilst the Czech lectures are crowded, the former are comparatively little attended.

* There is much in the Austrian system of representation to afford instruction and gratification to English politicians not to be deterred from an examination of harmonious theories by the scarecrow "fancy franchises." Even the most "practical Englishman" may perhaps have gallantry enough not to disapprove of one form of "fancy franchise" in Austria. Women possessed of landed property in their own right have votes; and it is intended, we hear, to extend the suffrage to *independent* females in lower grades of society.

have been laid before the Diets of the other countries, for "their equally important consideration," the last word—the all-embracing, mediating, and conciliating voice—remains with the Crown. Francis Joseph has passed through a school eminently calculated to develop the intellectual and moral qualities of a ruler. Let us hope that the lessons of experience have not been lost upon him, and that he will wisely use the power which is in his hands.

ART. IV.—FRENCH OPINIONS OF THE ENGLISH.

1. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Par H. TAINÉ. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1863.
2. *Lettres sur L'Angleterre.* Par LOUIS BLANC. 2 vols. Paris. 1866.
3. *Cornwall and its Coasts.* By ALPHONSE ESQUIROS. London. 1865.
4. *Études sur L'Angleterre. Réformes Sociales.* Par LUCIEN DAVESIES DE PONTES. Paris. 1865.

It is recorded of a certain hunchback in Paris, that it was his delight whenever he overtook one of his fellow-unfortunates to tap him smartly on his hunch, and then, taking off his hat and making a low bow, to point to his own hump, saying, with a sarcastic smile, "If you are content, sir, so am I." Nations, in their caricatures of each other, have been as maliciously fond as this hunchback of rapping each other's hump, but without being equally ready to acknowledge the existence of their own. More malicious even, they will imagine humps they do not see, and treat with contempt all efforts of their neighbour to show that his back is unexceptionably straight. We once met with an amusing illustration of the persistence with which the natives of one country will fix defects upon those of another, in a German lady who desired to know if she were not right in saying that the English in general had wens. On our protesting our ignorance of the fact, she rejoined that she had been staying at some place famed for its mineral waters, and that almost all the English that went there had wens. We took the liberty of observing that there were other waters to which Englishmen resorted for rheumatism or gout; but it would be hardly fair to infer from this that the English for the most part were rheumatic or gouty. The good lady was staggered for a moment, but presently made a triumphant retreat, observing, "Ah! it is so natural to defend one's own country." It was ludicrous to be thus made to pass for an exaggerated patriot for denying that one's countrymen in general had wens. For the most part such exaggerations are not mere misimpressions, but formulas expressive of dislike. Paul Louis Courier, speaking of the proneness of the Neapolitans to calumny, illustrated it in this way; "Quarrel," he said, "with a Neapolitan, and it is quite possible he will go about reporting that you have murdered your father or mother, though it be notorious that one or the other be alive at

the time; he does not care about its being believed; it is only a way he has of saying that he hates you." So with a number of the old-fashioned misrepresentations current among nations; they were simply a way they took of saying that they hated one another. But though the generation of hump-touchers and wen-finders is everywhere passing away, and in England may be considered nearly extinct, there still survives a sufficient amount of the old influence of prejudice to throw impediments in the way of a just appreciation of one nation by the writers of another.

Hence it is, that in sketching the portrait of a country which is not one's own, there is always this difficulty, that the artist is sure to bring to his work an ideal likeness from the fascination of which he cannot easily escape. It is this likeness that almost invariably makes the groundwork of the portrait he is about to take; it is this he will re-touch, re-tint, and, as far as his faculty of observation goes, will, if he be honest, endeavour to bring into harmony with the actuality before him. Sometimes the success will be considerable; but sometimes, too, the result will resemble those tales wherein fiction is founded on fact—the fact will be small, and the fiction great. This drawback upon the fidelity of delineation will of course be the more powerful in the case of two such nations as the French and English, more or less under the influence of old hostile traditions, and accustomed to see each other through a medium transmitting refracted and not reflected rays. Its action, it is true, is less vigorous on the English side than the French; for whether it is that the vast development of our power and prosperity has made us too self-satisfied to be in the slightest degree jealous of France, or that enlightened by our press and our literature in general, we are now able to recognise for caricatures what we once took for likenesses; certain it is, that England is much more capable of forming an equitable opinion of France than France is of her. We have no motive to feel pleasure at any ridicule of France; there is nothing in her of a serious nature that we envy or miss—nothing that reminds us that we have tried to do something that she has done, and failed—no consciousness of her superiority, therefore no desire to depreciate her. In commerce, in industrial energy and skill, in general knowledge, in jurisprudence, in the science of government, in literature, in discoveries and improvements, in extent of empire, in wide-spread influence throughout the world, we are content with our position and doings. This puts us into good humour and at our ease; but, above all, there is nothing in our internal relations which makes it the interest or desire of any of us to take a prejudiced view of our neighbours. Whereas, a strong reason why France cannot look so complacently on England as England upon her, and why she does not look so complacently as she ought, is, that the various hostile political sections which divide France have almost all their peculiar motives for disliking or depreciating her. The Priest party hates her for her Protestantism; the old Legitimate party, well

represented by that fine old antediluvian, the Marquis de Boissy, hates her for her democracy; the Imperialist party, for the contrast which, through her, is exhibited between liberty as a right jealously guarded by law, and liberty "*au bon plaisir*"—liberty "until further orders;" the two sections of the Republican party hate her for giving the lie to the Revolution of 1789, which pledged itself to the fact that monarchy and aristocracy are incompatible with liberty. The Orleanist party, the only one which desires a constitutional monarchy, is the only one that tolerates us, and in whose ranks are to be found our most favourable critics. It may be easily conceived, therefore, that if a French writer desires to be popular he must be wary how he acknowledges the merits of England; if he cannot honestly avoid it in one direction, he will be tempted to make some amends, even though he go out of his way for it, to discover demerit in some other direction. To praise England may be sometimes a necessity, but it is always a defect; so much so, that even the historian rushes to the rescue of great men who were in their day guilty of such weakness. "We must not," solemnly observes M. Henri Martin, in his very able and popular "History of France," when speaking of Voltaire, and his visit to England after his release from the Bastille—"we must not be astonished at, or impute as a crime to him, a sympathy and admiration for England, so natural for a man who, cruelly treated by arbitrary power, found himself suddenly in the presence of a system of free discussion, and government by law." Now, no human being out of France, whose opinion is worth a straw, would have dreamt of charging it as a fault against Voltaire that, when he came into the presence of English liberty, he should have sympathized with, and admired it. Were we to write a hundred folios we could not furnish stronger proof of the morbid condition of the French mind towards England than this. We must not suppose this to be a solitary instance; precisely in the same spirit, when speaking of the chapter in the *Esprit des Lois*, where Montesquieu describes the constituents of the English character, he takes care, in a note, to inform his readers that this eminent writer was infinitely less favourable to the English in his "*Pensées Detachées*," where he is so indignant "at their political venality, their hardness, and their egotism." Nor are we for a moment to suppose that it was the intrinsic excellence and splendour of our English institutions which dazzled him. Oh! no; we are carefully warned of our being bound to remember that when he was describing a society possessed "of the liberty of writing and *and so many other liberties*," he had before his eyes a country void of any liberty at all. "He may well be excused, therefore," says the apologetic historian, "seeing he had no living example before him of equality or virtue, for turning to that quarter where at least he could behold liberty." Not only curious, but really ludicrous, is the patronizing way in which these two eminent men are here excused for having so far forgotten themselves as Frenchmen as to do homage to

England. The lesson intended to be taught by it manifestly is, that English liberty is, no doubt, a very creditable thing in its way, of exceeding good quality, and capable of excellent results, if the English people knew how to use it, and would not disfigure it by monarchy and aristocracy; but so associated, it is absurd to suppose that it could ever furnish any lesson or example of practical utility to France. Much in the same vein an historian belonging to another section of the Republican party, M. Louis Blanc, who has no opinion whatever of Montesquieu as a political writer, is quite ready to acknowledge that it was natural enough under a government lavish in its use of the Bastille, and arbitrary in divers ways, to be moved even to jealousy at the sight of a neighbouring people in whom personal liberty was a birthright for whom the writ of Habeas Corpus could fling open prison doors, and among whom grievances could appeal to Parliament for redress, or utter their remonstrances through the press. This, of course, was a brave sight; but it would be a mistake to suppose that it could do any good to France—to the middle classes, perhaps, but not to the people—for what advantage, asks M. Louis Blanc, was it to men too obscure to be subject to arrests, to have guarantees for their liberty? Of what use the liberty of the press to men who were unable to read? Montesquieu, with his English model, would be of no value to them. What they wanted, and what they got, was Rousseau. We know the results. It is, however, but just to Rousseau to say that his admirers have only taken from him what they wanted, and not all they might have had. His views were far more practical than is usually supposed. Nothing, for instance, could be more sensible and prudent than the advice he gave in his "*Constitution of Poland*." He there recommends the gradual emancipation of the serfs, and their being accustomed by degrees to the use of personal liberty. He indicates as the best way of qualifying them for the full rights of citizenship, first to occupy them with the discharge of municipal rights, thus giving them the experience requisite for the full enjoyment of all civil and political rights. The Americans might even yet take a valuable hint from him in their dealing with the difficult question of conferring political rights upon the freed-men. Rousseau admired Montesquieu, and had no uncompromising objection to monarchy or aristocracy. He would have been satisfied with the English form of government on the condition of its adopting universal suffrage and annual parliaments. He was no blind worshipper of the "sovereignty of the people." He even complained that the Government of Geneva had been more anxious about such sovereignty than about liberty. It is proper to observe, M. Henri Martin does not overlook these facts.

We have selected these instances to show how carefully Frenchmen, especially of certain parties, are trained to avoid the manifestation of any sympathy with England, and the expressions of any obligations to her for the example of liberty she has set. We easily understand, too, from them, how much a writer

who desires to be popular has to conform himself to this rule of abstinence, or if he deviates from it, so to do it that it shall become in the least possible degree offensive. Once aware of this, we shall not be surprised to find writers from whom we might expect better things, and who very possibly desire to do better things, showing a coyness of admiration, and a nervous anxiety to qualify their praise as much as is decently possible.

We have had occasion, in a previous number, to notice M. Taine, a man of unquestionable ability and acknowledged literary merit, the author of "*A History of English Literature*," in which he has displayed a marvellous acquaintance with our literature, and borne frank testimony to its merits. In doing this he was no doubt sensible he was treading on tender ground, and felt possibly the necessity of finding some counterpoise for his general praise and occasional admiration of our literary pretensions, by a certain amount of satire upon us in other respects. This, however, is principally the consequence of a philosophical theory which had led him to some foregone conclusions. The theory in question is simply this—that we can determine the specialty of any national character by considering in reference to it the influence of race, or hereditarily transmitted tendencies, the physical conditions amid which these tendencies have developed, and the characteristics of the period in which it presents itself to our notice. The theory itself may not be positively original, but the use made of it is at all events curious. Given the Englishman as we find him incarnate in his real or supposed ancestors—it is a very wise nation that knows its own father—the Saxons; given the conditions of climate and soil contemporaneous with their first settlement in England, M. Taine undertakes to exhibit to himself a correct picture of England and Englishmen as they now are. Having worked this out to his satisfaction, he determined to pay a visit to England, where he had the satisfaction of finding that the ideal picture was correct. Of this visit he gives us an account at the conclusion of his work.

As the climate precedes the inhabitant, he had first made an ideal sketch of that. Seen by his mind's eye, the soil in general is soddened with water; for days together the rain patters on the oak trees; and overhead are dull grey clouds creeping heavily above an immovable mass of fog, while, at certain distances, the sky, at the horizon, is muddled and disfigured with rain-squalls. Here and there "a jet of sunshine falls on the tall herbs with a violent brilliancy, and the splendour of the verdure becomes dazzling and brutal." But this savage brightness is, of course, very exceptional. We shall now see how the picture stood the test. Very judiciously selecting Newhaven as the point of debarkation most in harmony with his views, he reached it under the most auspicious and corroborative circumstances. For, though it was during the fine season of the year, there suddenly burst forth one of those storms which are only to be found on the English coast. Clouds, some resembling masses of

coal-smoke, intermingled with others of fleecy whiteness, distended to bursting, coalesced, and sent down sheets of pelting, pitiless rain; the swelling sea looked foul and cadaverous; the crests of the waves twisted hideously into strange shapes, while their oily and livid sides were hideous to behold. At length the air being saturated with what was really liquid fog resembling a yellowish smoke, all objects were confounded, and Nature, as it were, smeared out. "Had the Romans," he exclaims, "reached the coast in such a scene, they would have thought themselves in hell." M. Taine, on the contrary, was in heaven. The phenomena might all of them have been made to order. Landing at Newhaven, he soon found himself in London, where everything turned out according to his most sanguine hopes. Rain, nothing but rain, except fog and mud; here he really thought himself in the region of Cimmerian darkness: he even felt as if he were beyond the bounds of the respiring world, and reduced to the condition of a frog or other tenant of the marshes. The Thames with its iron boats, and their freights of gloomy passengers, reminded him of the Styx. Nothing could possibly be better. In the absence of natural daylight, too, the Cimmerians had recourse to an artificial light. For five days, for five whole days in the handsomest hotel on the "Grande place"—wherever that may be—it was necessary to have the gas burning, and this in the height of summer. Never was a theorist in such luck; fancy if he had had the misfortune to fall upon such evil days as those of last summer. But here we must pause a moment for an especial reason—to make a conjecture about the "Grande place." Leicester-square naturally suggests itself; but, for reasons worth mentioning, we suppose it to be Waterloo-place. Hence it could not find its way into his description, and here is the proof. In his notice of Mr. Mill, he cites in a foot-note that passage from the "Logic" in which Mr. Mill, arguing against the necessity of general propositions, observes, "The mortality of John, Thomas, and Company is, after all, the only evidence we have for the mortality of the Duke of Wellington." But in the text the Duke disappears, and "Prince Albert" is three times thrust into his place. It would evidently have been a breach of good manners to mention the Duke's name to ears polite; for the same characteristic reason, it would have been offensive to mention Waterloo-place.

The facts, as we have seen, having amply borne out Mr. Taine's conjectures as to the foggy and dismal side of our climate so far, he now leaves London, confident he will discover farther evidence—and is not disappointed. He has no difficulty in finding "there are still wastes in England, as in the time of the Conquest, full of rough and prickly plants, with a horse here and there feeding in the solitude. Melancholy sight!—ungrateful soil!" As he looked upon this primordial scene, his thoughts, he tells us, naturally reverted to those old Saxons—those vagabonds of the West and North—who settled themselves down in this country of marshes and mists, on the skirts of the old

forests, and along the banks of those great muddy rivers which roll their slime into the ocean. This was most cheering. But his picture also provided a little sunshine; he finds this too, but of rather a less ferocious character than he expected. Nevertheless, he is for a moment, in spite of himself, delighted. He falls in with a very fine day, when the air is "*semi-serene*;" and, ascending a small eminence, great indeed are his surprise and pleasure on taking this new survey of English scenery. He even describes it with the enthusiasm of an artist; the charm of our rich pastures, of our meadows glowing with wild flowers, of the rich and varied fertility spreading far and wide, and the exquisite beauty of the whole landscape bathed in a soft haze. But he soon saddens as he reflects that all here is frail, unstable, evanescent—wanting the permanent beauty of the South; that all this life is but the prelude to a swift approaching death. Moisture abounds and softens the living tissues; the plants, luxuriant in growth, are deficient in juices; nutrition is in excess, and has no flavour; the moisture procreates, but the sun does not perfect. But then there is plenty of grass, plenty of cattle, plenty of meat. Plenty of opportunity for great feeding, and for gross feeding; and this is what the human machine in England requires. We must here notice, to the honour of the meat we eat, that it forms an important item in the estimate formed by French writers of our intellectual as well as physical characteristics. A brilliant French historian, for instance, M. Michelet, having in his "*History of France*" asserted that the Northern nations were indebted for their energy of mind and body to the fact of their being great flesh-eaters, finds a very remarkable proof of it among the English: "Their great genius, Shakespeare," he says, "was the son of a butcher." It makes one tremble to think what might have been the result had he been the son of a market-gardener! As the enormous consumption of flesh forced upon us by the moisture of our climate produces in us a type of animal intelligence very different from what we suppose we must call the vegetable intelligence of Southern countries, so, of course, does it in its peculiar way fashion our bodies. And here again, "observation confirms history." When M. Taine first introduces our ancestors as settling themselves in our lugubrious country of commons, and marsh, and rivers of mud, with occasional jets of sunshine revealing a violent brilliancy and brutal green, he thus presents them to us—"Great white bodies, phlegmatic, with blue eyes, light hair tinged with red, voracious stomachs, crammed with meat and cheese; heated by ardent spirits; a cold temperament; not precocious in love; fond of their fireside; and inclined to brutal drunkenness."* These were

the characteristics of our first national parents; and these, we are assured by our distinguished philosophical critic, are still the fundamental characteristics of Englishmen. Look at an Englishman: the scaffolding is solid, but clumsily put together; when an idea gets into his brain, it does not run out as in some nations by the arms and fingers, in the shape of gestures, but remains there until it wants to act,—hence he can always act calmly, as the motive power in him is an idea or watchword, not an emotion or an attraction. He can attend meetings, get very hot, and end without a quarrel; abuse to any amount his Government, but not assail it; he may possibly risk reform, but never revolution. That this may be our present condition we are not indisposed to admit, and if it has been brought about by meat and moisture we are very grateful to them; but we do not very clearly see how it happens that these invaluable conditions of our existence having always been present, our history should be so gorged with violence, periods of incessant civil war, and riots on a most leguminous scale. Indeed, revolutions, and tolerably grave ones, are not unknown to us. But now let us see what M. Taine says regarding our physical characteristics. These are his words:—

"Examine the passers-by in the streets, you will see all the traits indicative of their temperament; light hair, among the children almost white; eyes of a pale blue, like china, red whiskers, lofty stature, automatic movements, together with other striking peculiarities, which highly-nourishing food and a life of energetic action have superadded to this temperament. Here the enormous life-guardsmen, fresh-coloured, majestic, well-made, flourishing a small cane in his hand, expanding his chest, and displaying the well-defined parting in his pomatumed hair; there the big over-fed man, thick-set, florid, looking like a fatted ox, with a restless, yet stupid, inert look; a little further on the country gentleman, six feet high, big and burly of frame—as of a German issuing from his forest—with the muzzle of a bulldog; wild-looking whiskers, out of all proportion; rolling eyes; apoplectic face; here you have the extreme results of coarse and over-stimulating nourishment. To this add, what is even common among the women, a white frontage of carnivorous teeth, and large splay-feet, solidly shod, admirably adapted for walking in the mud."—Vol. iii. p. 636.

Such is the valuable confirmation of his theory which M. Taine derives from personal observation. It is lucky for us, therefore, that we have a gentleman among us as the correspondent of a French official paper, the *Moniteur de Soir*, who, not writing under the yoke of a theory, is actually telling his countrymen that red hair and beards are not more plentiful here than elsewhere; that one is quite in despair at not meeting noses of the parrot-bill form, or my Lord Puff and John Bull rolling along painfully under their traditional corpulence; and that Englishmen are a robust, well-grown, and good-natured looking set of people. But let us

* Our contemporary, the "*Edinburgh Review*," is indignant at the *sera juvenum Venus* which M. Taine has taken from Tacitus, and proudly refers him to any English magistrate for better information on this subject. M. Esquiros was very much surprised to find that light eyes and hair, and fair complexions, were decidedly in a marked minority, and that his own ob-

servations bore out Dr. Pritchard's estimate that not more than twenty per cent. of the population in England were light-haired and fair-complexioned. See facts for M. Taine.

get back to M. Taine, who is always worth hearing; passing from the parents to the children, who have not yet absorbed so much moisture and consumed so much flesh, the impression upon him is less unpleasant. Our young cricketers please him, their eyes beaming, if not with intelligence, yet with life; pictures of health, activity, energy, enterprise—looking, many of them, like “handsome greyhounds in full chase.” He notes, too, the fondness of young Englishmen for athletic sports, and how, under that necessity for absorbing moisture which is essential to their being, they love to swim, to row, to course over the moist meadows, to breathe in their boats the salt air of the sea, and—here we confess we do not exactly know what is meant—“to feel on their foreheads the rain drops from the great oaks.” Lord Bacon, indeed, was wont to say that he liked to walk out bareheaded in a summer shower, for it made him feel as if the spirit of the universe was descending upon him. We suppose that this too may be explained by the theory of absorption, and that it is cognate with this juvenile love of the rain-drops, in which there also may be something unconsciously devotional, resembling, in spite of the difference between the meteorological and dietetic conditions of the two nations, the worship among the Romans of Jupiter Pluvius. Looking to this intense desire for absorbing moisture, fresh, salt, to say nothing of alcoholic, it is to be regretted that M. Taine has not attempted to account for the universal use of that remarkable instrument, the umbrella, among us. It may be fairly a question with him whether this phenomenon, in conjunction with the increasing use of waterproof materials, india-rubber over-shoes, and other prophylactics against wet, together with our extensive system of drainage, may not indicate some change in our temperament, and imply that we are entering into what hereafter may be called our “Dry Period.” Having finished his sketch of our youths, M. Taine approaches our English girls. They fairly rout him. This is his cry of rapture:—

“Nothing more simple than the young girls; among lovely things there are few so lovely in the world; well-shaped, strong, sure of themselves, so thoroughly sound and open, so exempt from coquetry. Impossible unless one has seen it to imagine this freshness, this innocence. Many of them are flowers, flowers just bursting into bloom; only the morning rose with its pure and delightful tints, with its petals studded with dewdrops, can give an idea of it; far in advance this of the beauty of the South, with its distinct, finished, fixed outlines, constituting a definite design; here all reminds us of the fragility, delicacy, and continual flow of life; eyes full of candour, blue as violets, looking without consciousness of what they are looking at; at the slightest emotion the blood diffusing itself over the cheeks, the neck, even down to the shoulders, in purple-tinted waves; you see emotions flitting on these transparent flushes like the varying tints that play upon their meadows; and this virgin purity is so genuine that you feel an impulse to lower your eyes in respect.” And yet all natural and artless as they are, they are not languid and listless; they enjoy and can bear active exercise like their brothers; with their hair floating in the

wind, they are to be seen, when only six years old, galloping on horseback, and taking long walks. In this country a life of action fortifies the phlegmatic temperament, and the heart becomes more simple while the body is becoming more sound.”

Ah, young ladies! if you had not before you the prospect of the white frontage of carnivorous teeth, and mud-adapted feet, of which you have lately heard, your delight and triumph would be complete. But be of good cheer. M. Taine can sometimes be an observer; only he is under the necessity of showing that gloom and rugged energy are the characteristics of the English nation, and this leads him often to exaggeration, and occasionally to caricature. For an instant you have emancipated him from his theory, and he yields to an influence which the artist who has come over here to paint us after life, M. Lacaut, informs us has established a current phrase in his language, “*jolis comme une Anglaise*.” Very soon himself again, M. Taine proceeds to sketch what he says is the essential type of the Englishman. To do this he plants himself with the characteristic belief of a Parisian that the capital is the country, on the platform of a London terminus, and notices the absorbed, careworn, concentrated look of the travellers hurrying to and from their daily avocations, their features rigid, faces pale, eyes fixed, deep in thought, their mouths partly open, and at the same time contracted (like the state, we presume, of incipient whistle); men used up and stiffened by excess of toil, they go on without looking right or left; their whole being absorbed in one object, work, work, profitable work; in a word, mere machines. This is dreary, but we shall be appraised by-and-by that this veritable type is but a partial one. Meanwhile, he notes—and here it is not very possible to caricature—that squalid population, dirty, ragged, and begrimed, for ever crowding through the worst quarters of our capital, paying their tax to the great law of absorption in the shape of gin, crowding together in filthy lodging-houses, or outraging humanity in casual wards. We must acknowledge this is a spectacle which may well arrest the attention and shock the feelings of foreigners. That these grim personifications of human wretchedness—these hapless tenants of the slough and slime of cities—may have a deeper dye of external wretchedness here than elsewhere, is possible, but that they abound too in other capitals is certain, and it is there they have acquired the name of “dangerous classes.” How often have we had descriptions of those sinister-looking men and women, who at the approach of tumults in Paris issue from their dens and lairs, and who, never seen at other times, make their appearance there as hideous harbingers of the coming storm? Whence do they come, and how do they exist? A stern police sweeps them from the streets; no love of publicity tracks them to their haunts. But whatever be the case elsewhere, it does not lessen our responsibility for the mass of undoubted wretchedness here, and which seems to present itself as an impregnable bulwark to our benevolent efforts to amend it. And while rejecting the baseless theories of foreigners as to its

cause; it is well we should be stimulated to fresh exertions by the reproaches which are showered upon us in consequence of its results.

Having thus given some idea of the sketches which this brilliant theory-hampered, but really able writer, has drawn of us as animals, it is but justice to him, as well as to ourselves, to give some idea of the impression which the works of these singular creatures have produced upon him. But we must first premise that the Englishman is no longer the primitive Teutonic animal of whom we have the disagreeable picture in the frontispiece; he is that animal carried onwards and developed; "his body and mind have been transformed by stimulating food, by physical exertion, by religious austerity, by public morality, by political contests, by incessant effort." In the whole world, declares M. Taine, there is no greater spectacle than that which is presented by his work; and never in any nation, ancient or modern, has there been such a mastery over matter; industrial and commercial London; Liverpool with its miles of docks and warehouses, its forests of masts and fleets of merchantmen; Manchester, and other manufacturing towns, with their vast and various processes, and the energetic industry of their operatives, astonish him. Nor does the rural life of England escape his notice; his brief animated sketch of it, and of our farmers and peasants, is in some particulars too favourable. "If you examine," he says, the "peasants, they are not real peasants; they in no degree resemble our rustics—a sort of fellows attached to the soil, suspicious and uncultivated, separated by a vast chasm from the inhabitants of towns. The English peasant," he justly observes, "stands to the soil in the same relation that the operative does to a mill; for the farm is in reality a factory, and the farmer an overlooker. Men embark their capital in agriculture as do manufacturers and speculators in industrial enterprises; nobles and gentlemen make it their glory to do so. Hence marvellous results; with a soil poorer than that of France, the acre yields double the quantity of produce. In England, thirty labourers will produce twice as much as forty laborers in France." There is no dismal colouring here; and if we follow him in his charming description of the houses and cottages of these farmers and labourers we shall find in general that his colours are too bright; but there is considerable interest in it, as implying a very different condition of things in his own country:—

"Enter a farm, a moderate one, of a hundred acres for instance, you find well-behaved, worthy people, well dressed, expressing themselves clearly and sensibly; a spacious house, healthy and comfortable, with frequently a small porch in front, covered with creeping plants; a garden well attended to, ornamental shrubs, the walls inside white-washed yearly; the floor-tiles cleaned once a-week; a cleanliness everywhere that is almost Dutch; besides this, a tolerable number of books, travels, agricultural works, or religious, or historical, but above all, the great family Bible. Even in the poorest cottages are to be found objects connected with comfort or gratification: a large shining grate, a carpet, almost always walls papered, one or two little moral stories, and invariably the Bible; the cottage is clean; there is

manifest evidence of order; rows of dishes, with blue patterns, ornament the dresser; the red tiles carefully swept; no broken or dirty windows; no doors or window-shutters half off their hinges; no stagnant pools or reeking dung-heaps, as amongst our villagers; the little garden is kept clear of weeds; rose-bushes sometimes, and honey-suckles climb about the door; and on Sunday the father and mother are to be seen seated at a nice clean table, with tea and bread-and-butter before them, enjoying their *home*, and the fruits of their orderly arrangements. With us on Sunday, the peasant leaves his cabin to go and see his *landed property*; his great object is possession; what the former aim at is comfort."

To be sure, after drawing this rather high-coloured picture of the well-being of our rural labourers, he makes amends to his readers by informing them that this love of the comfortable, the disease of the whole country, is their especial misfortune, one of them having supplied him with the rather remarkable information, that "our peasants, the moment they scrape together a little money, buy the best sherry and the finest clothes."*

But what principally strikes him in our rural districts is the public spirit of our landed proprietors, and the energetic support they give to every species of improvement in their respective localities; indeed, his picture of our aristocracy is extremely unlike that which modern Frenchmen delight to draw; unlike other aristocracies, he sees them marching in the van, not lagging in the rear of civilization. They are no drawing-room "delicacies," like the marquises of the last century. He notes, too, what may be called the democratic feature of our English aristocracy—its being constantly recruited from every other class, through the accumulations of wealth effected by industry and merit; or, to use his own peculiar way of putting it, the best plants of the great popular forest are, from time to time, transferred to the aristocratic arboretum, thus enriching and popularizing it. In fact, in the same way that a French soldier is said to have a "*bâton de maréchal*" in his knapsack, so may it be said that every Englishman has a coronet in his pocket; and this it is which preserves our coronets. Another important feature in our organization does not escape him. What he looks upon as chiefly constituting the coherence of English society, and contributing to its harmonious action, is the facile acceptance of the relative positions of superior and inferior, which is found from the top to the bottom of the social scale. In this he is right. Whether it be the effect of old institutions or any peculiarity in the temperament of our people, or of an instinctive tendency to organization, inducing us to regard faithful service as honourable as high command, certain it is, that while there is no people more jealous of their personal independence, there is none more indifferent to social

* He has evidently mistaken something he has heard touching the recklessness of our operatives, who, as is well known, or may be learnt from Mr. Smiles' admirable paper on "Workmen's Earnings, Strikes, and Savings," are but too frequently open to this censure.

equality. An Englishman, though ready, if required, to lead, is much less anxious to lead than to be *well* led.

M. Taine has a word to say of our clergy. It is easy to see at what he points when he tells us that the village clergyman is not the son of a peasant, unpurged of his rusticity, full of the seminary, shut up in a monastic education, separated from society by his celibacy, and half belonging to the Middle Ages. On the contrary, he finds in him a man of the times, who has improved himself by reading, and still reads; if he does not keep pace with men of free thought, he is not far behind them. "Even you, modern man as you are," he says, addressing the Parisian, "may converse with him on all the great subjects of thought, there is no impassable chasm between him and you; properly speaking, they are as much laymen as you are, the only difference is, that they are superintendents of morals." This will be wonderful news to the Parisian, and is certainly a little too strong. We can easily understand the effect produced upon him by the contrast between the French clergy and our own; and though we fear that a very large proportion of the latter are not quite so expansive as he describes them, yet it is happily beyond doubt that there are agencies at work by which, in a few years, the exceptions to his encomium will be very considerably decreased. It is possible that there are many who, acting under a professional compulsion they are not yet able to resist, may be bolder in thought than act; but we are afraid that if M. Taine could witness their weak and captious proceedings on the great educational question, or the solemn gravity with which numbers of them embark in the childish ritualistic controversy, he would ask to revise his conclusions.

But we must have now done with the impressions of this clever, eccentric, exaggerating, but not malicious critic. The only marvel is they should be attached to an elaborate and masterly survey of our literature instead of finding a place in the *feuilleton* of a newspaper; but as he tells us himself, they are introduced as confirmations of a theory, and we know what a theory will often bring a man to. Besides, he allows us as much excellence as our necessity of humid absorption, and excessive flesh diet, combined with a phlegmatic temperament derived from those curious looking Saxons, who (with the exception of a slight Norman cross) he really believes were our forefathers, will admit; nor will our self-love be much offended at learning that we are wanting in the higher grades of abstract intelligence, and utterly so in those qualities which bestow a capacity for the fine arts, when we come to learn that these are the perquisites of a drier temperature and a vegetable diet. We may console ourselves, indeed, with hoping that, by contrivances akin to those known to horticulture, by which we successfully procure the soil and temperature necessary to the development of exotic plants, we may one day, by means of artificial climate, and properly adapted food, train up English artists who shall be equal to the production of the beautiful in art;

and English philosophers, who shall be able to ascend to that lofty region of abstraction from which so many unperceived blessings have descended upon mankind, and to which other nations are indebted for that immensely superior intellectual development so well known—to themselves.

It is a prodigious comfort to pass from M. Taine to M. Louis Blanc—from a style brilliant, animated, often eloquent, but excessively surcharged, disfigured by overwrought expression, coarse illustration, and grotesque words, to one of a purer stamp, clear, lively, epigrammatic without effort, eloquent without strain, vigorous without coarseness, copious without redundancy, reminding us of what French was before its modern corruption. As we read M. Taine, we are apt to think of what Montesquieu said of the epithets of Jean Baptiste Rousseau: "They say much, but they always say too much, and constantly express more than they say." As we read M. Louis Blanc we are reminded of the classic days of French literature, ere ambitious writing changed the easy movement of a graceful runner into the sparkling feats of a ballet-dancer. It is now some time since the latter of these writers was giving us, in an admirable work in our language, the correct version of those political events with which he was connected in 1848, and which dissipated so many unfounded prejudices against him. He now appears as the author of "Letters upon England." The title is not well selected; they are rather letters on passing events in England; they are what Horne Tooke inappropriately called his work of research, *παραπαρα*—winged words freighted with the suggestions and inspirations of the moment, as they jostle, succeed, and displace each other in the great centre of political intelligence. Had the descriptive studies of M. Esquiros been in the epistolary form they would really have been letters upon England, agreeable in style, admirable in spirit, extensive in survey, replete with details, and accurate in execution. We may observe that his recent volume on Cornwall contains a large amount of agreeable and useful information respecting a most important but outlying county, which not being a thoroughfare, is comparatively unknown to the rest of England. It is well worth perusal. But to return to M. Louis Blanc. In a conversation with a friend, prefixed to his letters, faithfully representing, we are quite sure, his scruples, he states his objections to accepting the responsibility of publishing a series of disconnected communications, written in his capacity of correspondent to a Parisian newspaper; the result, therefore, of momentary impressions, imperfect inquiry, hasty appreciation, and thrown, the greater part of them, into the post without being revised. His friend having overruled without, it seems to us, having answered his objections (that of going forth unrevised was certainly a grave one), we are bound to give M. Louis Blanc the benefit of the admission, that his work goes to the public entirely unrevised, and that there may be wrong judgments in it, which he has not had the opportunity to correct. But of this we may be sure, that nothing

will be found in it intentionally incorrect, nor ought set down in malice.

In accepting the post of correspondent to a new newspaper, which by its prudence, good sense, and well-tempered liberalism, has shown itself worthy of the distinction, M. Louis Blanc, while paying France the compliment of saying that she fascinates the world and sets everybody thinking of her, ventures to regret that she should so exclusively concentrate her thoughts upon herself. Like a brilliant coquette, it would seem, she sits with nations full of admiration at her feet, without deigning to cast a glance upon her worshippers, though offering, as we are told, their homage in every shape—hanging on her words, trying to divine her thoughts, and ever straining their ears to hear what she says in her waking dreams when she happens to talk to herself aloud. To arouse her from this habit of self-contemplation and self-converse, M. Louis Blanc playfully reminds her, in the language of that wittiest of abbés, Galiani, "that what distinguishes man from other animals is, that he is the only one that has the faculty of meddling with what does not concern him." But surely his countrymen have been extremely human in this respect. So thought at least the Baron de Lisola in that famous satire—for which Louvois gave orders to have him kidnapped dead or alive—in which he had the impertinence to suggest that the practice of the French was "to foment disorders within nations; that their maxim is to thrust themselves into all sorts of affairs right and left, and to play the part of arbiters everywhere, by force or address, by threats or kindness;" that their "genius naturally tends to war; ardent, restless, fond of novelty, desirous of conquest, prompt, meddling, and lending itself to any kind of expedient it thinks conducive to its own ends;" that "it requires fuel for its fire, and if it cannot find it without, it will try to find it within." If this be true, it may be that what M. Louis Blanc represents as worshippers may be anxious watchers. That there is truth in it is admitted, with much courage and candour, by a writer who, in various forms of historical research, is endeavouring to give useful instruction and warning to his countrymen. M. de Witt, who, in his interesting notice of Louvois (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Feb. 12th, 1862, since published separately), says, in allusion to Lisola's description—

"Modern France has sometimes boasted of having nothing in common with ancient France. Here, however, is an old portrait, in which, even at this day, we recognise a certain family likeness. It is not flattering, and—Heaven be praised!—there have been times when it has ceased to be like. It has become a little more so of late. I even know people who wish that the resemblance were complete!"

Vastly important is it, then, that a nation not indisposed, if this be true, to mix herself up with the affairs of other people—to impose upon herself what she calls a mission, for one purpose or other—should break down that wall of ignorance within which she confines herself, listening to hymns in her own praise, of her

own composition, and let in that outer knowledge which will acquaint her with the character of other nations, and supply her with valuable criticisms on her own. It is, no doubt, through the foreign correspondence of our leading newspapers, written from different points of view, correcting each other—subject of course, by the very nature of its composition, to convey much information which is superficial and unsound, but with much more that is valuable and accurate—that we have accustomed ourselves to take a pleasure in descriptions of other countries, neither sensational nor satirical, commending themselves neither by ridicule of them, nor by flattery of ourselves. Our business now is to inquire how this amiable and very able correspondent of the *Temps* discharges his task of explaining England to France. We select what he says of Englishmen in general, premising he only speaks of us in a public sense, and that his letters have little to do with what may be called the private and inner life of the nation. The opportunity is furnished by his twenty-fifth letter, entitled "L'Angleterre avant tout," England first and foremost. The occasion was this: Mr. Roebuck in a speech at Sheffield, in August 1861, had just declared that to his certain knowledge, the French Emperor had made a compact with the King of Italy, in virtue of which Sardinia was to be handed over to him, as soon as he should withdraw his troops from Rome. As was natural—and as it appears to us, as was just—there was at Sheffield, and throughout England, a universal cry of "Shame, shame!" M. Louis Blanc, who has no kind of respect for the Emperor, but a sensitive admiration of France, was scandalized. The surprise of England at so mean a conclusion to so great a programme—its indignation on hearing that a policy that came so proudly forward in the shape of an idea should be taken in the act of opening its palm to a valuable bribe—was so great that M. Louis Blanc inferred that she would soon ring with protests against such an act. He hastens at once to encounter them; he assures his countrymen that, do what they will, England will not go to war, and that they are therefore at liberty to take what course they like. And as to the moral value of her reproaches, this was not of much moment, for it was simply the well-known case of people seeing the mote in their neighbour's eyes and overlooking the beam in their own. For what policy has ever been more indifferent to justice than the English? Where has cupidity ever pounced with less scruple upon its prey? England no doubt, under the "yoke of aristocracy," has done many noble things; her laws have been mindful of man's dignity; she is the only country where the political exile is sure of hospitable refuge; but, as an ambitious power, she has been rarely arrested by any scruples. Having hurled this terrible *tu quoque* at England for things she might possibly say if a certain thing should occur, he proceeds to show from what it is this strange inconsistency in the English character arises. He had luckily stumbled upon a man who, as a type of the Englishman, would explain it. It seems that during the election of

1859, some Palmerstonian candidate, alluding to our Chinese policy, said, "If we have begun by being unjust, we should go on with being unjust." M. Louis Blanc suppresses the name; why, is inconceivable to us, because, as we shall presently see, it is really no manner of reproach to him. For though not all Englishmen would be quite so "frightfully" frank in the expression of this sentiment, yet it expresses the national instinct, more or less, of all of them. But we are warned not to conclude that the speaker in question is not in all the private relations of life unexceptionable. On the contrary, it is quite possible he says his prayers regularly, goes to church, and makes his servants do the same, as the English fashion is. For it must be known that in almost every individual in this country there is a sort of "dualism" of a very curious kind. Take, for instance, an English gentleman—he is a capital fellow; know him, and you must like him; sympathetic, firm in his attachments, generous without ostentation, and just in all his dealings. But let anything arise to endanger the "material interests" of his country, his whole nature changes, what was before wrong becomes right; and this man, so full of justice a moment ago, quietly tells you that he respects no law but that of force. Now it must be explained that M. Louis Blanc, when expounding this theory of dualism, solemnly warns his readers that he is not reasoning from the particular to the general, but that after a very long and very impartial observation, he has come to the conclusion that there is in each of the inhabitants of this singular island "two perfectly distinct beings—the man, and the Englishman." The first, as we have seen, is a highly respectable person; the latter, is obviously a great knave. This is singularly annoying and inconvenient, because, when the "Englishman" does a dirty thing, the "man" is defiled by it; or, if the former gets into a scrape, the latter, though having no share in it, is obliged to smart for it; and if it leads to a war, the hostile bullet, though animated with the best intentions, cannot possibly confine itself to the real offender. But is it true? Well, there is some truth in it, which in England we express in a more intelligible way. We say that men will often do in their collective capacity what they will not do in their individual capacity. The difference between the two modes of statement is that ours is of more universal application, including all men, Frenchmen as well as Englishmen, and that it does not as absolutely affirm that they will inevitably do this, but that they are very capable of doing it.

The Baron de Lisola, in that censure that nearly cost him his life or liberty, would, no doubt, have made precisely the same distinction as M. Louis Blanc does in his censure of Englishmen. But it is extremely imprudent, under any theory, to take an individual expression as the representative of a national one. It happens, while in the act of writing this, we receive M. de Boissy's extravagant tirade against England. Now, what would be thought of the correspondents of our newspapers if, starting

from this speech as M. Louis Blanc does from that of the nameless speaker, they should follow precisely the same course of reasoning we have been considering, and apprise England that, though as men the French are amiably disposed towards us, yet, as Frenchmen, they are bent upon our destruction. This would the more easily be credited in this country, because there is a very general feeling that the Emperor is really the chief guarantee of peace between the two nations. How indignantly would M. Louis Blanc repel such conclusions, yet the only difference between theirs and his would be, that while theirs might be the result of momentary irritation, hasty assumption, or mischievous purpose, his—for reasons we shall presently explain, and which we will thoroughly excuse him—are the results, as he himself indicates, of old and deep conviction. But first let us see to what extent these convictions carry him.

In his remarks on Mrs. Beecher Stowe's letter to Lord Shaftesbury, complaining of the lukewarmness of England towards the North, he censures the Federal Government for having, in the first instance, declared it was making war to maintain the Union instead of abolishing slavery, thereby "furnishing to England the pretext she required for her egotistical policy;" this policy, be it remembered, being simply a persistence in a complete neutrality towards the contending parties. This is tolerably strong, and might, one would have thought, have been deemed sufficiently disagreeable. Nevertheless, M. Louis Blanc proceeds thus:

"I say the *pretext* (the italics are his own), for I am compelled to avow, and truth commands me to do so, that the actual attitude of England in reference to the American question, proves, in fact, according to what Tocqueville remarks, that whenever two causes come into collision, that will be the just one to the English which best serves their interests."—Vol. i. p. 189.

That this is extremely offensive, to say nothing of its being grossly unjust, is manifest. But it is unquestionably the result of profound conviction, and it is only the power of this conviction, overcome for an instant and then resuming its sway, that can explain how it is that a man of undoubted ability and honour, generosity and kindness of feeling, should have fallen into such strange inconsistencies as those we are about to note. It appears that the French newspaper with which M. Louis Blanc corresponds, had remarked that the first impression produced by the seizure of the *Trent* had been one of great irritation, and that all the more for this, when the first impression had subsided, did the attitude of England appear grave and dignified. M. Louis Blanc fully endorses this opinion. The cry through the press, he writes, is, Let us not be precipitate; let us carefully examine if we are in the right; if the law of nations is not for us let us patiently submit to it, as becomes a strong nation; if it be in our favour let us ask for reparation, and if refused let us enforce it. It is impossible, he says, "to imagine nobler language, or a really prouder attitude than this. He is delighted to see a free people exhibiting such a spectacle to the world. But he

asks if there be any reason to be surprised at this, and he thus replies:

"No, sir. There, in fact, where public opinion is sovereign, where each man throws his weight into the public balance, where what is the interest of all, is the affair of all, it happens, and must necessarily happen, that each citizen ceases to consider himself as responsible to himself only for his passions and his thoughts. What more calculated to elevate the soul than this feeling of high responsibility universally diffused!"

Remarkable language this after what we have just read. It would never, without proof, be believed that it was from the same pen that a few pages before had described the English in their collective capacity as knaves, and placed such an abyss between them in their private and public capacity. What now strikes him is the identification of the individual with his country; not the transformation of himself into something else for the advantage of his country, but a sense of his personal responsibility to it as regards his own feelings and thoughts, tending to produce that elevation of national character which accounted for the dignified position of England at that moment. Here again he is sincere, and, for an instant, just. His genuine joy at seeing a free people doing such honour to their freedom, for a moment broke the spell that binds him, but only for a moment. Before he had concluded his letter it was beginning to resume its sway; and a fortnight after—the death of Prince Albert claiming his attention in the interval—we find, on his returning to the affair of the *Trent*, that it has again completely mastered him.

He had by this time persuaded himself that there was in England a wish for war with America. "England," he thus begins his letter of December 22nd, 1861, "desires war . . . the demon of war has conquered men's minds and souls; generally speaking it is looked for with impatience, it is invoked, it is wished." This being the supposed state of general feeling, M. Louis Blanc proceeds at once to state the motives for it. We give them, italics and all:

"For a long while the English have been desirous of depressing a powerful rival; for a long while they have been shuddering at the sight of a power developing itself on the other side of the Atlantic, and developing, too, on a gigantic scale, the rival of its own; for a long while they have been disquieted by the growth of the merchant service of America; for a long while the English aristocracy" [this is always the villain of the piece] "has been suffering from the splendour of institutions that are its condemnation. As long as the United States were united, the attack might have been dangerous. . . . *At length the golden opportunity has presented itself; the English have the wind in their favour, and they say, 'Let us seize the propitious moment without a minute's delay—who knows if it will ever recur!'*"

—Vol. i. p. 298.

* This insinuation about finding an opportunity very seasonably brings to mind two most scandalous sets of correspondence which—though it appears they could not be discovered by previous writers—M. de Witt has been able to get at and append to his admirable work on Jefferson; (we noticed a translation of this work under the title of "Jefferson

Are we reading a melodrama? Is it possible that the same people who, a little while ago, were setting such a noble example of calm self-restraint; such deep reverence for law; such noble anxiety to discover wherein lay the right; such an attitude of dignity and forbearance, as well became the children of liberty; is it possible, we repeat, that such a people should be so soon described as being capable of a cowardice and premeditated baseness which would disgrace the most paltry nation in the world? But how, then, are we to account for such a judgment by an able and conscientious man? For reasons some of which are connected with the political school in which he was reared, and some which have a more personal relation to himself. From his boyhood to the moment of his leaving France M. Louis Blanc has been a political writer, receiving the inspirations of that Republican party in whose mouths "Perfidie Albion" has been ever a bye-word, and who, agreeing with the Legitimists in a hatred of England, differ from them, however, in this, that while the latter detested England in spite of its aristocracy, they detested it on account of its aristocracy. Republican France had notified to the world that aristocracy was incompatible with national greatness, and to admit that such greatness was the characteristic of England—according to them, exclusively ruled by an aristocracy—would have involved the unpardonable sin of denying the infallibility of that mighty oracle. Schooled after this fashion among the strictest of his sect, M. Louis Blanc sought refuge in

son and the American Democracy," in a previous number.) They relate to the policy of France with respect to the dissensions between England and her American colonies, and present a strange commentary on what the Emperor of the French has lately called "a noble page in the history of his country." It is perhaps the most ignoble one. We think we may take for granted there does not exist in the world a statement so disreputable as that which the Count de Vergennes, under the title of "Considerations," laid in 1766 before the King. Beginning with a regret that France and Spain were not at that moment strong enough openly to render the resistance of the Americans as desperate as possible, and thus to avail themselves of an "*opportunity of reducing England to the condition of a second-rate power*," he proceeds to advise that they should covertly attain the said end by secretly assisting the insurgents with military stores and money, while dexterously keeping the English Ministry in a state of false security with respect to their intentions. But no extracts can convey a full impression of the infamy and cowardice of the conspiracy which French statesmen were anxiously entreating Spain to engage in with them for the purpose of ruining England by giving aid to her insurgent colonies. The recommendations were forthwith, as we know, acted upon *secretly* by France, as suggested, while the power of the resistance was yet uncertain, and *openly* when it gave pretty certain promise of ultimate success. All that the Americans have to be thankful for is that France, in her desire to ruin England, fancied that she had found the opportunity in making them independent. This correspondence should be carefully read. See, too, Martin, "*Histoire de France*," vol. xvi. p. 412.

England, flying from a country to which, in her hour of peril, he had proved himself a friend, and which, the danger passed, turned fiercely on him as a foe, on account of theories which, absurdly and wickedly misrepresented, were made to appear fatally hostile to her *material* interests. But it may be argued that his long residence in England should have modified his views; and so it has where they could be modified by palpable facts. The following extraordinary quotation, taken from his "Organization of Labour," will show the gloomy dream-land in which his mind received its early impressions respecting the character and pursuits of the British aristocracy—that is, of those whom he was taught to believe shaped our destinies according to their will. After paying the permitted compliments to English liberty, and acknowledging the value of many of her institutions, though reared under a "*crushing aristocracy*," he proceeds to show how these aristocrats, after appropriating to themselves a very large share of the spoils of the world, are beginning to receive the moral chastisement of their crimes:—

"The riches of these great lords," he says, "leave them a prey to I know not what sort of vague melancholy—a malady which God sends for the mighty ones of earth to bend them down under affliction—affliction, the terrible lesson of equality! What, in fact, do these proud lords feel in the midst of their enjoyment? Bitterness of thought, and eternal disquietude of soul! It is with reason they fly from their foggy island, and go forth to scatter their ill-gotten gold in other parts of the world, where they may be seen dragging along the burden of their miserable wealth."

It is obvious that when a man has been, for a great part of his life, under the influence of such nightmare conceptions as these, he may well be pardoned if he exhibits some traces of them through the remainder of his existence, however long that may be. Let us see, then, to what extent he has been able and willing—for this is the capital point—to divest himself of them in the presence of the facts. In his seventy-eighth letter, "*La science sociale à l'étude*," suggested by the meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, he speaks of the important support it receives from members of the highest aristocracy. On which fact he remarks as follows:—

"This is characteristic of the English aristocracy, and shows wherein lies its power. Far from opposing itself systematically to progress—as our ancient French nobility did, which remained entrenched in its old prejudices as in a fortified castle—the English aristocracy watches progress so as to turn it skillfully to its own use. Scarcely any questions of utility or interest to the people with which some great name is not mixed up. Is it a question of schools for the indigent?—of sanitary measures in districts inhabited by the poor?—of shortening the hours of labour of women and children in factories?—of diffusing education?—the names of the Earls of Shaftesbury and Carlisle, of Earl Grey, Lord Stanley, Sir John Pakington, Lord Brougham, &c., present themselves as a matter of course. Is it not a striking thing that personages thus occupying the very summit of society should be induced to descend

into the depths of the social system, and visit them lamp in hand?"—Vol. ii. p. 91.

Now look on this picture and on that; the former sketched by a man still under the training of French ideas; the latter, by the same man escaping from this thralldom into the presence of the facts. But it certainly does honour to his candour so fairly and fully to report the results. It is true, that when he comes to regard the aristocracy as an element in our foreign policy, his early impressions revive, but this is to be traced to the same cause that makes it impossible for him to look upon that policy itself with a favourable eye. As far as these two points are concerned, he has not yet had time to escape from them. During nearly the whole period of his residence here his time and attention have been absorbed in his "*History of the French Revolution*." He has been living in the past, and that past the never-to-be-forgotten and the never-to-be-forgotten period of "England under Pitt." As the enthusiastic advocate of that event, he has been dwelling apart from the world around him, and missing no opportunity which, according to his prepossessions, may enable him to bring into strong relief what he considers the perfidy of England, and the nefarious policy of our aristocracy. It may fairly be questioned whether this long habit of looking at the foreign policy of England from one, and that a strongly prejudiced point of view, will ever permit him to be an impartial critic in this respect. But however he may misjudge us, he will not malign us, and it would be perfectly unwarranted by anything he has said if we were to suspect him of any desire to do so. For we must remember that our foreign policy has been reprobated by one who is a great admirer of our English institutions, and who is never tired of extolling them to his countrymen. It is true, he does not represent us as worse than other people in this respect. He indignantly condemns the charge which makes England the only or the chief criminal in this matter. "Her policy," says the Comte de Montalembert—for it is he of whom we have been speaking—"has been neither more egotistical nor more immoral than that of the other great states of history ancient or modern. I am even of opinion that it would be quite possible to prove that it has been less so." And having said this, he has the courage to assert that we might in vain search "into the darkest corners of English diplomacy to find anything that distantly approximates to the destruction of the republic of Venice, or the tricky affair of Bayonne." The difference between the two writers is this, that while the latter looks back on French history with the critical eye of a statesman who sees something in it to admire, and something to deplore, the former is thinking only of the first French Revolution, which he regards with the devout admiration of a worshipper for whom it has the character of a sacred event. To undervalue any of its articles of faith is the most unpardonable of heresies; to have embarrassed its progress, or combated its pretensions, is the darkest of political crimes.

Hence it is that, to his mind, completely under the fascination of that event, England has to pay the penalty of having been "England under Pitt," and to be appreciated—as far, at least, as her foreign policy is concerned—under the bias of associations which are too strong to be suppressed. We may easily conceive, therefore, that all his letters referring to our relations with America are one continued censure of the acts and policy of this country. Consequently, when we have satisfied ourselves that this argues no ill-feeling, but is a matter of course, they may be passed over without additional notice. They will possibly come back to us from America as "the testimony of an impartial foreigner." Hence it is to be regretted that these hasty impressions were republished without being revised.

It is much pleasanter and more profitable to meet him in his lively and clever letters having reference to our internal politics, to instances connected with our jurisprudence, the action of our laws, our charity, and our pauperism, our fondness for exhibitions of physical strength or activity (as that of Blondin, for instance), the characteristics of our leading statesmen, and a variety of topics all vigorously as well as gracefully handled, and enriched with appreciations always interesting and very generally accurate. Among the lightest of them, none is more agreeable than his account of the Derby day. The impressions he received would make poor M. Taine shudder with horror. He bids all those who believe that the English are "a grave, cold, phlegmatic people," come and see the mad follies of "the road," with its exuberance of life, its excess of merriment, and thorough debauch of joy. On this subject at least he is one with M. Montalembert, who has also borne the same testimony to our "Isthmian games," but who is especially interested in the fact that such immense numbers of people can be gathered together, enjoy themselves at leisure, and disperse—a vast number of them in a paroxysm of mirth—without being under the paternal protection of an armed police, quite capable of amusing, as they govern, themselves without help. Among the subjects which engage M. Louis Blanc's attention are "strikes," the evils of which he has pointed out with great force, and which, as coming from a man whose whole life has been devoted to the improvement of the well-being of the working classes, ought to have great weight. Another opinion of his will surprise those who only know him as a thorough-going democrat—namely, that though believing implicitly in both the justice and expediency of universal suffrage, he does so with the proviso that it should be exercised under special conditions. In allusion to certain manifestations in America, he says:—

"Why mince the matter? The constitution of the United States, whatever be its other merits, is defective in this respect, that in recognising the power of majorities it has omitted to subordinate it to that action of permanent control which is needful to every species of power, and to that of majorities perhaps more than any other. Many people believe that the sovereignty of the people is realized by the govern-

ment of the greatest number, whatever may be the mode in which this government is organized, or by which it performs its functions. For my part, I cannot, I confess, conceive a more dangerous error. Sovereignty cannot be a sum in addition. What really constitutes a nation, what makes its grandeur, what creates its power, is what it comprises of capacity, experience, reason, and enlightenment. The putting into motion these living forces in the interest of all, this is its sovereignty; and if universal suffrage merits our acknowledgment of its excellence, it is because, under certain given conditions, it furnishes the best process that can be employed for committing the management of public affairs to the most efficient and worthiest hands. A democracy in which the force of numbers has the effect of nullifying the force of intelligence, instead of entrusting it with the direction of affairs, is not a democracy; it is but a multiform despotism, blind and confused—a despotism inevitably condemned to perish, a little sooner or a little later, by self-destruction."

Of the evil which he thus strongly indicates he had experience in his own country, an experience confirmed by what he sees in the United States, where "the most eminent minds are precisely those which do not find their way into the national representation, and which live apart from official life." Whence, according to a remark of Mr. John Stuart Mill, which he endorses as most just, "Political life in America is a good school, from which the ablest professors are excluded." These admirable remarks, it must be remembered, are suggested by the acts of that real universal suffrage which is the basis of American institutions, ever at its work, and not by that fictive suffrage which in his own country expired in the act of granting a *carte blanche* of privileges in perpetuity to the government of its own creation. Of that anomaly there can be but one opinion, unless it be among those who find it to their unenlightened interest to entertain another.

There is one comparison M. Louis Blanc makes between England and France, which has a certain interest at this moment, when it is asserted respecting us that we do not sufficiently permit ourselves to be guided by abstractions, or, as they are called, ideas:—

"France," says M. Louis Blanc—"and it is this which makes me proud of belonging to my country—is perhaps the only country in the world capable of loving truth and justice for their own sake, independently of the result. Nothing of the sort here. Between the English mind and the Absolute there is an impassable barrier. This country is eminently the country of the relative."

This is pretty much in the same strain as that in which Mr. Arnold, in a recent article in the "Cornhill Magazine" that has attracted much attention, makes certain foreign critics, to whom that gentleman pays the profoundest deference, deliver their oracles. For our own part we do not see much in it; but if the distinction really exists we think the English have decidedly the best of it, seeing that we are to live in the relative and not the absolute. A man who can indulge his organ, as Tucker and Gall would call it—or his instinct, as philosophers generally call it—of Justice and Benevolence by lying on his back and admiring it, is surely less usefully en-

dowed than him who, to gratify it, must be upon his legs applying it. It is not considered an enviable quality in a miser that he can love gold for its own sake; and as little enviable it seems to be to have the power of valuing truth and justice for the mental gratification they bestow upon ourselves, instead of exclusively valuing them for the benefits they confer upon others. Besides, as inventors too often learn to their cost, what a difference there is between pure and applied mathematics, so are legislators painfully aware how frequently that is false in practice which seems true in conception. M. Louis Blanc has himself, when prefiguring in the first volume of his "History of the French Revolution," the course the revolution has to run, shown the consequences of endeavouring to govern by abstractions. There will, he says, be a "fanaticism of ideas;" we shall see a wrathful, surging multitude, surcharged with every manner of irritation, following men of impassible countenances, heedless of all the turmoil around them—the very "heroes of abstraction." He tells us also the result. There will be "the vehement and concentrated worship of a principle; intelligence so excited as to become the most tempestuous of the passions." "This," he adds, "constitutes the originality of the French Revolution." No doubt. And this is the reason why it will never be copied, and why able men of liberal ideas are at this day in France vigorously protesting against its excesses and mistakes, and endeavouring to extinguish a morbid admiration of it that has been fatal to French progress. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that some of Mr. Arnold's foreigners declare it to be the glory of the French Revolution "to have produced and embraced the idea—the work of making human life, unhampered by a past which it had outgrown, natural and rational." Here we confess we were perfectly in a mist; we knew, indeed, something of its being "unhampered by a past," inasmuch as one of its devoted admirers declares that its capital defect was breaking off with tradition and suppressing time; and that in consequence, what his countrymen have to do is to renew their connexion with tradition, and, as it were, to retrace their steps in time.* Beyond this we could get no farther; and right glad were we at last to learn that the thing meant to be indicated was what is known as "the greatest-happiness-for-the-greatest-number-principle:" a more comprehensive view of which, albeit a homely one, was taken long before the French Revolution by Henry IV., when he wished that every peasant in his realm could have a fowl in his soup-pot. In fact, this grand principle seems to be involved in the meaning of that very commonplace word, civilization—implying a process which, as far as we know, is of a far earlier date than the French Revolution. Nevertheless, Mr. Arnold's foreigners are positively certain we are coming to grief from our stupid attachment to facts. They even point to results. Some of them, in the person of that great European authority who is to the imagination of this age what the Great Mogul was to the imagina-

tion of a past—the "Prussian official"—has delivered himself as follows—"It is not so much that we dislike England as that we despise her." This is very frightful indeed. Others, again, represented by that great military authority, a "German Officer," criticising the Crimean war, observe, to Mr. Arnold's great content, that in spite "of their courage the Russians were beaten by the French, and even by the English and Turks." Here the logic of events explains and convinces. The Germans have always beaten the French, the French have always beaten the English—*ergo*, "EVEN." Then again, others, in the guise of one of those great leaders of the European press—a German newspaper—discussing territorial changes, say, "England will probably make a fuss, but what England thinks is of no consequence." So they can rob at leisure. Then, again, they are personified by one of the gravest and most moderate of French newspapers, which, displeased at something we had done respecting a Cholera Commission in the East, grandly says, "Let us speak to these English"—mark how finely contemptuous!—"the only language they comprehend. England lives for her trade; cholera interrupts trade—therefore it is for England's interest to join its precautions against cholera." What a mighty and terrible thing is Continental wisdom hissing through a French newspaper! But all this degeneracy and stupidity, and ignorance of even the only one thing we can understand, trading, comes, as we have intimated, of our vile addiction to facts. We did extremely well in the past, say Mr. Arnold's foreigners, because we worked through an aristocracy; and as all that the past wanted was facts, and that an aristocracy is good for nothing else but working out facts, and that excellently, we could do all that was desired. But the day of facts is over, for they belong to the past; and the day of ideas has come, and ideas belong to the future. Here, again, the atmosphere is getting misty. Is it meant that the facts of the past were independent of ideas, and that the ideas of the future are to be independent of facts? This would be pretty much as if any one should say, Hitherto we have been directed by bodies without souls, and henceforth we are to be directed by souls without bodies. We had supposed that a fact had always belonged to the past, the present, and the future; that its origin belonged to the past, its immediate action to the present, its consequences to the future; we had fancied that in the past there had been facts pregnant with ideas as great in their results as any we can conceive likely to be developed in the future. In Europe generally, the Crusades and Feudalism, and the Reformation; in England, Magna Charta and the Revolution of 1688. If Mr. Arnold's foreigners would in plain language tell us what they mean, it would simply amount to this, that it having been the custom of all illustrious foreigners, from time to time to predict the impending decay of England, and having lost faith in the old signs of her ruin—such as her national debt, pauperism, &c., they are obliged to abandon the world of facts, and to betake themselves into that of metaphysics, in order to discover the elements of her approaching ruin. Hence much

* M. Martin, "Hist. de France," vol. xvi. p. 674.

unintelligible talk about aristocracies as only fit for the past, when facts were to be disposed of;* and middle classes and other classes which, not equally adapted to administer facts, are henceforth to administer ideas, to the great advantage of foreigners who have a very fine turn for ideas, and to the great detriment of Englishmen, who are entirely devoid of it. We can only hope that when Mr. Arnold next opens his show-box his illustrious foreigners will be of a somewhat higher stamp than a Prussian official, a German officer, and a brace of editors, German and French.

But we must warn Mr. Arnold to take care how he makes his personages speak. He reminds us it is well "to see ourselves as others see us;" so it is; but not always by reason of the instruction we get touching ourselves; sometimes for the information it supplies regarding those that see us. A man, for instance, comes with all the earnestness of conviction, and tells you you are—a squirrel. You get no instruction about yourself, but a good deal about him. You don't believe that you are a squirrel, but you are perfectly certain that he is mad. Mr. Arnold can easily deduce the moral.

But though it is no grief to us to be told that in our minds there is a chasm between the absolute and the relative, yet it is not pleasant to be informed that we can hate poverty in the abstract though we cannot love truth and justice, and that this hatred of poverty shows itself in the relative by the ill-usage of the children of the poor, to whom it is acknowledged we are so kind. We are really an unlucky people, always getting into the wrong. This last peculiar view of us is illustrated in one of M. Louis Blanc's letters, entitled "*L'Enfant du Pauvre*," occasioned partly by an article in a weekly paper deploring an instance or two of those preposterous sentences that now and then are passed by stupid magistrates on juvenile offenders, partly by an incident we must give in M. Louis Blanc's own language:—

"Some eight days ago I was crossing Kensington Gardens; suddenly I heard shrieks. I ran to the spot whence they came, and found one of the keepers who, with a thick cane, was severely beating a child in rags. Was the little wretch's offence, perchance, that of having dared, in the uniform of misery, to intrude into so fine a garden? I did not stop to inquire, but did what every one would have done in my place—I tore the victim from the executioner. The rage of the keeper was so great that he was about to turn upon me, when I said to him, What! are there not laws in England for the protection of animals? At these words, of which he comprehended all the severity, and which took him by surprise, he stopped short."

* It is curious enough that while we are, on one side or the other, twitted about our aristocracy, it should so happen that among the thirty-two or thirty-three names attached to the remarkable amendment to the Address in the French legislative body asking for more liberty, twelve should have titles attached to them, and two or three more belong to aristocratic families. How do Mr. Arnold's illustrious foreigners explain this?

It is possible that this little victim in the "uniform of misery" had been committing some of the wilful damage that is occasionally committed by the members of his corps, and it was thought better to chastise than to send him before a magistrate. It is possible, too, that the sensitive and compassionate nature of the observer exaggerated to itself the degree of severity used. But at all events, as it was to be made a point of, it is unlucky that M. Louis Blanc did not communicate the fact to the proper authorities, either directly or through the obvious medium of the *Times*; he would then have had an opportunity of ascertaining whether our laws for the protection of animals do not include little bipeds in rags as well as "monkeys and dogs;" he would have been spared, too, the necessity of wishing, that the anxiety which, in England, is felt for the child of the rich, should manifest itself "a little" for the child of the poor man—at least as far as this illustrative incident could suggest such an idea. It is to be regretted that, while praising in the warmest terms the munificence of English charity, his attention should not have been directed to the abundant evidence of its special application to the children of the poor. He has himself noticed the laws forbidding the overworking of children in factories, and commanding certain hours to be set apart for their instruction. Fortunately, a French writer, the late M. Lucien Davésiés de Pontès, in an essay which, by its fulness and accuracy of information respecting our pauperism, past as well as present, and the various efforts made to relieve and diminish it, exhibits evidence of patient and judicious research, has led his countrymen to a very different conclusion. This is his testimony:—

"A principle" [he is speaking of our legislation respecting ragged and reformatory schools] "pregnant with consequences has thus been consecrated by English law, and applied in all the cities of the kingdom. *Society adopts the child which poverty leaves without education and helpless.* Civilization repairs the evils which it brings in its train, or which human imperfection entails upon it. Out of an army of malefactors and enemies England makes a nursery of artisans, sailors, soldiers, labourers, who will augment the defensive and productive forces of the mother country, or go forth to increase the population of her colonies—perhaps to found new ones. While satisfying in the highest degree the demands of charity, the enactments in favour of industrial and reformatory schools guard against the most formidable contingencies engendered by her superabundant population. By qualifying for the duties of social life the masses that at some future day will find no room on an over-peopled soil, England regulates and stimulates her capacity of expansion, enlarges and makes usefully available the paths of the future."*

* We are glad to find M. de Pontès' essay cited by his countrymen as an authority, as, for instance, by M. de Montalembert, and we cannot but regret that he has not lived to continue his useful task, so ably executed as far as it has gone, of conveying accurate information to his countrymen respecting England and its institutions. A considerable portion of this volume is devoted to the subject of "Woman in England," and presents a very effective sketch of

This, as we see, is a very different picture from that so hastily sketched by M. Louis Blanc. Much more to the purpose is the latter's eloquent lament that, as yet, the means are not attained of relieving unavoidable poverty without inflicting suffering—that in order to aid those who are unable to work, or who are unwillingly unemployed, from the impossibility of getting it, we must surround them with restraints necessary to repel the merely idle—that we must “introduce into our work-houses an iron discipline—that we must put a bar in them to all the gratifications of family affection, because they would inspire too much contentedness—that we must separate the husband from his wife, and the children from their mother—that we must transform charity into a chastisement, and treat poverty as a crime.” All the more sorrowfully does M. Louis Blanc look upon this supposed terrible necessity, because it is the profoundest of his convictions that this immensity of misery, involving such almost insuperable difficulties in its management, will be avoided by the extension of that co-operative system of which Southey long since predicted and hailed the approach, which is now in this and other countries demonstrating its value in practice, and receiving its recognition from men of the largest and most practical intelligence. Deeply is it to be regretted that, with all his earnest zeal in this cause, he has not been permitted to promote and superintend its extension in his own country, where, as we learn from M. Casimir Perier (*Les Sociétés de Co-operation*), absurd obstructions are still thrown in the way of its free development, of which the English operative has not even a conception, and which make it impossible for such a society as that of the Rochdale Pioneers to exist in France. Meanwhile he is still at his post expounding England to France; and it is for this reason that we have warned by showing him the results of certain “idols of the mind,” which obstruct his judgment and expose him to a misconstruction which it is most desirable he should avoid. But it is possible that his energies and his talent may soon find work on his own soil. A few years ago, when the French Emperor offered his amnesty, one among the most honourable of the refugees here, M. Schoelcher, declined it with the observation, “It is true the door is open, but I will not enter it until I see the word ‘Liberty’ inscribed over it!” It would almost seem as if that inscription were on the point of being begun. The remarkable speeches of M. Thiers and M. Glais-Bizoin seem omens in that direction; especially the former's, who, cool and wary, would hardly venture to be bold if the hour for courage had not arrived. But if liberty be regained, how will it be preserved? M. Thiers has remarked, that there are but two free nations in the world—the one a monarchy, and the other a republic. The great instruction of this lies in the fact, that both these countries are peopled by men of a common

her past and present social position, and very judicious views concerning the position to which she may fairly aspire in the future.

physical, intellectual, and political ancestry; these men, divided into two great sections, have been able to work out liberty under different forms. The obvious inference therefore is, that the charm is not in the forms, but in the men; and that where liberty is really in the heart or in the temperament, it will work itself into action under any forms.

We have confined our observations principally to two writers of mark, looking from different points of view, who, in spite of friendly feeling and many appreciations of us that are fair and just, do, nevertheless, illustrate the eccentric and old-fashioned notions of us that still minister to the delight of France. There are others writers—as M. Perefixe Paradol, for instance—who, in incidental notices suggested by the political events of the day, are conveying to the minds of their countrymen an estimate of our institutions and character framed under no predetermining theory, conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, and exhibiting a careful and accurate study of our public history. The opinions of these writers merit a separate consideration.

ART. V.—THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND THE SECESSIONISTS.

1. *The Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln, Sixteenth President of the United States.* By HENRY J. RAYMOND. New York: Derby and Miller.
2. *The Constitution of the United States of America.* By W. HICKEY. Philadelphia, 1854.
3. *Bacon's Guide to American Politics.* London: Sampson Low, Son and Co.
4. *The Presidential Message, Dec. 4, 1865, of Andrew Johnson, Seventeenth President of the United States.*

A TRAVELLER landing in America for the first time has much difficulty in forming a true idea of the political condition of the country. The first impression is that of so much confusion, of such a Babel of meetings, of speeches, of pamphlets, of papers, of such an endless variety of party names, often amusing and always puzzling, that it is no easy task to form a sound judgment upon public affairs. It is not only the diversity of opinions which embarrasses the stranger, but also the violence with which Americans frequently give utterance to those opinions. It is not merely the animosity of parties which strikes him, but equally the vehemence of the attacks often directed against the President and his Cabinet, against the highest authorities, civil and military.

Sometimes the elections, always warmly contested, appear as if they would end in a general overthrow; and be it borne in mind, that they are of such constant occurrence as to seem both endless and perpetual.

Every man forms upon every subject his own views, to which he gives full and free utterance.

In the railway may be seen the labourer or the artisan conning over his paper with evident relish. If spoken to he will give his opinion upon political subjects without any hesitation. He will discuss freely the policy of the President, the last despatch of the Secretary of State, the proposition of one of the senators, the tactics of a general, or any other matter of public interest. He minces neither his praise nor his blame, as the case may be; for he considers himself as one of the sovereign people judging men of the people's choice. If a stranger from the Old World should hint that he would do better to attend more to his own work and less to politics, the American's wonder at such an idea would change quickly into something like pity for his foreign fellow-traveller, in whom he would see but a poor serf of feudal Europe, which he pictures to himself as in the last stage of decrepitude.

As to the contents of American papers, whose name is legion, the result of their perusal upon the newly-arrived stranger is that of confusion worse confounded. One journal paints the character and policy of the President and his Cabinet in colours so black that they might be supposed, without any great stretch of imagination, to be monsters of scarcely human origin sitting in the high places of Washington, itself little better than an earthly pandemonium. Another draws these same personages in characters of beatific perfection worthy of angelic messengers directing a federal government in possession of a terrestrial paradise. Should the stranger reasonably conceive both of these pictures somewhat overdrawn, he will find at every turn writers and speakers who represent every shade of opinion which can possibly lie between these two extremes. He has only to choose; but there lies the difficulty.

Yet this very country, the surface of whose public life presents so much apparent confusion and disorder, has just traversed victoriously one of the most terrible crises to which a nation has ever been exposed. It has presented to the world the marvellous spectacle of its people going through the great political contest of a presidential election in the midst of a civil war which threatened the very existence of the State—a war which covered with vast armies an extent of territory the size of half Europe, which cost tens of thousands of lives and millions of money. The national laws and liberties have, notwithstanding, survived intact. Generals in all the prestige of victory, commanding numerous and disciplined armies, have respected the Constitution, and bowed to the authority of the civil power. During the war the people continued to discuss public affairs. Elections, campaigns, expeditions, defeats, victories, followed in rapid and constant succession, but the final result was the complete victory of the United States Government, crowned by a moderation of which history offers but few examples. What was the cause of this result, so little anticipated by the enemies of the American Republic? Whence sprang that deep devotion to the Federal Union which led the majority of the nation to lavish upon its Gov-

ernment the means for crushing the violent attack upon its authority?

One of its chief sources is the love of his country's institutions which the American drinks in from his earliest childhood. That love is inculcated equally at home, at school, and at college. It plays a most important part in the educational system of the United States of America, constitutes in a great measure their strength, and produces results of vast importance to the country. In order thoroughly to appreciate the extent of its influence in the formation of the national character, it is necessary to touch upon the leading features of this system of public instruction. Spreading itself over the length and breadth of the land, it embraces all classes, from the richest to the poorest, throughout the whole of the Northern States. In the South it has not received the same full development, and has been far less generally encouraged. It is worthy of remark, that the Federal Congress at Washington has absolutely nothing whatever to do with the system of education—a most singular and abnormal fact according to the ideas prevalent in European countries. It is, indeed, the exception when the legislature of a particular state interferes in the matter of schools. In new States, however, where the population is still scanty, the legislature of the State sometimes aids by grants of land or money. To the township belongs the real management of its popular instruction. In each township a Committee of Education is elected by the inhabitants, which votes and levies the money destined to this object; to it belongs the regulation of all details, such as the erection and maintenance of the school-buildings, the appointment of masters and mistresses, their salaries, the selection of school-books, and the method of instruction to be followed. Another marked feature in the system is the absolute prohibition of all denominational religious teaching—that is, of all doctrinal or dogmatical instruction characteristic of any particular church. That general morality which is common to all religious denominations is alone permitted, but all dogmas are forbidden. In many, perhaps the majority of schools, the Lord's Prayer or a psalm is read daily at the opening of the school, but it is not allowed to make this practice the occasion for giving religious instruction. The school committee of the township decide whether or not such a practice is to be followed in the schools under its authority. The object of this exclusion of all dogmatic teaching is, to avoid the innumerable difficulties arising from difference of religious views; the questions which spring from such difference creating almost insuperable obstacles to the establishment of a really effective system of national education. All such difficulties are thus got rid of. The religious instruction of the children is left exclusively to the parents and to the Sunday schools. These latter are completely in the hands of the various religious bodies, all of whom are wholly unconnected with the State, and entirely supported by the voluntary contributions of their respective members.

As to the quality of the instruction given under this system of public education it may be said, without exaggeration, not to be surpassed in excellence by that of any country. The greatest attention is paid in the teaching of those elementary matters which lie at the foundation of all instruction, and which form by far the most difficult part of education; the tender age of the children, and the great simplicity of the primary notions to be taught them, requiring all the tact, gentleness, and patience of which the teacher is capable. Nor does the care thus taken at all fall off in the instruction given to the elder pupils. So deeply have the native-born Americans become convinced of the excellence of a sound education (especially throughout the Northern and Western States, where such a feeling is universal, and where the school is ever one of the first buildings erected in a new township), that the greatest punishment which can be inflicted is that of forbidding a child to attend school during a given time. The little culprit usually gets punished at home for having allowed matters to reach such a climax. Parents or friends will come to inquire whether the punishment was really merited, and beg to have so severe a sentence remitted, or at least mitigated.

One of the subjects to which especial interest is attached in the schools of the United States is the history of their own country. The principles upon which the Government is founded, and their practical application, are carefully inculcated. Not only is this subject taught in all its details, but the effort is made to impress the pupil with the utmost love and admiration for the institutions of the Republic. The starting-point is naturally the story of American independence. First is stated the origin of the resistance of the colonies to the mother country. Then it is shown that this resistance was not a mere capricious act arising from no particular cause of complaint, but that it originated in a legitimate opposition to certain illegal proceedings of the Home Government, which exceeded its powers by taxing the colonists although they were wholly unrepresented in the British Parliament. Thus the English Government violated the principle of that inseparable union between taxation and representation which forms the basis of all constitutional liberties; nor did numerous and repeated demonstrations of the most lawful character, such as public meetings, protests, and petitions, avail to turn the Home Government from its unconstitutional policy. It must not be forgotten that the Americans are supported by very high authorities in accusing the then English Ministers of pursuing a course opposed to the principles of their own Constitution; for in England's Parliament three of the most eminent statesmen of the day—William Pitt (Lord Chatham), Edmund Burke, and Lord Rockingham—protested against the acts of the Home Government. Pitt and Burke pleaded the cause of the colonists in Parliament with great eloquence and unanswerable arguments. These facts are carefully recalled by the Americans, who draw from them strong evidence in support of their cause. This point established, they make every effort to

demonstrate the excellence of their own institutions. They dwell especially upon the wisdom, patriotism, and political knowledge displayed by the men who gave to America her actual Constitution; placing ever foremost the honoured name of Washington.

Youth is generous: nothing is easier than to make it admire that which is constantly held up to it as great and noble; it is therefore easy to imagine how immense is the effect of the teaching just described. It is yet further increased as the youths of America grow up and realize the vast resources and the ever-increasing wealth of their country. This system deposits and develops in the hearts of all classes an affection bordering upon idolatry for all that relates to their native land; but such a result is not without its defects and drawbacks. From it arises an exaggerated pride of country, often displayed by the American when away from home. He is apt to boast unbecomingly of his own country, and speak of other nations and governments as quite inferior to his own. If, on the contrary, the European travels in the States, this same feeling has a very different effect, and is not unfrequently the source of much kindness and hospitality. The American is delighted to be questioned as well as to question. He willingly explains everything, and points out whatever is most worthy of observation. He is the most indefatigable of cicerones and the kindest of hosts. The traveller gives him real pleasure by studying the institutions of the country, and has every opportunity afforded him of doing so thoroughly. Proud of his country's system, and deeply attached to it, the American delights to see others examine carefully that which he so fondly loves himself. Let it not, however, be supposed that this love of country, excellent as is that feeling, is the only source whence springs that friendly hospitality which is so freely offered to the stranger in all parts of the United States.

These feelings had grown with the nation's growth, and were handed down from father to son. They were especially strong throughout the Northern States, where the national educational system has received its full and perfect development. Thus it was that up to the memorable year 1860, the Constitution had ever been regarded as the sacred ark, so to speak, of the Republic. To touch or change it, except by those legal means prescribed by the Constitution itself, was to commit a veritable sacrilege. It was worthy of notice how both individuals and parties sought in their discussions to prove that their opponents were outstepping the limits of the Constitution. Such a charge, if brought home, was annihilation to the argument of a political adversary. A cry of general indignation quickly arose against any who were even supposed to harbour disloyal feelings to the institutions of the country. Did any Northerner chance to use an expression which might seem to have such a tendency in his attacks upon some piece of pro-slavery legislation, the South and its supporters were the first to cry out against him as being untrue to the constitutional principles of the State. This sentiment of deep-rooted love to the Union and the Fed-

eral Constitution, was especially strong throughout the North, inasmuch as its people had ever been scrupulous observers of the law, who bowed at once to the electoral decisions. For many years the South had carried their own candidate in the presidential elections, and commanded the majority in Congress; thus it shaped and directed the policy of the United States. Whenever that policy displeased the Northern statesmen, they only opposed it by the admitted constitutional means; those once exhausted, the national will, as expressed by the majority, was acknowledged and submitted to by all. These considerations at once explain the indignation of the North at the illegal conduct of the South, which sought to break up the Union by force, and trampled down the Constitution merely because a President was elected who was not of their political party. For not only had the new President and his Cabinet no intention of perpetrating any illegal act, but they had not had even the opportunity of so doing. What was the course pursued by the South? It endeavoured to effect by *violence* a complete transformation in the constitutional order of things established by common consent, although the Constitution itself furnished, by its fifth Article, the legal means of proposing, under form of amendment, any fundamental change in the Federal Union which might be thought desirable. Such a mode of proceeding, at once lawful and rational, would have given the whole nation, sole legitimate judge in such matters, the opportunity of discussing the proposed change, and deciding whether or not it should be carried into effect, according to the provisions of the Constitution.

The Fifth Article runs thus:—

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; . . ."

Nothing could be more illegal than the course actually pursued by the South, nothing more legitimate than the resistance of the Federal Government. The first shot fired upon Fort Sumter was an act of unwarrantable violence against the constituted authority of the United States Government, which had in no way overstepped the bounds of its authority, and to which every official in every State had promised allegiance. From that moment the President of the United States had but one duty to perform—that of defending and maintaining by arms the legitimate authority of the Government of which he was the responsible chief. Those who contend that he should have consented to the Secession forget that he had no power whatever to give such consent. As Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, justly laid it down, no State or States could of their own act secede; they could only do so by the con-

sent of the people of the United States assembled in national convention according to the provisions of the Constitution. The oath of the President bound him to maintain and defend the Federal Constitution by force of arms against all enemies, from within or from without. This duty was, under the circumstances, terrible indeed. Mr. Lincoln did not fail in its performance; that is one of his chief titles to the gratitude of all who duly value the maintenance of those rights which belong to a free government. He was able to maintain them, because supported by the majority of the nation, whose love for its institutions was such that it recoiled from no sacrifice when once convinced that it was necessary to arm the President against the violators of that Federal Union and its laws which had been bequeathed to the country by the founders of American Independence.

But what, it will be asked, was the policy of Mr. Lincoln which so displeased the South? It was the policy known as the *Free-Soil* policy. The party which upheld it had for some years past been gaining strength, and in November, 1860, finally triumphed by the election of its candidate, Mr. Lincoln, to the Presidency. This *Free-Soil* policy made no attempt to interfere with slavery in those States where it already existed; but it sought to prohibit that institution from passing those limits, and spreading over the territories not yet formed into States, which are under the immediate and entire control of the Federal Government and Congress at Washington. This was a really anti-slavery, though not an abolitionist policy. Mr. Lincoln spoke of it as follows in 1858, during the elections for the nomination of a Senator to represent the State of Illinois in the Senate at Washington: "We insist on a policy that shall restrict slavery to its present limits;" and again: "We deal with slavery as with any other wrong, in so far as we can prevent its growing larger, and so deal with it that in the run of time there may be some promise of an end to it." In another speech he says that the *Republican* or *Free-Soil* party—

"Look upon slavery as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have a due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet, having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong, and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. They desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at some time as being wrong."

Pages might be filled with quotations from Mr. Lincoln's public speeches to the same effect. He and all his party were bent upon opposing, by every constitutional means in their power, the further extension of slavery. In a speech delivered at the Cooper Institute, New York, in February, 1860, Mr. Lincoln went into the whole question with great minuteness and ability; indeed throughout his whole life, as

well as at the time of his presidential election, he was a staunch supporter of this wise and moderate *Free-Soil* policy. There was no other essential difference between his political views and those of his predecessors in the presidential chair as regarded home politics.

The South, on the contrary, openly avowed its determination to carry slavery far and wide, to maintain and extend it in every direction. To this end all its efforts had been for many years unceasingly directed. Hardly had the Southern Secessionist Government been formed, when its Vice-President, Mr. A. H. Stephens, declared, in a memorable speech, delivered at Savannah, that *slavery* was the "corner stone" of the new Confederation, that it was "the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution."

Mr. Lincoln, when candidate for the Presidency, when elected in November, 1860, and when inaugurated on 4th March, 1861, reiterated again and again his firm resolve in no way to infringe the Constitution; nor did he or his Government ever break either the letter or the spirit of that promise. Yet scarcely was the result of the presidential election known, when South Carolina and others of the Slave States declared that they seceded from the Union, and flung off their allegiance to the Federal Government. In the meanwhile, numbers of deputations from all parts of the country waited on Mr. Lincoln, both before and after his inauguration as President. Their almost exclusive subject of discussion was the slavery question, in one form or another. Again and again Mr. Lincoln assured them that he intended to maintain the Constitution, and to confine himself strictly within its limits. He declared that he had no intention of interfering with slavery in those States where it already existed; but nothing would induce him to give up his *free-soil* policy, which desired to prohibit expressly the extension of slavery into the territories of the Union. One deputation, of which an ex-Governor of a Slave State, Mr. Morehead, was member, did its utmost to induce Mr. Lincoln to modify this part of his programme. But Mr. Lincoln replied that not under any state of the case would he consent to the extension of slavery in the Territories, to which he had been opposed all his life.

In the manifesto issued by the *Republican* or *Free-Soil* party, which nominated him as its candidate for the Presidency, it is affirmed "that the normal condition of the Territories of the United States is that of freedom, and that there is no power which has the right to make slavery a vital institution in any territory of the United States."

In December, 1861, the Federal Congress, in which for the first time the *Free-Soil* party had the majority, passed a law expressly prohibiting slavery from being introduced into the Territories. It was further abolished on the 18th March, 1862, in the District of Columbia, in which Washington stands, and which is under the sole authority of the Federal Government.

These facts clearly demonstrate that slavery was the real question at issue, and that the *Free-Soil* party, whose chosen leader was Mr.

Lincoln, had always been thoroughly consistent and firm in the maintenance of its policy. They also show how wide was the difference between the principles of the *Free-Soilers* and those of the pro-slavery Secessionists. Indeed nothing could be more moderate or more able than the policy of the *Free-Soil* statesmen. For without infringing upon the constitutional principles of the United States system, it would have stopped the spread of slavery, thus reducing it to a mere local institution. In this manner barriers would have been erected against its further extension, and so its power diminished. By a slow and gradual process its strength would have been undermined, and its vitality weakened. Thus without necessitating political or social convulsions, slavery would have had to modify itself, to soften down its worst features, and so have taken by degrees a new and less repulsive form, more adapted to the altered circumstances of the case. From that point to its final, but not too hasty extinction, both in fact and in law, would have been a comparatively easy matter. Such a prudent course spread over a number of years would have left uninjured the planter interest, which could have adapted itself almost insensibly to the gradual change; it would also have afforded ample time for preparing the negro for freedom.

But the sad error of the Southerners in clinging to this evil institution and maintaining it at all costs; in appealing to force rather than allow it to be legally circumscribed; in turning their arms against that old Union which had accorded to them all those rights and liberties given so abundantly to the citizens of the United States, prevented the carrying out of the wise and moderate policy of the *Free-Soil* statesmen, brought fearful calamities on the entire country, and swift destruction upon that slave system to which, alas, the South clung with such culpable and fatal obstinacy.

Such, then, was the distinctive policy of that party which elected Mr. Lincoln as President. Not many days after his inauguration in March, 1861, two Southern gentlemen asked to have an interview with Mr. Seward in their capacity as Commissioners of the Secessionist States. He refused to receive them in their assumed official capacity, sending them this reply—

"That it could not be admitted that the States referred to had, in law or fact, withdrawn from the Federal Union, or that they could do so in any other manner than with the consent and concert of the people of the United States, to be given through a national convention, to be assembled in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States."

The Secessionists made this incident the occasion of precipitating an armed rupture, by summoning Fort Sumter to surrender. This fortress, situated in Charleston harbour, belonged exclusively and absolutely to the Federal Government, the troops of which alone formed its garrison. The State of South Carolina had no right to exercise any authority whatever in or over the fort, which was the property of the national Federal Government

and was placed under its sole authority. The commander of the fortress refused to surrender it to the Carolinian general. The Secessionists at once attacked it, and, after a bombardment of thirty-three hours, it fell into their power on the 14th of April, 1861. The national flag was hauled down, and that of South Carolina hoisted in its place. This act, and the agreement entered into by the seceding States, constituted a flagrant violation of the First Article of the Constitution, which forbids any State to enter into agreement with any other State, or to levy war. These violations of the law were perpetrated, be it remembered, without the Federal Government having done or having the intention to do, any illegal act whatever.

Thus simply because the separatist minority had been beaten in the presidential election, it took up arms against the National Government, to which every official of every State, as well as all members of the Federal executive and legislature, owed allegiance. To admit that a minority has a right to appeal to arms because its particular policy is not adopted, and *that* when its Government has committed no illegal act, is to render every form of government impossible, to annihilate order and liberty alike. It is the destruction of law and the triumph of anarchy.

Yet stronger still must be the condemnation of such proceedings when placed in juxtaposition with those words, already quoted, of Mr. Stephens, the vice-president of the Secessionist Government, that slavery was the "corner stone" of the new Confederation, that it was "the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution." Well, then, might one of the greatest statesmen of the present century declare his sympathy with the Northern cause. Not that he was a republican, on the contrary, he was a great admirer of English constitutional liberties; they were his model in framing the new structure of his country's freedom. But he knew that law and order are no less necessary to a nation's welfare than independence and liberty. Therefore it was that Count Cavour wrote thus to the Italian minister at Washington, on the 22nd of May, 1861: "This reserve," that of non-intervention, "M. le Chevalier, will not prevent us from manifesting our sympathies for the triumph of the Northern States; for their cause is not only the cause of constitutional liberty, but of all humanity."

A thrill of indignation ran through the whole North at the news of the insult offered to the national flag and of the attack made upon the Federal authority. There could no longer be any doubt as to the danger which threatened the Union. Up to the attack on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, and its seizure by the separatists, the greater part of the North hoped that all would end, after much wordy war, by a peaceful arrangement of the differences between the South and the Federal Government. But the sad truth became clearer every day, and so decided the citizens of the Northern States to take up arms in good earnest in answer to the call of their Government.

The varying phases of this gigantic struggle,

the immense sacrifices of men and money made by the North, its tenacity despite frequent disasters, its ever firm belief in ultimate success, prove how deep was the devotion of the Northern States to the institutions of their country, and how rooted was the conviction of their excellence and stability. At the very commencement of the war in July, 1861, the Congress of Washington passed a resolution setting forth the motives which led them to carry it on. The resolution concluded with these words:—

" . . . that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

Two acts of President Lincoln during the course of this war excited especial discussion, both in Europe and in America. The one was the suspension of the privilege of Habeas Corpus, and the other the Emancipation Proclamation of 1st January, 1863. As regards the first, the Constitution had declared that "the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it," but it did not determine who was to exercise the power of suspension. Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet were of opinion that this power belonged to the President as chief of the executive, and accordingly he proceeded to exercise such power in given cases. This was done while Congress was not in session. When again assembled, that body sanctioned the action of the President, and passed a resolution to the effect "that during the present insurrection the President of the United States is authorized to suspend the Habeas Corpus, when in his judgment the public security requires it." These proceedings caused the warmest discussion. The Government and its supporters maintained the perfect legality of the President's conduct, the opposition affirmed the contrary. Each party appealed to the law, and did its utmost to show that its opponents were violating the Constitution. This was the good old ground of political disputes; and it is ever, in all free countries, whatever be their form of freedom, the only lawful battle field upon which the members of one party have a right to challenge those of the other to meet them, there to discuss the question at issue, and then decide it at the polling booth. The way, then, in which the Northern States treated this matter was the right and constitutional way. It but affords another proof of that respect for legal and constitutional methods of determining political questions which is so marked a feature in their character—a feature which ought to win for them the sympathy of the whole English race, one of whose finest characteristics is, that it combines the greatest love of freedom with the greatest respect for law.

On the 1st of January, 1863, Mr. Lincoln

proclaimed the emancipation of all slaves in those States which were in arms against the United States Government. It must be borne in mind that this act was no part of Mr. Lincoln's original programme. He adopted it as commander-in-chief of the United States forces in a time of insurrection against their authority, as a means tending to suppress that insurrection. Never let it be forgotten that Mr. Lincoln had ever been a Free-Soiler, not an abolitionist. The President's first duty, according to his oath, was to maintain and defend, by all means within his power, the Constitution of the United States, and to enforce its due observance. Such duty was perfectly compatible with the Free-Soil policy of prohibiting, by legal enactment, slavery from extending into the Territories, but to abolish slavery by his own mere motion was beyond the President's power; he could only do so as a war measure, for the re-establishment of the Federal Government's authority, as against a State or States in overt act of rebellion against that authority.

As to those Slave States which remained faithful to the Union, Mr. Lincoln desired that the Federal Government should aid them in the gradual abolition of slavery. To this end Congress had already adopted, on the 10th of March, 1862, the resolution "That the United States ought to lend their co-operation to every State which shall abolish slavery, according to it an indemnity, which the State should use according to its own discretion, to compensate for the public and private inconveniences arising from such a change of system." During the summer of this year the Congress authorized the Government to recognise officially the negro States of Hayti and Liberia. It likewise strengthened and improved the treaty with England for the suppression of the slave-trade. It also prohibited, by express enactment to that effect, slavery throughout the Territories of the United States.

Thus the policy of Mr. Lincoln, anti-slavery from the commencement of his life, by means of the Free-Soil principle, and not by the adoption of immediate abolition, took more and more this latter direction according to the necessities of the day and the growth of public opinion in favour of such a course. The President, however, took the utmost care never to infringe the principles of the Constitution.

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to deal with the military operations of the war. It may, however, be permitted to say a few words with respect to the generals who conducted it.

Assuredly it would be most unjust not to recognise the courage of the Southern soldiers and the skill of their leaders. The frequent repulses and defeats of the Federal armies, the able and prolonged defence of Richmond and Petersburg, the successful resistance offered by Charleston to formidable naval armaments, and many other similar deeds, prove the valour of the Southerners and the great capacity of their commanders. No one, either in Europe or America, can hesitate a moment to give them credit for the possession of military qualities of the highest order. So that if the Southern-

ers are obliged to say to-day with the captive king of France, "*Tout est perdu*," they have assuredly the right to add with him, "*hors l'honneur*." Who would not receive with all respect gallant General Lee? Who does not willingly render homage to his great military talents? Nor let it be forgotten that he is by no means the only one of the Southern generals whose courage and ability have excited upon all hands real and deserved admiration.

As to the Northern generals, such as Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, it is sufficient praise, from the military point of view, to say that they succeeded in defeating such adversaries. But this is not their greatest merit. They possess another and yet more enduring title to their country's gratitude. For, when at the head of victorious armies, numbering no less than one million of soldiers, none of them sought to make such a command the stepping-stone to his own aggrandizement. No Northern general, flushed with victory and inflated with vanity, proclaimed himself alone capable of saving the republic, and then, under pretext of so doing, sacrificed alike the lives and the rights of his fellow-countrymen to his own exaltation. None followed the evil course of those who have raised to themselves a blood-stained throne upon the wreck and ruin of their country's laws and liberties. Far other was the example that they kept in view. Ever did they remember him who set the rights and freedom of his native land above all other considerations—him whom the entire nation has with one voice proclaimed "first in peace, first in war, first in the hearts of his countrymen"—him whose name is dear, not to America alone, but to the free men of every land and of every clime—the loved and honoured name of Washington.

The like praise must be given to the statesmen of the Federal Government, for they, too, displayed that elevated patriotism which sought but to perform the duties of a faithful minister, instead of aiming at a dictator's baneful rule.

Can all the leading politicians of the South, who, both before and during the presidential election of 1860, sat in the Senate and Congress of Washington, some of whom held high positions, and even cabinet offices in the Federal Government, say that they were equally faithful to their high trust? Were there none amongst them who abetted the overthrow of that very Federal Government and Constitution which they had solemnly sworn to uphold and to defend, whose bread they were eating, and whose highest offices they filled? Were there not members of the outgoing Administration, who emptied the Federal forts in the North of arms and ammunition in order to fill those in the South, that they might thus be within reach of a hostile hand? Did they not disperse the few armed forces that the United States possessed in those days, in order that their successors might find themselves without the means of defending the authority of the United States Government, in case it were attacked? And if this be so, what other word can fitly be applied to such conduct unless it be that of *treason*?

The truth is, that the sentiment of legality

and respect for the Constitution had been decreasing in the South for some years previous to Mr. Lincoln's election. The traveller in the Southern States met with men of position and influence who avowed that they were prepared to break up the Union by force, should a Free-Soil President be elected, and *that*, even though there were nothing unconstitutional in his election or his public conduct. Thus they preferred lawless violence to constitutional opposition.

Another and yet more deplorable fact was the ever increasing attachment of the Southerners to slavery, their determination to maintain it at all costs, and to spread it everywhere. It was no longer, in their eyes an evil to be tolerated, but the normal condition of the two races, a good thing in itself, despite certain drawbacks in practice. There were not wanting those who maintained it to be a divine institution, and pleaded not only for negro slavery, but for all kinds of slavery in principle, to be applied according to circumstances. Nor, if what is *called* the Bible argument be used, is there any stopping short of this hideous conclusion. Some amongst them, too, men of ability and standing, boldly demanded the re-opening of the African slave-trade, and declared themselves for free-trade in slaves as well as in all other branches of commerce. Or, as Mr. Yancey put it, with great force and clearness, "The South demands as free a trade in negroes from Africa, as the North in mules from Malta."

Sad indeed was it to hear such monstrous sentiments propounded and enforced by every argument which a misguided ingenuity could suggest. Sadder still to find them daily gaining strength in a community so many of whose members possessed noble and charming qualities. Who that has travelled in the South can ever forget the kindness and hospitality he there received? What Christmas gatherings could be fuller of everything that can render such scenes delightful, than those which were to be met with beneath the roof of the Southern planter? Such pleasant recollections mingled with the sad tales of suffering and war, were only too well calculated to fill with heaviness the heart of any one who had experienced the warm welcome of Southern hospitality.

Yet not by mere feeling, however natural and right, can be decided so great a question as that which divided for a time the United States Federal Government and the Southern Secessionists. A careful appreciation of facts, and a just application of the great principles of order and liberty, are the only right means of judging between the conflicting parties.

The more carefully the criterion of those principles is applied to the subject in question, the clearer does it become that Italy's illustrious statesman, whose words have been already quoted, was right when he condemned the slave-owners' secession movement, and declared the Northern cause to be that "not only of constitutional liberty, but of all humanity."

History does not record a more complete victory, or a more crushing defeat, than that which marked the termination of the late

American war. At its close were to be seen on the one hand, victorious armies numbering a million of soldiers, perfectly equipped, ready in case of need to undertake fresh campaigns, supported by a powerful nation possessing resources which seemed almost boundless; on the other side were the broken remnants of valiant but defeated troops, encumbering a country once flourishing but now desolated, many of whose richer inhabitants were reduced to poverty, and its poorer classes to want. Hence it was that immediately after the fall of Richmond and Petersburg, Southern generals and soldiers gave up the struggle and submitted to the Federal Government. Thus abruptly finished this gigantic conflict, which but a short time before did not seem so near its close.

Scarcely had the verdict of the sword to which the Southerners had appealed been given against them, than the North gave instant proofs of a desire for peace and reconciliation. The citizens of the loyal States declared that the South should have back all its former rights, liberties, and privileges, slavery excepted, on the single condition of an honest return to the Union—that Union whose perfect reconstruction was the hearty desire of men who had ever felt for it a love and respect bordering upon idolatry.

No one longed for such a result more than the upright President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Already words of pardon and peace fell from his lips, already his heart thrilled with joy at the prospect of brotherly union once again restored to his native land. Bowed down through four long years beneath the double burden of his country's woes and the awful responsibilities of his own high office, the hope of happier days now dawned upon his sight and gladdened his soul, weary and worn with watching through the fearful night of his country's agony and peril. To him who had presided over the nation's destinies while the hurricane of civil war swept across the land, seemed now to be given the hallowed task of healing the Republic's wounds, of reconciling her contending sons, of releasing her once for all from slavery's hideous chain. Thus would he re-establish the pillars of the State wholly and without reserve upon justice, liberty, and law, those only sure foundations of a nation's weal, righteous and eternal even as their eternal Author. But the ways of Him, the Infinite Father, are not our ways: He had decreed that the earthly course of this noble-hearted man was run—that the good and faithful servant was now to enter into that rest which lies beyond the grave. The nation was to be yet further tried, was to pass through another crisis, but momentary indeed, yet full of deepest sorrow.

No words can depict the anguish and horror of the American people when they learned that their true-hearted President had been murdered. If anything can have lessened their bitter grief it was the reprobation of that foul crime by every civilized nation, and the heartfelt expression of sympathy offered by every friend of justice and humanity. In a moment the shout of victory was hushed throughout the

land. Its busy millions ceased from their accustomed labours. For a time no sound was heard save the long deep wail of a nation's grief. Every heart was heavy, every home was desolate. Hundreds of thousands, without distinction of creed or party, class or colour, mingled in that funeral procession of a thousand miles which stretched from Washington to Springfield, Illinois, where repose the mortal remains of Abraham Lincoln. Others have possessed more brilliant genius, others have shown as unyielding tenacity; but none have ever united clearness of intellect and firmness of purpose to a gentler heart or a purer patriotism. Henceforth there are in America two spots sacred to every friend of constitutional law and to every lover of human freedom—Mount Vernon, where lies buried "the father of his country," and Oak Ridge Cemetery, where rests from his labours her Martyr-President.

There were those who, untaught by past blunders, did not hesitate to predict a revolution, or at least a lengthened period of confusion and disorder. Some seemed to fancy that Northern soldiers, if not armies, maddened with rage, would rush South and commence a general massacre. Others declared nothing could save the nation but one of the generals seizing at once the reins of power.

The Americans thought of nothing and followed nothing but the Constitution. According to its provisions, Mr. Johnson, the Vice-President, took the prescribed oath a few hours after Mr. Lincoln's death, and so became President. Mr. Hunter, one of the under-secretaries of the State Department, filled *ad interim* Mr. Seward's post, who had been nearly assassinated while lying ill in bed. Thus everything followed the regular legal course without a moment's interruption or danger. There was but given to the world another proof of that deep-seated love of law, which is so potent an element in the system of the United States and in the character of its people. This fact is still further brought out by two incidents which occurred about this time and which are worthy of mention.

It appears that after Mr. Lincoln's murder some foreign paper had alluded to or suggested the idea of General Grant's instantly putting himself at the head of the Government. This was told to the general not very long after, upon which he said, quietly, that such a thought had never crossed his brain, and even if it had he could not have put it in execution; for there was not in his army a single soldier who would have abetted him in such an enterprise. Such words in the mouth of the conqueror of Richmond and Vicksburg show what was the character of the man himself and of his army.

Very shortly before President Lincoln's death an armistice was agreed upon between General Sherman and one of the Southern generals; the President, however, set it aside, because in his judgment Sherman had overstepped his powers in certain particulars. The ready and entire submission with which the general bowed to the President's decision affords a noteworthy

proof of the power which constituted authorities possess in the United States.

Many and bitter were the attacks which had been made on Abraham Lincoln. The like were now directed against his successor. Neither his origin nor his character was spared; his future policy was denounced beforehand as cruel and sanguinary. Andrew Johnson has given them the most complete of all replies—he has lived them down. He is now known to the world as one of the ablest men of the day. Born of poor parents in North Carolina, he migrated while still a youth to Tennessee, where he worked as a journeyman tailor. His education had been much neglected, and it was only about the age of twenty that he learned to read and write, by the assistance of his wife. But from that day he set to work at his own instruction with such ardour and perseverance that he soon made up for lost time. He gained quickly the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and after occupying various less important posts he was elected senator for the State of Tennessee. Favourable to slavery, he was consequently unfavourable to the Free-Soil policy of which Mr. Lincoln was already a well-known supporter. But he opposed from the very commencement the secessionist movement. Alone amongst the Southern senators, he resisted it with the whole weight of his influence and eloquence. He denounced the course taken by the Secessionists, both in the Senate at Washington and elsewhere, as utterly illegal, and as a flagrant breach of the Constitution. He predicted that it would bring fearful calamities upon the whole country, especially upon the South. He went down in person to his own State of Tennessee, and did his utmost to turn her from the evil path of secession. This courageous and patriotic conduct nearly cost him his life, thanks to the outrageous violence of his separatist opponents. He was obliged at last to fly from Tennessee, and returned to Washington, where he remained throughout the war. Devoted to the maintenance of the Union, Mr. Senator Johnson, as he then was, supported the Washington Government in its determination to maintain with a strong hand the just authority and rights of the Federal Government. His views of public policy assimilated themselves more and more, as time went on, to those of Mr. President Lincoln, and finally came into perfect agreement with them. When the latter was elected President a second time, Mr. Johnson was elected with him as Vice-President. It was a most wise choice, for he had shown a rare mixture of courage and ability. He had remained faithful to the Union, and being, as he was, a Southern senator, the Northerners by such a selection clearly showed that it was not against the South *as such*, that they were fighting, but against the violators of the law and the Constitution. Since his accession to the presidency he has discharged the duties of his high office and directed the policy of the country with a firmness, moderation, and tact, which prove him to be a man of no ordinary capacity. The work which Mr. Johnson and his Government have had to do has been of the most difficult and delicate kind.

Dangers of the most opposite character beset the object to which all their efforts have been directed—that of reconstructing the Union. If too great leniency were shown, there was danger of losing in point of fact one of the best fruits of the crisis through which the nation had passed. For to abolish slavery and yet leave the future of the former slaves *entirely* in the hands of their old masters, would have been to abolish it only in name: guarantees were necessary that this should be a *bonâ fide* abolition, carried into practical effect. It was also just to ask of the South tangible proofs, in one form or another, of its sincerity and loyalty in returning to the Union. On the other hand it was most desirable, both as a matter of policy and of principle, not to be too severe or even too exacting. Such a course would have been wrong, and would besides have hindered the work of reconstruction which the United States Government and people earnestly wished to further; it would, moreover, have irritated the South and indisposed it towards that party among its own citizens which desired to return to their old allegiance in all good faith. Nor let it be forgotten that such a party not only existed in the South, but was both numerous and influential. A few facts will show that the Washington Government has, at least to a very great extent, avoided both these opposite dangers; that it has followed a course which, speaking generally, may be pronounced worthy of an enlightened and free government, presiding, in times of no little difficulty, over the destinies of a great and a Christian people.

Andrew Johnson succeeded to the presidency on the 15th of April, 1865 (the very day of Mr. Lincoln's death), but the session of Congress did not begin until December. The President and his Cabinet had therefore to direct, during the interval, the general policy and affairs of the country. The Government, while keeping closely within the limits of the Constitution, and carefully abstaining from all entrenchment upon the prerogatives or action of the Federal Congress, used every lawful means to further the work of reconstruction.

The President among other measures, decreed a general amnesty, one of whose clauses seemed hard—that clause which excluded from the benefits of this measure all persons who possessed a capital amounting to 20,000 dollars or more. Its real object was to oblige all such persons to ask a special pardon, which was at once given on their promise of renewed allegiance to the Union, and adherence to the late President's proclamation for the abolition of slavery. The demands for these pardons were so numerous that it cost an immense amount of time and labour to furnish them to the multitude of applicants who sought them. This able stroke of policy thus succeeded admirably. It rehabilitated the Southerners of influence and position, whilst it obliged them personally to acknowledge the wrong they had done and ask for pardon. It further obtained from them an additional guarantee against the return of slavery, whilst awaiting its complete abolition, by passing to that effect an Amend-

ment to the Constitution, according to the provisions of the Fifth Article.

The Government likewise established throughout the South a vast number of "Freedmen's Bureaux," under the direction of that good and brave man, General Howard, who, it has been said, won for himself during the war the title of the "Hedley Vicars of the Federal army." The mission of these bureaux is to afford aid, work, and protection to the recently enfranchised negroes. Throughout the North, private societies have been formed with the same object, only yet further extended to all in need of such assistance, without distinction of race or colour.

The President hastened to name provisional governors in the States recently in revolt. Their duty was to reassure the inhabitants, and to restore the machinery of government. They called together State conventions, for the double purpose of annulling the Secession ordinances and sanctioning the abolition of slavery. These were the only two acts which were demanded as a *sine quâ non* of their full re-admission into the Union, with all their former rights, privileges, and liberties. As to the suffrage, the President decided nothing—believing the matter to lie beyond his power. It was left, like that of the time and manner of the final re-admission of the Southern representatives into the Federal Congress, to be settled by the nation through the action of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. This clement policy of the Washington Government in the hour of victory was further manifested by the fact that no life was forfeited, excepting that of those who were proved to be accomplices in Mr. Lincoln's murder, and that of a certain Wirz convicted of heinous cruelty towards Northern prisoners incarcerated at Andersonville. Such lenient conduct was but right, yet rarely, if ever, has it marked the close of those civil strifes which have desolated in turn every country of the Old World. The reception of a numerous and important Southern deputation by Mr. Johnson at the White House, brought out in all their force these noble sentiments of mercy and reconciliation. The deputation waited on him to make known their views and hopes upon the vital question of reconstruction. Nothing could be more kindly, more dignified, or more truly Christian, than the words and bearing of the President of the United States upon that occasion. In a speech couched in noble and appropriate language, he expressed the pleasure it gave him to hear the deputation acknowledge the errors of the past. He assured those present of his sincere desire to give back to the South all its rights. He would adhere strictly to the Constitution, maintain it in all its integrity, and make it the means of restoring the Southern States to their former position. The noble feelings expressed by the President, his reiterated assurances of good will, his treatment of the Southerners as brothers—as sons of a common country—who had erred indeed, but who were and ever had been brothers, touched all present, and produced a

deep impression. More than once the chief magistrate was interrupted by the approbation and the emotion of his audience. The members of the deputation expressed their firm resolve to do all in their power towards the reconstruction of the Union. At length they retired, full of hope and confidence, renewing again their promise to join heartily in the work of restoring harmony and peace throughout the length and breadth of their common country.

How great is the contrast offered by this brotherly reconciliation between the chief of a free nation and some of its sons for a time led astray, and those scenes of bloody repression which have marked the triumph of many a European despot over his own subjects, whom long years of oppression and misrule had goaded into rebellion!

The policy of Mr. Johnson may be summed up in these words: "The Constitution in all its integrity!" He had been faithful to it in the hour of danger: he made it the supreme rule of his conduct in the hour of victory. But he determined to apply it, even in the case of those who had taken up arms against it, with all the leniency consistent with its due maintenance. Such conduct was worthy of the constitutional chief of a free government, when dealing with those who had ever been considered as erring brothers, and who were now completely at its mercy.

The last and highest expression of the President's policy is to be found in the message which he addressed to the United States Senate and House of Representatives, on the 4th December, 1865. After thanking God, in the name of the people, for the preservation of the State, the message sets forth the object of the Union, and what it really was in the intention of its authors: "The Union of the United States was intended by its authors to last as long as the States themselves shall last. *The Union shall be perpetual!* are the words of the Confederation. *To form a more perfect Union*," by an ordinance of people of the United States, is the declared purpose of the Constitution." The prolonged labours and the earnest discussions by which this great work was accomplished are recalled, as is also the fact that all opinions and feelings were ultimately united in its support. It is shown that the Constitution possesses two most important powers: that of maintaining its authority and that of reforming itself when such reform is deemed necessary. Upon these points the message says:—

"The Constitution to which life was thus imparted contains within itself ample resources for its own preservation. It has power to enforce the laws, punish treason, and insure domestic tranquillity. In case of the usurpation of the government of a State by one man or an oligarchy, it becomes a duty of the United States to make good the guarantee to that State of a Republican form of government, and so to maintain the homogeneity of all. Does the lapse of time reveal defects? A simple mode of amendment is provided in the Constitution itself, so that its conditions can always be made to conform to the requirements of advancing civilization. No room is allowed even for the thought of a possibility of its coming to an end. And these powers of self-

preservation have always been asserted in their complete integrity by every patriotic chief magistrate—by Jefferson and Jackson, not less than by Washington and Madison. The parting advice of the father of his country, while yet President, to the people of the United States, was, that 'the free Constitution, which was the work of their hands, might be sacredly maintained;' and the inaugural words of President Jefferson held up 'the preservation of the General Government, in its constitutional vigour, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad.' The Constitution is the work of 'the people of the United States,' and it should be as indestructible as the people."

The message fully admits that the various State Governments have their rights, as well as the Federal Government, but declares that all questions at issue can only be settled lawfully by the employment of those means which the Constitution affords, and never by force. "The absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority was," says the message, "at the beginning of the present century enforced by Jefferson as the vital principle of republics." Indeed, it must ever be, in one form or another, the vital principle of every species of free government, for without it there is no other settlement but that of brute force.

The supremacy of the Constitution is emphatically set forth in these words, taken from the Constitution itself:—

"The Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

The part of the message which touches on the reorganization of the Southern States shows the extreme care of the Washington Government to avoid alike over-indulgence and undue rigour, as well as its constant adherence to the law and to the Constitution as its supreme guide. The following considerations worthy of remark are made touching the question of secession and the position in which those States were placed who took part in it:—

"The true theory is, that all pretended acts of secession were, from the beginning, null and void. The States cannot commit treason, nor screen the individual citizens who may have committed treason, any more than they can make valid treaties or engage in lawful commerce with any foreign Power. The States attempting to secede placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired, but not extinguished—their functions suspended, but not destroyed.

"But if any State neglects or refuses to perform its offices, there is the more need that the General Government should maintain all its authority, and, as soon as practicable, resume the exercise of all its functions. On this principle I have acted, and have gradually and quietly, and by almost imperceptible steps, sought to restore the rightful energy of the General Government and of the States. To that end provisional governors have been appointed for the States, conventions called," &c.

The final accomplishment of the work of reconstruction, the time and mode of re-admitting

the Southern representatives into the Federal Congress, and the delicate question of the suffrage, are left undecided by the President. He desires to accomplish them in accordance with the united action of Congress, and by its aid.

With regard to the freedmen, the following admirable language is held :—

"But while I have no doubt that now, after the close of the war, it is not competent for the General Government to extend the elective franchise in the several States, it is equally clear that good faith requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty and their property, their right to labour, and their right to claim the just return of their labour. I cannot too strongly urge a dispassionate treatment of this subject, which should be carefully kept aloof from all party strife. We must equally avoid hasty assumptions of any natural impossibility for the two races to live side by side in a state of mutual benefit and good will. The experiment involves us in no inconsistency; let us, then, go and make that experiment in good faith, and not be too easily disheartened. The country is in need of labour, and the freedmen are in need of employment, culture, and protection. While their right of voluntary migration and expatriation is not to be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization. Let us rather encourage them to honourable and useful industry, where it may be beneficial to themselves and to the country; and instead of hasty anticipations of the certainty of failure, let there be nothing wanting to the fair trial of the experiment."

As to the Constitutional Amendment for the abolition of slavery, since carried and become law, according to the provisions of the 5th Article, the President earnestly advises its adoption. It is interesting to observe how he speaks of slavery as "essentially a monopoly of labour," as "the element which has so long perplexed and divided the country," and adds, further, "that the adoption of the Amendment reunites us beyond all power of disruption." Thus he admits that slavery was the real cause of the rupture which had taken place, and which it was now the common desire of all to heal for ever.

Such views of President Johnson fully agree with those set forth by Mr. A. H. Stephens of Georgia, the ex-Vice-President of the ex-separatist Government, who, but a few weeks after its formation, said at a great meeting in Savannah :—

"The new Constitution" of the Secessionist Confederation "has set at rest for ever all agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper state of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture, and present revolution. Jefferson in his forecast had anticipated this as the rock upon which the old Union would split. He was right."

If there are still any persons prepared to assert that slavery had little or nothing to do with the Secessionist movement and war, let them meditate upon this united testimony of President Johnson and of Mr. A. H. Stephens.

The message, pregnant as it is with the wisest, the most moderate, and the most enlightened policy, concludes by an eloquent panegyric of the United States and its institutions.

It is worth reading for its own sake, although in some respects it may be considered too highly coloured; but it is especially desirable to do so in order to compare it with another panegyric on the same subject, uttered by a very different man, in very different circumstances. That of the President's message runs thus :—

"Here is the great land of free labour, where industry is blessed with unexampled rewards, and the bread of the working man is sweetened by the consciousness that the cause of the country 'is his own cause, his own safety, his own dignity.' Here every one enjoys the free use of his faculties and the choice of activity as a natural right. Here, under the combined influence of a fruitful soil, genial climes, and happy institutions, population has increased fifteenfold within a century. Here, through the easy development of boundless resources, wealth has increased with twofold greater rapidity than numbers, so that we have become secure against the financial vicissitudes of other countries, and, alike in business and in opinion, are self-centred and truly independent. Here more and more care is given to provide education for every one born on our soil. Here religion, released from political connexion with the civil government, refuses to subserv the craft of statesmen, and becomes, in its independence, the spiritual life of the people. Here toleration is extended to every opinion, in the quiet certainty that truth needs only a fair field to secure the victory. Here the human mind goes forth unshackled in the pursuit of science, to collect stores of knowledge, and acquire an ever-increasing mastery over the forces of nature. Here the national domain is offered and held in millions of separate freeholds, so that our fellow-citizens, beyond the occupants of any other part of the earth, constitute in reality a people. Here exists the democratic form of government; and that form of government, by the confession of European statesmen, 'gives a power of which no other form is capable, because it incorporates every man with the State, and arouses everything that belongs to the soul.'"

"Where, in past history, does a parallel exist to the public happiness which is within the reach of the people of the United States? Where, in any part of the globe, can institutions be found so suited to their habits or so entitled to their love as their own free Constitution? Every one of them, then, in whatever part of the land he has his home, must wish its perpetuity. Who of them will not now acknowledge, in the words of Washington, that 'every step by which the people of the United States have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of Providential agency?' Who will not join with me in the prayer that the invisible hand which has led us through the clouds that gloomed around our path, will so guide us onward to a perfect restoration of fraternal affection, that we of this day may be able to transmit our great inheritance of State Governments in all their rights, of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigour, to our posterity, and they to theirs, through countless generations?"

ANDREW JOHNSON.

"Washington, Dec. 4, 1865."

Let it be remarked in passing, that these last words prove that, far from wishing to diminish the rights of the governments of the various States on account of the late rebellion, or on account of the abuse of the doctrine of States Rights, the President would fully maintain

them, just as he would preserve in all their vigour the rights of the Federal Government. Or, as he puts it in another place, "So long as the Constitution of the United States endures, the States will endure; the destruction of the one is the destruction of the other; the preservation of the one is the preservation of the other."

The second panegyric which has been alluded to, forms part of a speech delivered on the 14th November, 1860, before the legislature of the State of Georgia, with a view to dissuade it from joining the Secession movement. The man who delivered it was no other than Mr. A. H. Stephens, who, in November, 1860, opposed secession, and then in the following February became Vice-President of the Secessionist Confederation. His words are well worth a careful perusal:—

"I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world—the Paradise of the universe. It may be, that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear, if we rashly evince passion, and without sufficient cause shall take that step [of secession], that instead of becoming greater, or more peaceful, prosperous, and happy—instead of becoming gods, we will become demons, and at no distant day commence cutting each others' throats.

"The first question that presents itself is, Shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, I tell you candidly, frankly, and earnestly, that I do not think that they ought. In my judgment, the election of no man constitutionally chosen to that high office is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by, and still aid in maintaining the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. . . . We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government, and go out of the Union on this account, the record would be made up hereafter against us."

In another place Mr. Stephens says:—

"This step, once taken, could never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow [as they would see], will rest on the Convention for all coming time. . . . What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? And what claim, founded in justice and right, has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done, by the Government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer."

He then enters into many details to show that no wrong has been done, and that the South has had its full share, and even more, of all the honours, offices, rights and liberties of their common country and Government. After which he concludes by asking why this scission:—

"Is it for the overthrow of the American Govern-

ment, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of right, justice, and humanity? and, as such—I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots, that it is the best and freest of governments—the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most inspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a Government as this, under which we have lived for more than three quarters of a century—in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity, accompanied by unbounded prosperity, and rights unassailed—is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

Such words in the mouth of such a man need no commentary.

Do not, then, both facts and arguments prove that love of law and devotion to the Constitution are indelible features of the American character; and that for them the majority of the nation is prepared to make the very greatest sacrifices? Is it not to-day clear what were the real motives which roused the Government and people of the United States to vindicate the outraged authority of the Federal rule, and maintain, at all costs, its supreme and lawful rights?

Can an impartial mind any longer deny, that the Secessionists on the contrary trampled on the Constitution and the law, and appealed to that sword which decided against them, although the Federal Government had not overstepped, even by a hair's breadth, its constitutional limits? And yet the cause of such conduct was even worse than the conduct itself; for it arose from the opposition of the South to the wise and moderate policy of the Free-Soil statesmen who, in 1861, came into the legal possession of constitutional power. The Southerners, rather than allow that policy to be adopted, broke through the law, took up arms, plunged the country into civil war, and sought by such lawless means to found a new confederation, based upon "the corner stone of slavery."

The war once closed, constitutional means and principles have alone guided the Federal Government in the delicate work of reconstruction. And even these have been applied with all the leniency compatible with the Federal Union's laws and just authority.

But there is another aspect of this great question that must not be passed over. It is a matter of the highest import that the great principles of law and order should have been thus vindicated by a people which delights to call itself the freest upon earth, and which is certainly amongst the freest. It has thus by deeds, not words alone, declared that freedom cannot exist without order, that respect for the law is absolutely necessary to the possession of liberty. It is a lesson that can never be forgot, a precedent to be referred to through all future ages. The ultimate result of this tremendous conflict proves also that a free government is perfectly compatible with a strong government; and that such a government can enforce its constitutional

laws without sacrificing its liberties, even though it should deem it necessary to suspend some of them for a time in a moment of danger. It demonstrates admirably that order must not be sacrificed to liberty, nor liberty to order. The United States of America have thus set their seal to the all-important truth, that these two great principles are essentially necessary to each other, that both are of vital importance to the existence of a free and well governed people.

Now there were none who sympathized more heartily with the Northern States and the Federal Government throughout the late war than the working classes of England, especially the artisans of her great cities. To their lasting honour it must be said that they judged well and truly the American question; they ever supported staunchly and manfully that cause which no less an authority than the great Cavour had declared to be "not only that of constitutional liberty, but of all humanity."

Let them, then, never forget the great lesson which the free Government and people of the United States have inculcated upon the world. Let them remember, that just as order without freedom is little else than tyranny, so freedom without order is little better than anarchy. Let them bear in mind that liberty and law must ever go hand in hand, that the co-operation of the two is absolutely needful to the very existence of a free and well governed nation. Thus continuing to think and act, the operative classes will add daily to the proofs already existing, that to admit them in a just proportion to a direct participation in the choice of England's representatives, is but to widen and strengthen the basis upon which repose those ancient laws and liberties which we English love so proudly and so well.

But one word more. There are those who dread the growing power of the United States, and that chiefly on account of its republican form of government. Yet, while believing that, in the Old World at any rate, constitutional monarchy is the best form of freedom, it is only just to add that the republican is but another form of that same freedom, and not a hostile system. What, after all, lies at the basis of America's republican institutions, if not our own English laws and liberties? Whence comes the system of her jurisprudence, whence her juries? From whence do her legal authorities draw their precedents? Her free press, her public meetings, the two Houses which in her every State form the legislature, are they not outgrowths of England's system? The principle of self-government, and that local application of it in every portion of American soil, is it not of English origin?

Wherever America's dominion extends, it ever carries with it the germ of these rich blessings, spreads abroad England's faith and mother tongue, thus advancing her free and Christian civilization.

Is it, indeed, so terrible a thing to see them spreading throughout the New World?

Is it worthy of English hearts and intellects to tremble at such a prospect?

Would they not do better to rejoice and take courage? Should they not rather bid God speed

to the younger branch of our great English family?

Such, assuredly, is the feeling of England's toiling millions; and they are right. There is no good reason for a wretched display of petty jealousy between the mother country and her stalwart son. Their prosperity and friendship are mighty elements of the world's order, freedom, and progress. Therefore England's people do well to say to their kinsmen of America—"May brotherly union, with all its attendant blessings, be completely restored throughout the length and breadth of your vast dominion. So may all your federated States rally anew around your star-decked flag, planted by the hand of immortal Washington and saved by that of your loved patriot and martyr, Abraham Lincoln. So may each one of your citizens, whether his State lie on the Atlantic or the Pacific shore, whether watered by the Northern lakes or by the Southern gulf, repeat from his heart those noble words of Daniel Webster, 'I know no North, I know no South, I know only my country.' So may your future be yet greater and more prosperous than your past, and that, not by means of crafty policy, not by the brutal force of arms, nor yet because your material wealth increases: but because now your institutions rest, without reserve, upon the sure foundations of justice, liberty, and right; because now you recognise those sacred principles as the common heritage of all, without distinction of class, or creed, or colour; because now the fair page of your Constitution is no longer soiled by the foul stain of Slavery!"

J. W. P.

ART. VI.—PAUL LOUIS COURIER.

Œuvres Complètes de P. L. Courier, précédées d'un Essai sur la Vie et les Ecrits de l'Auteur. Par ARMAND CARREL. Paris: Didot Frères. 1861.

"DÉTOURNEZ ce calice. Remove this cup from me. The hemlock is bitter, and the world is converted well enough by itself, without my interfering with it, poor creature that I am."

These are the words, almost the last words, of Paul Louis Courier. They are written in answer to the exhortation of an enthusiastic friend, who bade him go forth and preach to the world, and pay the price of doing so, as St. Paul had paid it, as Socrates had paid it, as every great teacher in every age of history has paid it, by bitter persecution, by rousing a hatred against himself that might perhaps crush him, but could not help aiding him by its opposition. This style is more serious than Courier usually employs. A perfect master of irony, he commonly prefers the use of the weapon with which he most excelled; and to us, who know how soon his own death was to follow—how soon he was to drink of the cup which he would fain have put from him, such words may well seem to have a sense almost prophetic, saddened and restrained by the fore-

sight, if such were possible, of an end which his admirers have the right to consider as a martyrdom.

When Courier spoke of persecution, and expressed his hope of avoiding it, he spoke of what he had himself known, and of what he had not always aimed at avoiding. We may be in doubt, perhaps, what gospel his friend would have had him preach, and in what way he could hope that it would benefit his fellow-creatures; we may be sure, at least, that he was ever ready to risk his own personal safety in the cause of the oppressed and helpless, and that a great part of his later life was devoted to the utterance of that from which he could gain nothing whatever, but which kept him constantly embroiled with the French Government, and rendered him the object of a very ignoble but a very dangerous persecution. Courier was not cast in the saintly type—very far from it—nor in the heroic type, though he had many of the qualities of a hero. The pleasures of his later days were few and simple, chiefly literary and domestic; and he would have been satisfied if he had been left quietly to enjoy life in his own way, and if he had seen those around him sharing the same privilege. It was because he did not see this—it was because he saw them, on the contrary, harassed by a thousand petty annoyances, and prohibited from a thousand innocent enjoyments, that he took up arms in their behalf rather than in his own, and used with such terrible effect a weapon which no other could wield as he could—a literary style in which he was absolutely without a rival. It was in this that Courier was a hero—in that he was able to feel as strong an indignation at the wrongs of others as at his own; and in that he could not bear to allow any wrong to pass unnoticed which he had it in his power to expose, and so to remedy. And in doing this he did not count the cost; he accepted the sacrifice it involved, so only that he could accomplish the work he aimed at. Whether or not we allow him the title of a hero, we must allow that he possessed that without which neither saintliness nor heroism can be of any great importance; and that the first requisite for all nobility of character consists in the power of identifying, as he did, the interests of others with one's own.

Courier was born at Paris in 1773. His education was not at first very systematic; but he acquired, in the course of it, a taste, which never left him, for the best models of ancient literature, and the best expressions of ancient thought and feeling. These were his first choice, and he never abandoned them. When he came afterwards to the study of the exact sciences, he came to it with a mind already occupied with other matters, and he could never bring himself to study them with any ardour. He would have exchanged, he said, all the truths of Euclid for one page of Isocrates. At the commencement of the great Revolution, Courier was still a boy; and the events and need of the Revolution determined his first choice of a career. In 1792 he went to the military school at Châlons; and he was sent, in the year following, to the frontiers, as an officer of artillery. His life as a soldier lasted for fifteen

years; but from first to last he had no love for what he termed his "vile profession," and he was engaged throughout in studies of a kind more congenial to him than the ordinary soldier's duties. He found it useful afterwards to be able to claim a place as one of the early heroes of the Revolution, as one of the defenders of his country's frontiers during the season of the great invasions. Such antecedents, after the return of the Bourbons, however little likely to recommend him to the Government, at least secured him a favourable hearing from the people, to whom his pamphlets were addressed. But his early life and career, if they had been examined strictly, would scarcely have justified his assumption.

It was, as we have said, in 1793 that Courier began his career as a soldier. It was an era, then, of no common enthusiasm. The Revolution was still in the full fervour of its youth, and elated with its early triumphs; and its soldiers, in addition to the ordinary motives of a military career, felt themselves fighting in the vanguard of human progress—the champions not of France only, but of humanity. But whatever sentiment of the moment may have led Courier to the choice of his profession, it was not with much ardour that he now followed it. He was no coward; he was ready enough to risk his life in the excitement of battle. But his letters show him to us little interested in the course of events, little anxious for the kind of distinction that he had it in his power to achieve. He was a soldier by profession and by necessity, but by taste a scholar and an antiquarian. For two years he continued to discharge such duties as were assigned to him, careless equally about advancement and glory. In the third year he left the army, and came home, without leave, as a deserter. The siege of Mayence was in progress, the cold was excessive, the sufferings of the army intolerable; and further, Courier had just received news of his father's death. He accordingly quitted his post, having, as he tells us, just escaped being quite frozen to death, and returned home to his family. He was, of course, reclaimed as a deserter; and though his friends made interest for him sufficient to shelter him from the extreme punishment to which he was liable, yet for three years he was in disgrace, occupied with routine duties in the interior, and was not allowed to share the triumphs of the French arms in Italy.

But his time, during this forced retirement, was passed in a way he liked far better than he liked the life of a soldier. He was a scholar, and he had now abundant leisure for reading; and he was young and fond of pleasure, and for that too he found abundant opportunity. The Convention was now ended, and with it the seriousness and earnestness of the early Revolution. A gayer period had come in with the Directory; and Courier, young and full of life and spirits, surrendered himself easily to the *abandon* of the moment, and found himself the universal favourite of a society whose one aim it had become to give and to receive pleasure. The power of sharing and intensely appreciating such a mode of life was an essential

part of Courier's nature. To the last it had never left him, though the objects in which he sought for pleasure continually varied. His noblest and most serious pursuits were engaged in rather as the gratification of a whim than as the discharge of a grave duty. He was distinguished from other men, not by more energy of will, but by greater powers of performance.

In 1798 Courier was again employed in active service; and for ten more years his duties, distasteful as they were to him, were continued. He was fearless of personal danger, but the monotony of a soldier's life was annoying to him; and further, he was too indifferent to the course of events to care very much which side conquered, so unable was he to identify himself with one to the exclusion of all sympathy with the opposite; and in this temper he now went to Italy, rather to deplore the ravages of his country's arms, than with any wish to contribute to his country's triumphs. A good soldier, more even than a good theologian, should be very narrow in his views of man and of society, and should be able to believe with all his soul that his enemies are wholly in the wrong and that the cause he is contending for is the only just one. For the sword is a very tangible reality, and the consequences of its use seem to need some justification. The invectives of a theologian are perhaps felt, even by himself, to be less dangerous to those at whom they are directed. It may be replied, perhaps, that whether an enemy is sent down to Hades by temporal or spiritual weapons—by the tangible reality of a sword, or by the Churchman's airy anathema—it matters little, so only that the same result is arrived at. But it may be replied that the objector has assumed that the same result is arrived at, and that on that point the Churchman himself may reasonably entertain a doubt.

In 1808 Courier resigned his commission and left the army; but his career as a soldier was not yet quite ended. The year that followed his resignation was one for France of vast military effort. The impulse of war spread itself through all the country. The preparations made were immense, and Bonaparte, lately triumphant in Spain, was himself to command the armies destined for the conquest of Vienna. Courier was impelled by the prevailing enthusiasm. The thought of serving under Bonaparte inflamed his imagination, and excited, even in him, the thirst for military glory. But his late resignation was a matter which could not be overlooked, and he was obliged to join the army without a commission and with no definite duties assigned to him. His ardour to be present at the scene of action was not very long-lived; his "quarter of an hour of folly" was soon ended. He saw war now as he had never before seen it, on a scale which reduced the actions of individuals to insignificance, and accompanied by a slaughter greater than is usual even in the vastest military operations. The horrors of such a war were intolerable to him. The two fearful days on the island of Lobau, and the movements of troops which preceded Wagram, were the last scenes of the

kind at which he was present. He left the army for ever, and retired once more to literature and to his favourite Italy. His illusions were ended, and his life henceforth is purely that of a civilian.

During the remaining years of the Empire, Courier lived in retirement, travelled a good deal, and attracted occasional notice by a very clever letter or pamphlet. He married about the close of 1814, and fixed his abode in France, in the neighbourhood of Tours, where he followed a country life, careless of the political changes which were now in such constant progress. His chief fame is based upon what he wrote after the second restoration of the Bourbons. It is time, therefore, to say something of the manner and purpose of his writings; of the principles he wished to put forward, and of the occasions which incited him to publish them.

Courier does not seem to have had any fixed opinions in politics. On such matters he was always, as he tells us himself, on the side of the last speaker. He loved personal liberty for himself and for others, and was indignant with his whole soul against political persecution, as he was against religious persecution. But as to the kind of rule under which liberty was enjoyed—to that he was profoundly indifferent. If the advantages of a republic were pointed out to him, and it was proved that liberty could be secured under a republic, he felt himself, for the moment, republican. The next moment he would range himself, just as readily, on the side of monarchy, provided always that liberty were not to be endangered by it; and would hold to his new opinions with as little tenacity as to his old ones. He was quite willing to leave to fools the contest about forms of government; to him "that which was best administered was best," and that was best administered which secured its subjects or citizens the largest measure possible of freedom in thought, in expression, and in action. His religious creed it is less easy to determine. The hatred and contempt he expressed for Catholic priests and for Catholicism depended largely no doubt on the peculiar state of France at the time he wrote. Catholicism was dominant under the Bourbons. It had become a persecuting faith, and was taking revenge, as well as it could, for the Revolution which had flung it down. And it was administered by men of a type with which Courier had little sympathy. Young *curés* from the seminary, burning to advance a cause which was their own, fanatical in their religious zeal and their strictness about the morality of others, careless enough about their own, for they were men and celibates, gaining an influence by the confessional which was always fatal to family independence, and was frequently abused for purposes far worse than a merely spiritual despotism—such were the priests whom Courier saw about him in the provinces, such was the *cagoterie* which his pamphlets so unsparingly exposed. He speaks with affection of a race of priests which he had known and which was fast dying out; men beloved by their people, sharing their simple country life, joining harmlessly in their country sports, and making it the object of their

lives to do good to others. He did not share their faith; but he could appreciate and do justice to their goodness.

Courier has left on record a statement of his faith, if we may call it so; it is a statement at least of his principles. He calls it so himself. He had applied to be admitted as a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, of which his brother-in-law, M. Clavier, had been a member for many years. His claims for such a distinction were very high. He was well known as a good Greek scholar; he had published several translations from the Greek, and he had passed many years of his life in the particular studies which it was the object of the Academy to promote. These claims, however, were unanimously rejected, and certain gentlemen were elected as members, of whom it was said, "They do not indeed know any Greek, but their principles are known to us." This Courier professes to have felt as a blow aimed at himself; it was an insinuation that his principles were not known, that he was a man without principles. And he takes occasion, in order to prevent the subject being further discussed, to state his own principles, in the course of a letter to the members of the Academy which had rejected him. He begins with some statements which remind us of Molière's Don Juan; he puts forward some simple axioms of mathematics. These are his principles. As for the more difficult ones, such as "that two and two make four," he holds them indeed, but he is not sure of them. But there are different principles in different subjects. There are principles of grammar, for example; but on them he need not touch. The gentlemen with whom he is comparing himself know neither Greek nor Latin. So he passes on to speak with the same sincerity on religion, and morals, and politics. Of his religion, he says, mockingly, that his principles are the same as those of his nurse, who died a Christian and a Catholic, quite unsuspected of heresy. He is himself only a soldier and a wood-cutter, and therefore orthodox, as men of his station in life ought to be. Of his morals he speaks more seriously. His one principle is to do nothing to another which he would not wish another to do to him. For his political principles he wishes to say little. He is afraid of being misunderstood, for the terms of a political creed are not very fixed, and he might be confounded with persons who wholly differ from him. One thing only he will say. He does not wish to be made king, and he is taking no steps to become so—a rare quality in the present age, and one which marks him off from all parties whatever.

If we interpret all this by the light which we may gain from Courier's life, and Courier's other writings, we shall find it expresses truly enough what he really thought and practised. He did not wish to meddle in politics, or to ally himself with any party, caring as he did only for results, and indifferent about forms of government. On matters of religion he was probably a positive thinker, but very tolerant to those who differed from him, provided always that they in their turn were tolerant to others. And he was a thoroughly good man, ready at

all times to fight the battles of the weak who had no other supporter, and exposing himself to serious risks as their champion: and willing to suffer a real persecution himself rather than allow others to be persecuted, if his terrible pen could be of any aid to them. Such was the real man who now came forward as a pamphleteer; but with a perfect literary art, and a style which France had not known since Fénelon and La Fontaine and Voltaire.

The character in which he presented himself was a singular one. Paul Louis Vigneron, is his favourite signature. He speaks and writes as a simple, honest countryman, living by the work of his hands on his little patrimony by the Loire, and using the language of common life, and common sense, to ordinary men like himself. He takes pleasure, too, now in speaking of himself as an old soldier of the Empire, and particularly in recalling his early services in the army which had beaten back the invaders from the French frontiers. We know what his services were, and the kind of distinction he succeeded in winning for himself as a soldier, and we should not probably rank them very high; but the character he assumed was a popular one, and his antecedents were not very strictly inquired into. His literary pursuits, he wished it to be understood, were the amusement of his leisure hours. He had been a soldier; he was now a vine-dresser, and he had neither time nor taste for letters. There was a matter now and then on which he wished to address others, but when these occurred his language was not that of the Court, but of the country. His readers were to think of him as an old soldier, living on his farm, and writing, as other men might write, a plain statement of facts, or of the sentiments of every-day life. The art with which this was done was as perfect as that of the "Drapier's Letters," the language and the moral purpose were far higher.

During the years that had passed since his retirement from the army, his reputation as a writer had deservedly made great progress. In his own style he was without a rival, and his style was not an easy one to employ successfully. "Men talk," he says, "of writing common sense as the best way of getting a hearing, as if common sense were so ordinary a gift, or so easy to put on paper." The best testimony to its difficulty is the fact that so few have succeeded in writing it. But how much more difficult to conceal the perfection of art under an affectation of mere common sense; to put the language of Demosthenes into the mouth of a vine-dresser, and to exhaust every artifice of literature without departing for a moment from the language of common life. The power to do this is the rarest of literary gifts, and Courier had it in perfection. His writings had already shown it; but all that he had hitherto written was thrown into the shade by a short pamphlet on a proposal by the Minister of the Interior to raise a national subscription for the purchase of Chambord for the infant Duke of Bordeaux. The pamphlet appeared under the title of "Simple Discours de Paul Louis Vigneron," and before long it had gained such a reputation as to

embroil its author very seriously with the Government.

"If we had money," he commences, "that we did not know what to do with, if all our debts were paid, our roads repaired, our poor relieved, &c., I think, my friends, that it would be right to subscribe with our neighbours to rebuild the bridge of St. Avertin, which would considerably shorten the distance between us and Tours, and so improve the value and the produce of land in all these quarters. This is, I think, the best way in which we could employ our useless money, when we had any. But to buy Chambord for the Duke of Bordeaux I am not in favour of that, and I should not wish it if we had the means of doing it, the matter being, as I think, bad for him, for us, and for Chambord. For the courtiers it would be, no doubt, the best thing possible. They have good reason to wish for it. But not for the prince. He would gain our money, but he would lose a hundredfold our love; and though the bargain seems a golden one, though we pay and he only takes, yet Chambord, so acquired, would cost him too dear. Princes are rich only in the love of their subjects. It is not his friends who are advising this course, but rather some clever enemy.

"And who is it, I ask, who has given this wonderful advice? 'The idea has been suggested,' says the minister. Suggested by whom? Not by the minister; he would have let us know if it had been so; he would not have been content with the honour of approving it. Is it the prince? God forbid that this should have been the earliest thought of his life—that such a wish should have occurred to him before he has learned to wish for toys and *bonbons*. The *communes* then? Not ours, certainly, on this side of the Loire; but those perhaps which have twice quartered the Cossacks of the Don. Here we feel but little the benefits of the Holy Alliance, but there they have enjoyed it fully; they have had Sacken and Platow among them, and naturally their first thought is to purchase castles for their princes; when they have done this, they will repair their houses afterwards.

"Well, the idea has been suggested, whoever was its author, and our business is not with the credit of the suggestion, but with paying for carrying it out. 'Sir, all is yours,' is the language of the courtiers to their sovereign; but they give all to their King, just as the priests give all to God. The civil list and the royal domain no more belong to the King than the revenue of the abbeys does to Jesus Christ. Buy Chambord, and make a present of it. The court will devour it. The prince will be no better and no worse off than before. These fine ideas of making us pay come always from the courtiers. They know what they are doing when they offer the prince our money.

"If the question, now, had been about our subscribing to send the Duke to college, I would have consented willingly, and voted whatever was asked, if it had cost me my best crop of clover. The eldest son of the Duke of Orleans is there—a new thing for persons of rank. There is no favouritism there, and no flattery. Things are called by their true names. There is no one to tell a young prince that all belongs to him. He must take his place with the rest, and learn what they learn, and contend with them for the same prizes. We should have no *dragonnades*, no St. Bartholomew Massacres, if princes were thus brought up.

"But at Chambord what would he learn? He would have his ancestors there as his models, and I prefer that he should live with us rather than with his ancestors. On all sides he will see portraits of royal mistresses, and there will be plenty of persons

to tell him what they mean. There Louis, the mode of all kings, lived (such is the Court phrase) with Madame Montespan, with Mademoiselle La Vallière, with all the married women and maids which it was his good pleasure to take away from their husbands and their relations. It was the time then of morals and of religion, and he took the Holy Communion every day. By this door his mistress entered in the evening, and in the morning his confessor. Hither came a girl to ask her father's life, and she paid the price for it, and obtained it from Francis, who died here of his good morals. These are the lessons which the young prince would learn at Chambord.

"The duke then can gain nothing from Chambord; but for us, who are to pay for it, how does the matter stand for us? We shall have more than one evil to endure, and not least of them, the near neighbourhood of the court. Let us give the great their due, but let us keep ourselves as far from them as we can, and take care, too, that they keep themselves far from us. They can hurt us, but they can do us no good. You know how they behave to us, and what good neighbours they are. If they are young, they hunt over our wheat, make gaps in our hedges, spoil our ditches, do us harm in a thousand ways. And if you make any complaint about it, if you go to the magistrate for redress—you shall tell me your success when you have come out of prison. If they are old, the case is still worse. They bring actions against us, ruin us by process of law, and sentence is pronounced by *gentlemen*, who dine with them, men of worth as they are, incapable of eating meat on a Friday, or of missing mass; and these men think that they are doing a good act in adjudging your property to the nobles,—that they are re-constituting the *ancien régime*. If the presence of one of these men is more than you can tolerate, if one of them can make you leave your district, how would it be if you had a court at Chambord, all the great together in a body around one greater than themselves. There are inconveniences, my friends, in the near neighbourhood of a court. To live there, a man should be either a servant or a beggar.

"You would become both before long. Living near them, you would soon learn the ways of those about them. Everybody at court is a servant, or wishes to be one. And begging is no shame at court; it is the life of a courtier. He watches the proper time for it, as you do the time for sowing your harvest, ay, and better. He never loses courage. If we had half his constancy in our work, our granaries could never hold our crops. No insult, no outrage can repel him. *Strike if you will, but listen to me*, and give me something. There is no service too vile for him. The man is yet to be found who can invent one that a courtier would, I do not say refuse, but one that he would not consider a glory and a sign of his devotedness. And a nice example all this would be for you, and for your sons and daughters.

"Now try a little to imagine what the court is. It is an honest place, if you will, but it is a strange place nevertheless. I do not know much about the court of the present day, but I know—who does not know?—the court of the great Louis Quatorze, the model of all courts, the court *par excellence*. There are curious facts about it, men's way there of living with their wives, for example. Every woman there was the wife of one man and the mistress of all, and stories abound that prove it to us. There was a community established, that marriages and other arrangements did not interfere with.

"You find it impossible, my friends, to believe in such a life as this. No single family, you think, could exist with it, and what must it be where it is the life of all families? Well, you are right. It

would ruin your families, but not theirs. They depend, not as yours do, on the husband's industry, but on the wife's favours. It has been women who have founded all our great houses; not, as you may suppose, by making their husbands' shirts or nursing their children. An honest woman is a treasure in our families; but what could a courtier do with one? Poor fellow! he would see favours showered all around him, and would get nothing himself. In a word, just as for us low-born fellows there is only one road to fortune, work; so there is only one for the nobility, *et c'est—c'est la prostitution, puisqu'il faut, mes amis, l'appeler par son nom.* And when our children have found out this, when they have found the way of getting rich without labour, would they be contented then to live as they do now? Thanks to the kindness of heaven, we have no court near us; and we, who are removed from this pollution, are we to pay to have one at our door? God forbid."

Such is the subject of some portion of this remarkable "discourse." We have done but partial justice to the matter; the style of it is inimitable. It was soon followed by a "Petition to the Chamber of Deputies for Villagers who were not allowed to Dance,"—a lighter and less elaborate pamphlet, but full of the same language about courts and princes, and very contemptuous towards the clergy, by whose agency the said prohibition had been obtained. Courier was called by the Government to account for both these publications, but first and principally for the "Simple Discours." He has himself left us a long account of the course of his trial, the "*Procès de Paul Louis Courier*," and of the speech which he would have made in his own defence, if his friends had permitted him. To those who read the matter of the accusation, the answers of the accused, and the speeches of the advocates on either side, the defence appears abundantly established, or rather it is difficult to find in what the legal offence can have consisted. But the court and courtiers were furious at the satire; the president was the creature of the court; the jury were sensible middle-class Frenchmen, worthy men, and at about the same level of intelligence as sensible middle-class Englishmen. Courier was brought in guilty of offending public morality, and was condemned to a fine of two hundred francs, and two months' imprisonment.

The rest of Courier's writings were, however, directed mainly to the same objects as the "discours." Among them we may mention, as deserving especial notice, the "*Pétition pour les Villageois que l'on empêche de Danser*," and the "*Réponse aux Lettres Anonymes adressées à Paul Louis Courier*." We find throughout the same hatred of tyrannical restrictions, the same opposition to the clergy as a party dominant in the State, the same love of liberty and sympathy with natural and innocent pleasures, the same chivalrous eagerness to defend those who were unable to defend themselves, and had no other helper, and above all, the same genuine kindness of heart and of purpose, which we find in almost every page that he has written. But the second series of the "*Réponses aux Lettres Anonymes*" rises above all that had gone before it. It

reaches even to the "*grand style*;" it is eloquence of the first order. The subject of it is mainly the consequences in France of the confessional, and of the enforced celibacy of the clergy.

Our space does not permit us to go more fully into these and into others of Courier's writings. But we must mention at least the titles of the "*Gazette du Village*," in part humorous, in part, too, fearfully tragical; of the "*Pièce Diplomatique*," supposed to be an intercepted letter from Louis XVIII. to his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain; and lastly of the "*Pamphlet des Pamphlets*," the best of Courier's writings, from which the passage is taken with which our article is headed. He had already written the remarkable, the almost prophetic words—the warning he had received from a friend during his morning's walk in the Palais Royal: "*Prends garde, Paul Louis, prends garde! Les cagots te feront assassiner.*" The *lioret* which contains this passage was published in 1823. On the 10th of April, 1825, Courier was fired at a few steps from his own door, and was taken up dead. The author and the motive of the deed remain still alike unknown.

Courier is gone. Cut off, as he was, in his fiftieth year, and in the full vigour of his powers, he yet left his work already done, his services to mankind already fully rendered. For these, persecuted in his life, he has received after his death the gratitude and honour he has deserved. His style is comparatively a small matter; but for that alone, as a most perfect literary model, he would be as immortal as the language in which he wrote. The friend of the oppressed, the enemy of all oppressors; the fearless champion of political and religious freedom, looking ever forward with faith and hope to the coming destinies of the world, and to the fuller enlightenment, and fuller liberty of the future—these are his best titles to immortality; by these he has earned a name that must live for ever in the grateful memory of posterity, in whose destinies he had confidence—of mankind, whom it was his object to benefit. A longer life might have enabled him to do more for others: it could have added nothing to his reputation, which is secure for ever, based upon the possession of the highest powers, consecrated to the noblest of all aims—to the service of humanity.

ART. VII.—COMMONS ROUND LONDON.

1. *Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Cultivation and Improvement of Waste Lands.* 1797 and 1798.
2. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the means of Facilitating the Inclosure and Improvement of Waste Lands.* 1800.
3. *Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Open Spaces (Metropolis).* 1865.

THE growth of that incoherent aggregation of

villages which we call London is daily bringing up fresh problems for solution. It would be difficult under any circumstances to compress a nation within the limits of a city without causing much inconvenience. But the difficulty is increased tenfold by the incapacity of our municipal institutions to conform to circumstances. London is compelled to expand, not like a vertebrate animal, by a uniform development of all its parts, but like a creature of the lowest order of existence, by throwing out a series of imperfectly organized growths. It is, perhaps, needless to remark that this irrational state of things is not a legitimate consequence of any principle of self-government. It is not that the sphere of government is too narrow, but that it is divided and parcelled out amongst too many, and too feeble authorities. In any country where the adaptation of institutions to circumstances is not tempered by a superstitious regard for vested rights and ancient corporations, the city which is a unit by its geography is also allowed to be a unit for administrative purposes, and certainly without any evil consequence to its independence. In fact, the impotence of our local centres of authority compels the constant interference of the national authority in matters which are properly of merely local interest. To settle such purely municipal questions as the main drainage and the Thames embankment, Parliament had to create a new authority, and afterwards could not refrain from meddling—not always successfully—with its action. The evils which result from the curiously complicated system of jurisdictions under which we live, have been often enough illustrated, and are indeed obvious to the eyes and noses of us all. London is allowed to develop according to its own sweet will, without any attempt at providing against the dangers of the future. Railways have been permitted to cut their way through populous districts, and to force back the displaced inhabitants into streets already overflowing; and no care has been taken to render the transition to the new state of things as easy as possible. There has indeed been, of late, a revolt against the tyranny of railway companies, but the want of any central will or intellect must always give advantage to the assaults of interested persons upon interests which there is no one to look after.

The state of the commons round London is an illustration of this very obvious truth. By a piece of good fortune there are still a number of unenclosed pieces of wild land within the Metropolitan District. Fragments, as it were, of moor and heath lie at our very doors, and a few years ago they still remained in a position of apparent security. The transformation which London is undergoing, no less than Paris, though after a different fashion, is bringing many of them into jeopardy. It is curious to remark the various gradations by which London fades into the country, or as we should more accurately say, by which the country is gradually swallowed up in London. The main army is preceded by an advance of villas, thrown out like skirmishers. They begin by seizing a few picked positions, but are to be

found, as their numbers increase, wandering off into the fields, where they can only be approached along muddy and unlighted lanes. Then come the more solid ranks of the semi-detached, forming in continuous lines along the high roads and in the neighbourhood of railway stations. They are followed by rows of shops, generally headed by an enterprising gin-palace, which bind together the more irregular forces and complete the army of occupation. We find some morning that a town has grown up which has a physiognomy peculiar to these suburban districts. For it is evidently no articulate whole, but a mere fragment, which will soon be assimilated by the advancing mass behind. The houses, too, have that cramped and mean appearance which speaks of pressure in the dingy crowds of London. They bear the stamp of their origin, and show in contrast with the remaining fragments of picturesque old country houses as a Cockney would show amongst the gathering of a Highland clan. Of course these houses, and streets, and towns have a tendency to congregate round the commons. The pieces of wild land are gradually surrounded with a girdle of town houses, which seem to look down upon them with a show of town-bred arrogance. The common becomes an island in the dingy ocean of coal-smoke, and, unfortunately is too often in danger of being entirely engulfed by the rising tide of bricks and mortar. It has seldom or never happened, indeed, that a common has been swallowed up wholesale, for reasons which we shall presently have occasion to notice. Small outlying fragments, however, are frittered away; squatters effect settlements upon them; and the enemy succeeds in establishing a lodgment. Meanwhile, nuisances of various kinds grow up: the drainage is left to take care of itself; the surface is degraded in a variety of ways; heaps of rubbish are shot upon it; gravel-pits are dug without the smallest regard to its beauty or convenience; and as the police are not responsible for preserving order and decency upon it, it becomes in some cases a resort of bad characters. By these means the common, which was formerly an ornament to the neighbourhood, and which a little foresight might have converted into a permanent reservoir of fresh air and country beauty, degenerates into a nuisance. The immediate interest of a whole army of spoilers is allowed to prevail over the interests of the population at large, which are watched by no intelligent guardian; and before public attention has been aroused the evil may be consummated. Even if the common still remains unenclosed, it may have been so damaged that its enclosure is no longer regarded as an evil.

There are, however, symptoms that Londoners are beginning to awake to their danger. The case of Wimbledon Common last year drew attention to some of the more important considerations involved. Wimbledon is, without doubt, one of the most beautiful of our commons. The furze-covered slopes of the hill fronting Combe Wood, with their miniature glens and broken undulations of ground, have a peculiar attraction. They are in pleasant con-

trast to the more formal graces of the neighbouring Richmond Park. Fortunately, too, they had stronger claims upon public interest than any derivable from mere beauty of landscape. Artists might admire them; but artists have as yet established no *locus standi* to resist the encroachments of builders or of railways upon their favourite haunts. Luckily the preservation of Wimbledon Common is almost indispensable for the interests of the volunteers. There is no body which is pinched more to the quick than the volunteers by the growing pressure of population; although in this they are only most conspicuous representatives of all those to whom air and exercise are becoming daily more valuable and more difficult to obtain. The difficulty of obtaining anything like satisfactory rifle ranges is so great, and the distances which have to be travelled in order to obtain them increase so fast, as to be a severe discouragement upon the practice of shooting. But it is also becoming difficult to obtain a fair space for drilling. A few companies may contrive to make some sort of shift in the backyards and sheds to which London volunteers are ordinarily doomed. But there is no place within a moderate distance of London where more than a battalion or two can be manœuvred with anything like the facilities obtainable at Wimbledon. Hence any blow aimed at the common would instantaneously cripple the London volunteers. With the common would perish the only space where field-days can be held on a satisfactory scale, and the only space where the National Rifle Association could hold its meetings. Its enclosure would have the same effect upon them as the closing of their last breathing-holes would have upon fish in a frozen pond. There was, therefore, no common round London whose integrity would be guarded with more eager jealousy; and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are of that class who are able to make their voices heard in Parliament, and, if necessary, to provide means for a legal contest. The proposal made by Lord Spencer in the last session was therefore received with great interest, as it was avowedly, and no doubt sincerely, intended to reconcile the interests of the commoners and the lord of the manor. Wimbledon consists of about 1000 acres: of these it was proposed to sell 800, or so much of them as should be sufficient to compensate all the persons concerned, and pay the necessary expenses. The remainder of the common was to be surrounded with a fence, to be drained and reduced to the likeness of a park; a house was to be built in the centre, to be occupied by the "Protector," the name under which Lord Spencer and succeeding lords of the manor were to be the supreme rulers of this little domain. Lord Spencer, in making this proposal, undoubtedly conceived himself to be making a generous offer; but the value of his concession of course depended upon the nature of the rights which he abandoned. If it had been in his power to sell the whole, or nearly the whole common, for building land, then he would have deserved due gratitude for the generosity which secured so large a fraction for public purposes. If, on the other hand, he had no legal power to

sacrifice a single acre to the builder, it was plain enough that the last state of the common, as contemplated in his scheme, was worse than the first. Now, as the commoners took the narrower view of the lord's rights, whilst Lord Spencer approximated more nearly to the broader, it is not surprising that they received his offer with small show of gratitude. He was, in their opinion, only granting to them a part of what was theirs already; they decidedly objected to selling any part of the common; they objected also to the proposed enclosure; they very much preferred the present wild growth of fern and gorse to the new park, with its central "protectoral" residence. They maintained that the really necessary drainage might be accomplished at a very trifling expense, which could be raised without a sale of any part of the land; and, on the whole they very decidedly requested to be let alone, except so far as measures for the preservation of the common were necessary. The committee of the House of Commons, to which the question was referred, so far adopted their views as to declare that no inclosure was desirable; and the proposal for any permanent settlement of the matter dropped through, leaving the common, for the present, in the same state as before. The committee, however, took evidence as to the state of many of the other commons round London, and proposed a general plan for securing them in their present integrity. The various complaints which were made illustrate forcibly the complication of evils which commons in these days are heirs to. Some are threatened with instant annihilation; others are gradually perishing by an insidious process of consumption; and most of them are suffering from diseases which are rapidly spoiling their remaining charms. We may give an instance or two of the various fates with which they are threatened. It is unnecessary to go over again the story of Hampstead Heath, which has long been the object of assault, and which has been so far preserved (possibly at some expense to private interests) by the vigilance of Parliament; on the death of the present lord of the manor, his successor will probably claim a right to cut up the whole of it into building plots. Sir Thomas Wilson stated very frankly before the Committee that he should simply consider how he could best improve Hampstead Heath for his own advantage. He considered himself to have been already seriously aggrieved; the public had, in his view, no rights whatever upon the heath; and he would enter into no arrangement with regard to it. He had once intended to lay out Hampstead Heath as a recreation-ground for his own houses. Now, he said, he might, if he chose, "turn it into an Agar Town"—Agar Town being a place where cottages have been built on short leases for poor people. We express no opinion upon the grievance to which Sir Thomas Wilson conceives himself to have been subjected; but it is pretty clear that if he can establish his view of the legal rights of the question, the public hold upon one of the most delightful of London recreation grounds is, to say the least, precarious. In fact, it is only reasonable to presume that lords of manors will,

as a rule, take the most extended view of their rights, and will endeavour to enforce them by all means in their power. On the assumption, however, that they may find their view of the matter to be erroneous, it does not at all follow that commons will escape unscathed. Commons have strong attractions for various other classes of depredators. One example will show the nature of the most flagrant evils. According to the evidence of Mr. Rose, who has some property adjoining Wandsworth Common, that common has been undergoing a rapid degradation for several years past. Thirteen years ago it was kept in a satisfactory state, under an arrangement similar to one still in force and still producing satisfactory results at Clapham. A certain number of the inhabitants had a lease from Lord Spencer, the lord of the manor, and kept the common in order for public use and recreation. They dug gravel at certain points, so as to make ornamental pieces of water in the places from which it was excavated, and to allow the water from the common to drain off satisfactorily. It was then, as Clapham still is, a beautiful oasis of country scenery in the outskirts of the metropolitan wilderness. For some reason or other the lease was terminated. The common was neglected; gravel was dug at random, without any regard to its beauty or convenience; and a series of inclosures gradually came cranking in and cut "monstrous cantles" out. The irresistible powers who have been cutting and slashing the map of London according to their will, were not long in claiming their share of the spoils. Two or three railway companies in succession fell upon the devoted common, the danger of whose position may be inferred from the immediate vicinity of that mysterious station, Clapham Junction, whence, to the bewildered mind of the passengers, every railway in England seems to radiate. A space of open land was too tempting not to invite attack. The South-Western Railway seized a fragment; the Crystal Palace Railway appropriated 29 acres; and the London, Brighton, and South Coast 7 acres. Besides encroachments pure and simple, the inclosures made under Lord Spencer's authority appear to have amounted to 140 acres; of which, whatever consolation the public may derive from that fact, the greater part have been granted to charitable institutions. If our pockets are picked, it is of course gratifying to know that the money has been put into a missionary-box; and we may take some comfort in the thought that we are being ousted from our scanty supplies of green grass and fresh air by the boys of the Patriotic School. The mere diminution in area of the common is by no means the only evil. The remnant which is left to us is deteriorated. Railways and other intruders, like the Harpies, spoil the fragments of the feast which they do not touch. Thus all the public foot-paths across the common, with one exception, have been stopped up. The space formerly used as a cricket-ground has become useless, and in Mr. Rose's language—

"Wandsworth Common is a morass now; it has been excavated to such an extent that the whole of

the space from Nightingale-lane up the centre of the common is under water all the winter; it was under water up to the 20th of March, when I was there, and is now (April, '64) to a considerable extent; and although in the summer the water soaks away, it leaves the common in a very bad state, so that it cannot be used for any purpose."

As an illustration of the results of excavating gravel in a reckless way, Mr. Rose mentions that he, with two of his neighbours, took the dead body of a man out of one of the pits, which had been placed (as traps are set for elephants in Africa) in the direction of a public path, the water being at such a level that he could not reach up to the bank. Lord Spencer's agent, who appeared before the committee, did not dispute the existence of these grievances but the responsibility of Lord Spencer. He mentioned an additional evil, which results from the inability of the police to exercise authority upon the common, except in the case of an actual breach of the peace. He stated that there were loose women living upon the common who had no other home, and who insulted and annoyed people as they went about. The encroachments by which the common has been mangled appear in some cases to have been made without any sort of claim; but the commoners are disloyal enough to their feudal superior to doubt the legality even of those sanctioned by his authority. They venture to say that they consider these inclosures to be disastrous to the neighbourhood altogether, and have "a strong sense that they are done illegally, and contrary to law and justice." These misguided men will be finding fault with the British Constitution next. They entertain, however, a strong opinion that it is impossible for a poor man, or even for a rich man, having a right, successfully to contest an inclosure; and as Wandsworth is a poor parish the various inclosures have been allowed to pass without protest.

It might be hoped that the abuses of which Wandsworth is a most flagrant case would be avoided in cases where the Crown is lord of the manor; it might be anticipated that its powers would be used to secure a more satisfactory state of things. If a lord of the manor prefers his own interests to the interests of the public, the public cannot be surprised. But the interests of the Crown are presumed to be those of the public. Blackheath, which is in this position, should therefore be a model common, especially as it is one of the rare breathing spaces upon which the crowded population of the East end congregates with most eagerness. It is stated that as many as 80,000 people have gone to Blackheath upon Easter Monday and Tuesday. Now the heath is stated to have very much deteriorated during the last few years. The principal causes of this are the absence of all control, and the gradual breaking up of the surface by digging for gravel. Booths and photographic vans, and other habitations of our nomad population form temporary settlements, which tend to disfigure the beauty of the heath. The Hon. C. Gore was examined upon this point, and stated that the Crown received 56*l.* a-year from the

gravel, besides 1*l.* from a photographer, 4*s.* 6*d.* a-year from the Blackheath Improvement Association for certain posts and rails, and 1*l.* a-year for a tool-shed belonging to the man who digs gravel. Part of this princely revenue is raised to prevent any one from encroaching on the Crown rights; the 56*l.* is raised at an expense, as we have seen, of serious injury to the Heath. Mr. Gore was asked whether it was not his duty, as trustee for the Crown, to see that whilst the revenue was raised the comforts of the people were not interfered with. He answers, "I do not see what right I have to forego the public revenue that is derived from Crown lands for any local purpose, however beneficial the purpose in itself may be." This enlightened policy, by which the nation at large realizes 56*l.* annually at the expense of a permanent injury to a London common, is carried out on a nobler scale in the case of Epping. A committee of the House of Commons, in 1863, stated that there were two courses which might be followed with regard to the forestal rights: the first was to discontinue the sale of those rights, and to maintain them vigilantly without regard to cost, in order to prevent future inclosures, and preserve the forest in its wild state; the other was to obtain the sanction of Parliament for the inclosure of the forest by sale of rights, and otherwise "to secure an adequate portion for purposes of health and recreation." The committee recommended this last plan, as, in their view, the use of such rights to prevent inclosure was of questionable justice. The House of Commons, however, passed a resolution recommending that no sales of forestal rights should be made to facilitate inclosures within fifteen miles of the metropolis. The result of this resolution was singular. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests discontinued the sale of rights; but, after taking a legal opinion, they decided that it would not pay to take legal steps against encroachments already made. The pecuniary value of the rights preserved would be more than swallowed up by the law expenses; and as they look at the question as simply a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence (and, we may add, very few pounds and shillings), they declined to take any steps against encroachments. The result of the House of Commons' resolution thus appears to be, not that no further encroachments are made, but that we receive nothing for them; the rights are appropriated instead of bought. Now Epping is a beautiful open tract of country within a few miles of the most crowded part of London.

These will be sufficient examples of the chief dangers by which commons in the neighbourhood of London are surrounded, and of the spirit in which they are generally met. It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the importance of preserving these open spaces, nor to point out that those in the metropolitan district have especial claims upon us. The destruction, indeed, of commons in the country districts is one which it is not possible to contemplate with entire equanimity, attracted as we may be by the promise of increased production. We are all treading too closely upon each other's toes

in this little island of ours, not to grudge the closing of any interstice which yet remains unfilled. When men inhabited little oases of cultivated land in the midst of a wilderness, the sight of uninclosed land was a vexation of spirit. The case is now reversed—we value a bit of unbroken ground as our ancestors valued a garden. In the words of Mr. Mill, in one of those eloquent passages which stand out from the philosophic calm of his ordinary writing:—

"There is not much satisfaction in contemplating the world with nothing left to the spontaneous activity of nature; with every rood of land brought into cultivation which is capable of growing food for human beings; every flowery waste or natural park ploughed up, all quadrupeds or birds which are not domesticated for man's use exterminated as his rivals for food, and scarcely a place left where a wild shrub or flower could grow without being eradicated as a weed in the name of improved agriculture."

It is not impossible, indeed, that in the power of that name injury may be done, not only in a sentimental, but in a very prosaic point of view. The improvement of agriculture is not always synonymous with the improvement of those who live by agriculture; and there is reason to suppose that in the war against the waste lands a larger part of the spoil has somehow fallen to the share of the rich men among the conquerors than of their poorer allies—a result not quite without analogy in other cases. Professor Fawcett, in his lectures on the "Economic Position of the British Labourer," speaks of some of the unfortunate results that have ensued to particular classes, from a process intended to increase the general wealth of the nation:—

"The commons," he says, "are now being rapidly swept away. Cottagers have now no means of keeping a cow, a pig, or poultry; the village games are gone; every acre of ground is carefully fenced; the beaten path of the frequented highway cannot be left without committing the crime and incurring the penalties of trespass, and I have been too often pained to find that the turnpike road is now the only recreation ground for village children."

Mr. Fawcett shows some reason for doubting whether in point of fact the destruction of commons has increased the material wealth of the country. But the effects upon the poorer classes have generally been of unmixed evil. Some inadequate compensation was generally awarded, which was spent by those who received it. The next generation had simply descended a step in the scale; they were in the position of their predecessors, *minus* these common rights, which had formed an inalienable piece of property; the labourers, as he remarks, had formerly the special advantage in the right to keep cows or poultry, that they could enjoy luxuries which daily wages never placed within their reach. "Every one," he says, "who knows the working classes will tell you how much their children suffer when they are unable to obtain milk, as some additional nourishment to their scanty food."

It may therefore be maintained that the inclosure of waste lands beyond a certain limit

has been far from an unmixed advantage; even if the productive powers of the country have been increased, the benefits have been by no means equally distributed. The increase of agricultural power *per se* would of course be a clear gain; the man who makes two blades grow where one grew before, is, we know, a benefactor to his country, unless, indeed, he accomplishes the proverbial feat at his neighbour's expense. But it is important to remark, first, that this argument, whatever its worth, has no application to the metropolitan commons; and secondly, that it was the sole ground of the legislation by which inclosure elsewhere was made practicable. The first Inclosure Acts were founded on reports made by select committees of the House of Commons in the years 1785, 1797, and 1800. Anxiety was felt at that time on account of the scarcity of corn. The sums paid for corn imported in three years had amounted to over 7,000,000*l.*, and according to the political economy of the day, the last committee pointed out that this turned the balance of trade against this country, besides producing various other evils. They calculated that a cultivation of 148,000 acres additional would be sufficient to raise as much corn as had been imported on an average of the last twenty years. On the other hand, they estimated that there were in England and Wales nearly eight million, and in Scotland over fourteen million acres of waste and unclosed lands. After allowing for land which was either unimprovable or only partly improvable, they calculated the value of the annual produce which might be raised from these lands at 20,000,000*l.* yearly. They reported in 1795 that there was reason to believe that the waste lands might not only be speedily brought into cultivation, but might even be improved so as to increase the stock of provisions within the next two years, and "more particularly to furnish a very large additional supply of potatoes." They further argued that inclosure would be favourable to an increased growth of men as well as of corn and potatoes. The purpose, then, of the first inclosure Acts was purely agricultural; it was to meet a great strain upon the resources of the country during the early period of the French war by increasing the area of cultivable land. It was intended to raise larger supplies of food, and was passed in the interests of the country at large, not of private owners. As the national wealth would receive an infinitesimal improvement by ploughing up Wimbledon Common or covering Hampstead Heath with villas, it is plain that the precedent has no application. If, that is, the interference of Parliament is necessary in order to facilitate the inclosure of the metropolitan commons, no sort of claim can be founded upon these inclosure Acts for legislative assistance. The measure was not designed merely with a view to help private persons to an easy mode of dividing property amongst themselves, but distinctly and principally because the inclosure was proved to be of the highest importance to the national welfare. The legal obstacles which impeded a division of common lands amongst persons interested might, for anything that appears, have been left un-

touched, if the national welfare had not been concerned; and might have been scrupulously maintained, if the national welfare had, as now, been concerned on the other side.

It is necessary to observe what were the difficulties which had made the inclosure of commons almost impracticable. The statute most commonly referred to as justifying the principle of inclosure is the 20 Henry III., c. 4, commonly called the Statute of Merton. This ancient and all but extinct statute provides that "because many great men of England have complained that they cannot make their profit of the residue of their manors, as of wastes, woods, and pastures," the lords may, as it is technically called, "approve," or inclose the waste, after leaving sufficient pasture to satisfy the rights of the commoners. This statute had, however, become practically obsolete. The lords had, it may be presumed, taken advantage of the statute by enclosing the "residue," which was not required to satisfy the claims of the commoners. It was rare to find any common sufficiently extensive to leave a surplus of any importance. Moreover, it was difficult for the lord to prove (and the burden of proof rested with him) that he had left a sufficiency of pasture; finally, where there were rights of "turbary" or "estovers,"—that is, of cutting turf or wood—the lord could not approve any part of the waste. As the commoners grew rich, it became more difficult for the lord to come to terms with them, the rights of rich men having a decided tendency to gain consistency. Commons could only be inclosed by the unanimous consent of all persons concerned. And thus for a long time previous to the inclosure Acts of this century, inclosures had only been practically effected by means of private legislation. This process, however, was so expensive and troublesome, that the number of Acts was beginning to decrease; and as, for the reasons we have noticed, it was thought of great importance to the public interest that the process of inclosure should be accelerated, the necessary machinery was provided by the different inclosure Acts. The Inclosure Commissioners are applied to in the first instance by the persons interested. If the proposed inclosure appears to be advantageous in an agricultural point of view, and is supported by two-thirds of the interests concerned, it is then reported to Parliament and is generally passed as a matter of routine. The Act, however, recognises to a certain extent the existence of other than purely agricultural interests. The General Inclosures Act of 1845 provides that the Commissioners may insist upon an allotment for purposes of recreation and exercise, the extent of which is to be regulated in proportion to the population of the parish; the greatest quantity which can be thus allotted is ten acres. It is also provided that no inclosure shall take place under the Act within fifteen miles of the metropolis, or within certain distances of towns of a specified magnitude, without the previous sanction of Parliament in each particular case. Thus the inclosure of commons round London can only take place by some of the insidious processes which we have noticed; it is scarcely possible that the lord should obtain the consent

of every individual commoner, but many of the rights may gradually be extinguished by neglect, as the gradual progress of the metropolis deprives the pasture of its value; encroachments may be made which no one is willing to dispute, and afterwards justified under the obsolete authority of the Statute of Merton, and gradually the public may be ousted from the common before it knows that any assault has been made.

The question is thus raised, whether the public at large, or even the people of London, have any claim to be considered; or whether the commons are mere pieces of private property, which may be inclosed and built over whenever a few persons have contrived to settle their conflicting claims. It appears, at first sight, evident that Parliament has, in fact, recognised the principle that the neighbourhood has some kind of right to the commons. The refusal to facilitate inclosures within fifteen miles of London, and the order to set apart a space—though, in the case of large towns, a very inadequate space—to be used as a village green, no doubt proceeded on the assumption that the public had some rights of a more or less shadowy nature. It was not assumed that they had no more business to meddle with the question than with the sale of an ordinary freehold. Although the interests of the people at large are not very apt to deaden the lively affection which Parliament bears to lords of manors and landholders generally, they have in this instance been taken into account. No facilities have been given for inclosure, except on the distinct ground that national interests required it. And there is evidently no shadow of a claim for such facilities except where the same ground can be proved to exist. "Nothing can be clearer," says Mr. Joshua Williams, "both upon principle and by the usage of Parliament than this, that the interest of the public at large is a sufficient ground for denying to any person the assistance of a private Act." If the difficulties which have hitherto prevented the enclosure of commons were still sufficient to guard them near London, we might be content with this moderate concession. But it is plain that something more is wanted. Mere inaction is equivalent to permitting their destruction. Has then the public any legal right, not merely to refuse facilities for inclosure, but to insist upon the present open spaces being preserved? As we acquire a right of way along a path, may we not acquire by immemorial usage a right of straying over a common? Or, as a village is allowed the enjoyment of the green on which cricket and other games have been played, may not Wimbledon and Clapham be considered as village greens for the metropolis? They are certainly not too large in proportion. Here, however, the lawyers are shocked by the mention of such vague considerations as the public interest. They think that London is too big a place to have any rights, and that a right of exercise and recreation is too vague to be a right at all. It is true that Parliament has insisted upon village greens being set apart; but in so doing, it is argued, they recognised no rights; they were merely making a bargain; they were selling the facilities of inclosure for the per-

manent dedication of a fraction of the ground to the public. "We," they said in effect, "will help you to share your property, but you must give us a slice of it by way of fee." Persons coming to Parliament for assistance in enclosing commons were in the same position as railways asking for a compulsory Act for the sale of property, and any conditions which seemed good to Parliament might be imposed upon them. By this view, the right of the public, or of any part of it, to be heard in the question, is altogether put out of question. It is thus maintained that the public have no rights in commons. There may indeed be valid customs in particular places for the inhabitants of a town to enjoy recreation in certain lands. It has been held that a custom for all the inhabitants of a village to dance at all times of the year on a certain close was good. And it has been held that a custom for the freemen and citizens of a town to enter a close for the purpose of horse-racing on a particular day of the year is a good custom. But a general custom for all the Queen's subjects to attend a horse race at a particular place is considered to be bad, because the rights possessed by the Queen's subjects generally are part of the general law of the land, and not the custom of a particular place.

This distinction, by which the inhabitants of a village may obtain a right to play cricket or even to recreate themselves generally on their green, and the inhabitants of London can obtain no right to enjoy the little spaces of open ground left to them, however constantly they may have resorted to those spaces, seems rather unintelligible to the non-legal mind. The committee of last session remark forcibly that these opinions, even if judicially binding, seem to rest upon no very intelligible principle. "They are," they say, "at a loss to conceive why, upon general principles, a right of enjoyment which may be acquired by the inhabitants of a small hamlet should be denied to the inhabitants of the metropolis, or even to the general public." That such doctrines should commend themselves to the minds of lawyers, is indeed intelligible enough. The public is not likely to meet with such favour at their hands as are the lords of manors. A concrete person enjoying a clearly defined right is likely to have it all his own way in the courts, as against an abstraction called "the good of the public." But the more we examine into the origin of the right, the more probable it becomes that the lords have gained more than is equitably due to them. It is, in fact, merely an illustration of the process by which landed proprietors have gradually gained an absolute right, whilst throwing gradually aside all the duties to which their rights were formerly correlative. The nature of the change is explained in Mr. Maine's "Ancient Law." In discussing the question of the origin of primogeniture, Mr. Maine finds a key to the solution of the problem in a peculiarity of Hindoo institutions. In India, he says, the possessions of a parent are divisible at his death in equal shares among his children; but, "whatever public office or political power devolves at the decease of the last incumbent, the succession is nearly univer-

sally according to the rules of *primogenitura*.

All offices in India tend to become hereditary, and, when their nature permits it, to vest in the eldest member of the oldest stock." Comparing this with the feudal organization, Mr. Maine points out that "the lord with his vassals, during the ninth and tenth centuries, might be considered as a patriarchal household, recruited, not as in the primitive times, by adoption, but by inféudation." When, in later times, "courts and lawyers were called in to interpret and define" the state of things of which this was the germ, they applied to it the refined principles of Roman jurisprudence. Here a change took place like that which has come to pass in later times in India, when the English conquerors, assuming the state of things with which they were conversant in England to be part of the eternal order of nature, proceeded to identify native tenures with their own—a process which, we need not say, sometimes involved gross injustice. In a patriarchally governed society, says Mr. Maine, "the eldest son may succeed to the government of the agnatic group and to the absolute disposal of his property. But he is not a true proprietor. He has correlative duties not involved in the conception of proprietorship, but quite undefined and quite incapable of definition." The later Roman jurisprudence could not recognise these liabilities: "it considered the uncontrolled power over property as equivalent to ownership;" and thus, "the contact of the refined and barbarous nation had inevitably for its effect the conversion of the eldest son into legal proprietor of the inheritance." And Mr. Maine proceeds to point out that the revolution thus effected was identical with that which has occurred in quite recent times in the Highlands of Scotland.

"When called in to determine the legal powers of the chieftain over the domains which gave sustenance to the clan, Scottish jurisprudence had long since passed the point at which it could take notice of the vague limitations in completeness of dominion imposed by the claims of the clansmen, and it was inevitable therefore that it should convert the patrimony of many into the estate of one."

The effect of this change in the Highlands is sufficiently well known. Those who were formerly possessed of a share in the patrimony have become encumbrances on the estate; and the representative of the chieftain of the clan has been able to improve his feudal inferiors off the face of Scotland. We need not inquire what may be the economical results of this change; but it certainly adds force to the argument that the possession of landed property should be held certain duties. The landholding class have neither toiled nor spun, but by the unobserved progress of affairs they have gradually become absolute proprietors without any responsibility, instead of leaders of a confederacy. It has thus become a legal doctrine that the lord has the right to everything upwards and downwards, except that which is carved out of his rights for some one else. The lords are absolute owners of the soil, it is

said, subject only to the rights, whatever they may be, of the commoners.

So long, however, as the rights of the commoners survive, the lord is unable to take practical advantage of his theory by enclosing; but he is now endeavouring to take another step in advance. He has become a proprietor with certain claims upon his estate, instead of a political head with responsibilities corresponding to his privileges. The consequence is, that whenever the claimants drop off it is so much clear gain to him. If a common right is extinguished by disuse, the lord remains as a kind of universal heir. The public has been put entirely on one side. The lord remains immovable and eternal. A centralized government tends to become steadily stronger, because whenever a local institution loses its vitality, the central power is always at hand, ready to assume its privileges and to discharge its duties. The lord of the manor gradually becomes invested in the same way with additional rights. As London gradually extends its huge ramifications round the commons, the common rights become comparatively valueless. When a piece of land becomes open to the incursions of the British public at large, it naturally becomes impossible to turn out cows upon it to much effect. The grass is trampled down; gates across the public roads have to be removed to accommodate traffic, and cows take advantage of the case. In the case of Wimbledon, parts of the common have become dangerous from the erection of butts; and, in short, as the common takes on more of the character of a playground, it becomes less available for agricultural purposes. The consequence is, that there is a danger of the rights gradually dropping. When a man turns out his children upon the common instead of turning out his cows, the law does not admit that he is keeping up his claim. The persons who have in fact supplanted the commoners and have been allowed to exercise their rights, are the general public; the commoners have tacitly permitted them to take such advantage of the unenclosed state of the ground as to render it impossible to turn it to account in the ancient way. In the case of a few acres surrounded by a village, this would amount to a dedication to the public, and would be sufficient to secure the ground as an open space for ever. In the case of a common surrounded by the huge population of London, it is assumed that the public which has practically superseded the commoners is too vague a body to enjoy any rights, or to have anything dedicated to it; and consequently the whole benefit accrues to the lord of the manor. His estate is converted from a valueless bit of waste land into building ground of enormous value by the near approach of London; the same circumstance gradually pushes off his land all those inconvenient people whose claims were formerly sufficient to keep it open, and the whole of the benefit is supposed to go to him. Thus, to take one example, Mr. Thompson bought the common of Tooting, in 1861, for 8000*l*. He immediately set to work and made out, to his own satisfaction, that the common rights which existed

were imaginary; he maintains that there is only one man besides himself who has any right at all—a matter upon which the inhabitants take a very different view. In 1865 he values the common at 80,000*l.*, and takes much credit to himself for proposing to leave part of it open. Mr. Thompson may be justified in his opinion, although the commoners have hitherto refused to consent to the compromise which he has proposed. Indeed, it may be said in general that the opinions of lords of manors on one side and inhabitants on the other, as to their rights, always diverge in a manner which proves the unsettled state of the law upon the subject. The case seems to be that the rights of commoners have of late years been suffered gradually to evaporate, but have not so completely dispersed into thin air that their actual non-existence can be affirmed. Where the case has been tried, it has generally appeared that the lords of the manor have viewed their own rights in a large and generous spirit which has led them to neglect entirely those of their neighbours. And it is to be hoped that in the legal decisions which must be given before long upon some of these cases, where rival interests are coming into conflict, the lawyers will incline to a broader view of the matter than that which we have indicated. This is surely a case which eminently confirms the truth of Mr. Mill's saying: "To me it seems almost an axiom that property in land should be interpreted strictly, and that the balance, in all cases of doubt, should incline against the proprietor." The landed proprietor, as a rule, has nothing to do but to sit still and allow the general increase of population to raise his rents; in this case, the increase of population simultaneously clears off every one who has an interest in the land, except the lord of the manor, who receives the benefit both of the rise in the value of the land and of the extinction of all other shares in the property. He would lose nothing if the public at large were considered to be the heirs of the commoners, except that there would be a smaller chance of enclosing the common; but as this was impracticable in most cases so long as the common-rights were kept up, the value thus lost is really very small.

The practical steps which were proposed by the committee of last session, and which are embodied in a bill brought in by Mr. Cowper are simple, and need not offend the most sensitive stickler for vested interests. The first point is to map out accurately the limits of the existing commons. A board—either already existing, or newly constituted—is to be appointed to act as trustees for the preservation of commons. They are to inquire into the circumstances of the particular commons, to authorize drainage works and schemes for raising the necessary funds, to have a *locus standi* against all railway bills and similar measures, and to be authorized to accept grants of the rights of lords of manors and others. In this way it is hoped that, at any rate, the commons may not be frittered away without notice by the insidious means we have noticed. An accurate statement will be made of their

present limits; the attacks of railways and the whole breed of depredators will be warded off, and the rights will be so ascertained as to facilitate permanent arrangements between the persons interested. We are glad, also, to hear that one lord at least, Mr. Alcock, has generously promised to grant to the board, if appointed, his rights over Banstead Downs, a beautiful tract of fourteen hundred acres in the neighbourhood of Epsom. It is hardly to be expected that this action will be followed in a similar spirit by many of the lords; it is probable that there must be litigation in many cases before matters are brought to a satisfactory conclusion; but, at any rate, it is highly important that something should be done at the earliest possible period. The commons are daily in greater danger from numerous enemies; the rights of commoners are gradually disappearing, and the rapacity of the various classes who would supersede them, is constantly receiving fresh stimulants. The injury already done to some of our beautiful commons is irreparable, and, without energetic action, others may share their fate. All classes are interested, both in preserving them for health and pleasure, but especially the poorest classes. We hope to see what remains of them placed beyond the reach of their enemies, if only as an affirmation of the principle that landowners are not to be allowed to extend their rights indefinitely, without any regard to the interests of the public.

ART. VIII.—H. TAINE ON ART AND ITALY.

1. *Philosophie de l'Art*. Par H. TAINE. Leçons professées à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Paris: Germer-Baillière. 1865.
2. *The Philosophy of Art*. Translated from the French, and Revised by the Author. London: Germer-Baillière. 1866.
3. *Voyage en Italie*. Par H. TAINE. Tome I. *Naples et Rome*. Paris et Londres: L. Hachette et C^{ie}. 1866.

To the diffusion of a knowledge of art, we owe the extinction of the professed connoisseur. Over the minds of our forefathers he exercised a dictatorial sway based on personal qualifications, of which the most marked was incompetence, and the most obnoxious was conceit. According to him a picture was valuable in proportion to its age. On the dark canvas he could detect the hand of the master, and the more the colours had faded and the outlines had disappeared, the more enchanted did he profess to be, and the more confident was he in his assertion that every man of taste must admit the picture to be from the hand of a "great master."

It is long since the English public first showed its credulity as to the excellence of a work of art which had any mark of antiquity upon it. Burton, in the introduction to his "Anatomy of Melancholy," likens some readers

to silly passengers who stand gazing "at an antick picture in a painter's shop, that will not look at a judicious peece." The connoisseur of the last and the present century, in condemning what was modern and eulogizing what was old with the sagacity of a Dogberry and the confidence of a Sir Oracle, only did systematically that of which the public was ready to approve.

After a time the trick became too stale. When it was found that to repeat a few phrases, interspersed with *chiaroscuro*, *gusto*, *morbidezza*, "carnations," "middle distance," and other technicalities, was sufficient to constitute a connoisseur, the impostors outnumbered the dupes. So flagrant were the deceptions practised upon those who wished to pass for men of taste, that they became the stock subjects of public satire. In Foote's comedy of "Taste" is an account of the methods which were resorted to in order to palm off on unsuspecting purchasers the vilest daubs and the most hideous statues. This picture, though grossly exaggerated, is yet quite as true at bottom as that given of knaves of a different class in Ben Jonson's "Alchemist." Lord Dupe goes to a picture auction. He asks—

"What pictures are those, Mr. Canto?"

Canto. They are not in the sale; but I fancy I could procure them for your lordship.

Lord Dupe. This, I presume, might have been a landscape? But the water, and the men, and the trees, and the dogs, and the ducks, and the pigs, they are all obliterated—all gone.

Brush. An indisputable mark of its antiquity, its very merit; besides, a little varnish will fetch the figures again.

Lord Dupe. Set it down for me."

So much for painting: let us see how sculpture fared.

"*Canto*. Bring forward the head from Herculaneum. Now, gentlemen, here is a jewel.

All. Ay, ay, let's see.

Canto. 'Tis not entire, tho'.

Novice. So much the better.

Canto. Right, sir; the very mutilations of this piece are worth all the most perfect performances of modern artists. Now, gentlemen, here's a touchstone for your taste.

All. Great! great indeed!

Novice. Great! Amazing! Divine! Oh let me embrace the dear dismembered bust! A little farther off. I'm ravished! I'm transported! What an attitude! But then the locks! How I adore the simplicity of the antients! How unlike the present priggish, prickeared puppets! How gracefully they fall all adown the cheek! So decent and so grave, and—who the devil do you think it is, Brush? Is it a man or a woman?

Canto. The connoisseurs differ. Some will have it to be the Jupiter Tonans of Phidias, and others the Venus of Paphos from Praxiteles; but I don't think it fierce enough for the first, nor handsome enough for the last.

Novice. Yes, handsome enough.

All. Very handsome; handsome enough.

Canto. Not quite; therefore I am inclined to join with Signor Julio de Pampedillo, who, in a treatise dedicated to the King of the Two Sicilies, calls it the Serapis of the Egyptians, and supposes it to have

been fabricated about eleven hundred and three years before the Mosaic account of the Creation.

Novice. Prodigious! and I dare swear true.

All. Oh! true—very true.

Puff. Upon my honour, 'tis a very fine bust; but where is the nose?

Novice. The nose! What care I for the nose?

Where is the nose? Why, sir, if it had a nose, I would not give sixpence for it. How the devil should we distinguish the works of the antients if they were perfect? The nose, indeed!"

The careful criticism of men who have studied their subjects, and who freely state the grounds of their decisions, has happily replaced the narrow-minded objections and the injudicious praise of connoisseurs, whose chief object it was to maintain a character for intuitive knowledge and unerring judgment. It could not be otherwise. This generation has become intolerant of the tranquil satisfaction displayed by the last with truths it called established, and which we regard as conventionalities. Dogmas in literature, theology, or art, are unwelcome to us. To re-think and re-state problems which the timid regard as solved is now the fit employment of the intelligent and courageous. The solutions which seemed complete to the man of the eighteenth century, not only appear imperfect to us, but we cannot possibly deem them adequate. No man can fairly accept a conclusion which he has not thought out for himself. Truths are not inherited like money or land. They must be created afresh by every one, otherwise they are not living forces which direct, but inanimate fetters which impede his progress. The man who repeats as certain that which he has been taught, instead of what his independent judgment has led him to hold, is, in another way, repeating set phrases which do not express his meaning, instead of casting words into forms which reproduce his thoughts. A man or a generation may act like a parrot: happily for us the age in which we live is not satisfied with filling so ignoble a part. We have resolved to look at things from the point of view of the nineteenth century and to state without reticence what appearance they present. Should there ensue a flux and reflux of opinions; should the old landmarks be removed, we shall neither lament nor pause. Without motion there can be no life.

That the supremacy of great names should be disputed, that traditionary opinions should be exploded, new canons of criticism laid down, new models of excellence discovered, are results which ought to be desired by all who think that man is something better than a vegetable, and progress something more than an empty word.

Imbued with the determination to upset all opinions with respect to art which had conventionality for their basis, Mr. Ruskin began his career as a critic. He has proved himself as accomplished and uncompromising an agitator in the world of art as Mr. Bright in the world of politics. Not only did he set the example of free criticism, but he cast discredit on technicalities which served to make of art a mystery intelligible to the initiated alone, and not all ways to them. To abolish is far more easy

than to reconstruct: an iconoclast makes a bad high-priest. So long as he confined himself to exposing the folly of antiquated traditions, Mr. Ruskin was triumphant and esteemed. When he offered himself as a guide, he obtained plenty of followers, who soon had cause to regret their blind trust in a leader who neither knew the route nor his own mind. Indeed, his mental organization is so peculiar, that what others find impossible even to conceive he can perform with the greatest coolness. It is not given to other men to feel certain that black is at the same time white; that to follow alternately opposite paths is always to proceed in the same direction; that to give forth contradictory opinions is to be uniformly consistent.

Between Mr. Ruskin as the acute critic and as the arbiter of taste, there is the same difference as there is between the leveller and the legislator. When he devoted his natural and acquired powers to art-criticism, he rendered a service it is impossible to overrate. When he proceeded to promulgate art-dogmas, he incurred the pity of those who were his truest friends. He has merited in nearly equal measure both our thanks and our censure. Our thanks are due to him not so much for what he has taught us, but for having made us think. We condemn him for arrogantly dictating the precepts we ought to observe and the kind of works we ought alone to admire, and for inculcating that a work must be great if he can find no fault with it. His failings are exemplified by this; that the first duty of his successor will be to preach the doctrine of toleration, and to proclaim that in all questions relating to art he alone acts wisely who brings to their solution his enlightened private judgment.

To provide an explanation of the problems which perplex all who concern themselves with art is the aim of M. Taine. He offers us a method whereby we may decide as to the excellences of any school of painting, sculpture, or architecture. According to him a painting is not necessarily bad because it was produced by a Dutchman, or valuable because it was produced by an Italian. He does not denounce what he cannot admire. Unlike Mr. Ruskin, he does not teach us that a Dutchman who "libelled the sea," or an Italian who misrepresented natural scenery, is a man who deserves to be branded with every opprobrious epithet in this world, and punished still more severely in the next. M. Taine regards pictures as facts it behoves us to explain, instead of toys to be quarrelled over, treasured with care or tossed aside in disgust. He thinks, moreover, that all the arts are mental products subject to similar laws, and to be explained on similar principles. In short, the system he has already applied to works of literature, he now applies to the explanation of works of art. That system we have several times discussed;* yet we must do so again both in order to state our objections to certain parts of it, and also that the exposition of M. Taine's recent works may be rendered intelligible to our readers. But we feel

bound for another reason to recur to a consideration of the system which, if he did not originate, M. Taine has at least put to a practical use. When we first considered it, we did so as something which was new, but not proved by long experience to possess substantial value. It is now established, although not yet generally accepted. With a perseverance which deserves recognition, its founder has never ceased to uphold its advantages, and to illustrate them by his practice. Thus it is forced upon our notice. As briefly as possible we shall state in what it consists, and wherein it is valuable or the reverse. If to do so be accounted as harping too often on the same string, we shall reply that it is better to be chargeable with being wearisome than with disinclination to do justice to what does not flatter our prejudices, or accord with our habits of thought.

Suppose, then, a critic is called upon to determine the merits of a school of painting, a class of books, or a style of architecture, what course does he take? He either compares the picture, the work, or the building, with that by some one who is dignified with the title of master or classic, and pronounces it good or bad in proportion as it resembles or differs from the model; or else he states dogmatically that the picture or book is valuable or the reverse because he likes or dislikes it. We have an example of this in the critiques by Addison and Macaulay on "Paradise Lost." Looking alternately at the dicta of Aristotle and the verses of Milton, Addison found so close a correspondence between the philosopher's requirements and the poet's performance that he was able to proclaim Milton's epic worthy of the highest rank. Macaulay, who doubtless was acquainted with "Paradise Lost" from early boyhood, and who certainly knew it by heart, applied to it no minute criticism of details when expressing his opinion. The imagery, the versification, the diction appeared to him alike splendid. The strains of the poet caused his being to thrill with delight, and as a critic he merely tried to find words wherein to convey to others the impression made on himself. In the one case criticism is apt to degenerate into carping; in the other into unmeasured eulogy. The problem is, how to exclude the critic's personality from his decisions. Is it possible to decide as to the merits of a performance otherwise than by stating that which, when analysed, simply means either this is good "because it comes up to a certain standard," or, this is good "because it pleases me?" In other words, is it possible for criticism to be not a matter of opinion, but of demonstration; an art which, when practised, will render products varying in kind and quality, or a science of which the conclusions must be at once uniform and indisputable?

M. Taine not only believes in the practicability of depriving criticism of personality, but also of imparting to it all the elements of certainty which induce us to assent to the truth of a demonstration of Euclid. The works of an author or the literature of a nation being the subject of M. Taine's criticism, what does he do? Not satisfied with perusing the books

* See the *Westminster Review* for July 1861, 'til 1864, and January 1865.

merely, he inquires first, where was the author born, who were his progenitors, what were the fixed ideas of his race? His next inquiry is as to the circumstances under which he was reared, what was the place he occupied in society, to what influences was he exposed, in what manner did the spirit of the times affect him? Finally, he examines the peculiarities of the epoch during which the author's works were produced, what were its tendencies, how were they manifested?

These inquiries are supposed to have for result the discerning of the motive-spring of the author's mind, the spring which actuates his faculties, causing them to operate with uniform motion, and giving rise to a definite issue. We have shown in what manner the works of Milton were criticised by Addison and Macaulay: let us now show how M. Taine applies his method to "Paradise Lost." His first step is to discover and state the dominant characteristic of Milton, which is "the sentiment of the sublime," and then to prove by examples how this is displayed in his life and his writings. He compares him as a poet with Shakespeare, and notes the difference between them as consisting in Milton being a poet of reason, and Shakespeare of impulse. It is then shown how on these grounds Milton's minor poems and prose works are admirable, while his greatest is an "imperfect but sublime" poem; that it is a mass of reasoning diversified with fine pictures; that its chief personages are reproductions of the men of the time, instead of being creations having the stamp of their primitive origin; that both God and man are transformed into orthodox and common-place persons, and that the poet's genius is only displayed when he depicts huge monsters, gorgeous pieces of scenery, and speaks by the mouth of Satan in the tones of a stern Republican.*

Now, the difference between the methods of procedure of Addison, of Macaulay, and of M. Taine is but one of degree. Having found that the "Paradise Lost" fulfilled the conditions which Aristotle had laid down, Addison felt himself at liberty to give free scope to his personal feelings. He acted like a physician of the last century, who insisted that every man attacked with illness had at one time suffered from a common cutaneous disease. Unless the patient would confess this, he refused to prescribe for him; but the avowal once made, the physician treated the case on its merits. Macaulay rated his own judgment higher than that of any other person, whether ancient or modern. It was sufficient for him that he liked or disliked a poem to praise it in fulsome terms or condemn it with every epithet and phrase of contempt. M. Taine really acts after a similar fashion. The system, according to which he tests and distinguishes that which is meritorious from that which is unworthy of notice, is chiefly a personal one. In the hands of any one possessing the like power of analysis, a taste equally refined, a judgment as sure,* a

knowledge as vast, and a style as fresh and effective, his method might be made to yield diametrically opposite conclusions. Were his system as perfect as he maintains, it would produce the like results in the hands of others than himself. Napoleon laid down certain rules which he thought essential to ensure success on the field of battle. No one knows them better than his nephew, yet who can believe that having these rules graven in his memory, his nephew, if placed in similar circumstances, would gain such victories as Jena and Austerlitz!

Not merely do we dispute M. Taine's success, but we question the possibility of his accomplishing his end. He would dissect our faculties as a surgeon does our bodies. He would point out the governing faculty in the mind, as the surgeon would the muscle which actuates a member. The radical difference between the two is, that the critic has to assume that which the operator can show. If we grant that the ruling tendency of Milton was "the sentiment of the sublime," we cannot ignore the consequences which may be made to flow from this. But in science we will grant nothing. If criticism is to be raised to a science, it must be on the same terms as anatomy has become a science. Every fact met with must be treated by itself, and demonstration must go hand in hand with deduction. When asked to consider the influence of race on a man, we must have it proved that the race in question really displays the exact characteristics of any one writer, painter, or sculptor. It is not enough, in a scientific statement, to speak of a Latin or an Anglo-Saxon race; we must have the race defined with a precision which is almost impossible, seeing that Latin or Anglo-Saxon is but an epithet.

Thus it is that we cannot admit the critical conclusions of M. Taine to be equal to demonstrations. So far as his system professes to be scientific, we disown it. But in denying the truth of what has not been brought home to us, we do not mean to disparage either the method or its results. As a means of stating and illustrating a critical dictum we rank it very high, for its chief object is to group facts in order to show how, on a particular supposition, an author or an artist has exercised his talents. We think this a step in advance of the old method, which resolved itself into expressing not only a personal, but also an unreasoned opinion. The final result we hold to be similar in both cases, and regard the maxims which M. Taine would have us accept as proven to be only his personal opinions embodied in set formula. If we accept or admire these opinions, it is because of the confidence we place in the critic's judgment, and the respect we pay to his talents. To introduce a new method of criticism may not be so great an achievement as to render critical conclusions impregnable as the demonstration of one of Euclid's propositions. We judge men, however, by their successes rather than their failures. This substantial merit is so great, that we think nothing of M. Taine's shortcomings, any more than we should despise the alchemists

* See the *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, vol. 2, p. 228 to p. 424.

because they failed to transmute lead into gold, forgetting altogether that they founded modern chemistry.

In his "Philosophy of Art," he starts with these propositions: first, that every work of art bears the impress of its author, so clearly, that a competent judge will be able to discern the very period of his career at which it was produced; second, that both the work and the artist belong to a group of contemporary works, all having a certain resemblance to each other; and third, that a school of art is encircled by a public having special tastes and peculiarities which distinguish it from the people of any other age. In order, then, to comprehend a work of art, the life of any artist, or of a school, it is necessary to understand what was the general state of society, the manners in vogue, the ideas that were popular at the time when the work was executed, and during which the artist lived. By following this course it is possible to compose a philosophy of the fine arts, not as others have done by dogmatizing, but by an exposition of facts, and designed not to lay down precepts but to indicate laws. Hitherto, but two precepts have been discovered which are beyond dispute, and with which a professor or philosopher has no concern. The first is, "Be born with genius," the second, "Learn your profession and work hard."

"What is art, and wherein consists its nature?" A question like this can be answered only by adducing facts. Now, all the five principal arts, poetry, sculpture, painting, architecture, and music, have this in common, that the object of those who practise them is to produce an imitation. If we object to a statue, we tell the sculptor that no real legs or arms could ever resemble those he has fashioned. To a painter we say that the perspective is bad, his colouring unbearable, because the opposite of what we see in nature. Another proof of this is furnished by what occurs to all artists. When young, they work after models, endeavouring to reproduce the very appearance of things, and even doing this with an overwrought minuteness. A time arrives when they fancy that they can learn no more. Then they begin to draw upon their resources. But having ceased to acquire, they fall into mannerism and unreality, substituting their own devices for natural facts, and ending by making of artistic processes a kind of mechanism. When this becomes true of a school, it is on the brink of dissolution.

Literal imitation is not, however, the chief end of art. Were it so, then the maker of casts or of photographs would deserve a place among the greatest artists. An artist who should devote all his energies to producing pictures or portraits having the characteristics of photographs is unworthy of the name. He may reproduce on canvas every spot and wrinkle of the original, and succeed in finishing a portrait so perfectly that it will almost seem to breathe. The spectator marvels, but is unaffected. His eyes have been mocked by a fiction: his mind has not been impressed with the deep and lasting sensation which follows the contemplation of a work of true art. That

deceptive imitation is not the object of the artist, is proved even more conclusively by sculpture than by painting. A statue can never be made to represent with fidelity a living original. When this is attempted, as in the images of the saints which fill the churches of Naples and Spain, the effect is revolting. Of imitation there must be a little, but a very little, being limited to the relations and mutual dependence of the several parts; in other words, if the limbs are of a certain size, the body must be in proportion; the angles which are observed in the living model must be reproduced in the copy. A master of his craft will venture to disregard copying altogether. Michael Angelo did this when he composed the group on the tomb of the Medicis at Florence. No such figures as these can be found throughout the length and breadth of Italy. He evolved them from his own mind. He exaggerated, if he did not outrage, natural proportions; but he did this of set purpose, as a means of representing the state of his feelings at the moment. In like manner the "Kermess" of Rubens is a picture of an orgie, and the figures and the company represent both the character of the scene and the impression made on the artist by the unbridled manners of the period which followed the cessation of the wars of religion. When an artist takes liberties like these, it is in order that he may the better body forth the essential portion of his subject and the predominant idea he has formed.

Having premised thus much, M. Taine states what he regards as the true definition of art, which is, "A quality from which all the others, or at least many of them, are deduced in linked sequence." In order to explain this by an illustration, take the case of a country, with its physical peculiarities, its scenery, its agriculture, its animals, cities, and people. If we consider the Netherlands, for example, we shall find them to have been formed by alluvial deposits. This is their essential characteristic. To this circumstance are attributable both the aspect of the country, and the morals and manners of its people. The plains are moist and fertile, owing to the largeness and number of the rivers, and the richness of the deposits of vegetable matter. These plains are always green because they are always well watered. There it is that cattle thrive, that milk is plentiful and butcher's meat low in price. It might be said that in this country the water nourishes the grass which serves for pasture to the cattle which yield cheese, butter, and beef, all of which, combined with beer, compose the people. The climate and the mode of life give to the people their peculiar temperament. The natural formation of the soil has an influence on the architecture, for stone being unknown, bricks and tiles are employed in the construction of houses: rain being common, the roofs are made to slope, and as the humidity is very great and constant, the outer woodwork is varnished. Now, the artist must take all these things into account. What nature has made dominant, he must render predominant. In a true work of art, the essential character of the subject is brought into prominence: that which

would conceal it being left on the one side, that which would alter it being modified or suppressed. Here, then, is a final definition of a work of art. We have first supposed that it consisted in "exact imitation;" then distinguishing between literal and intelligent imitation, we have seen that what it must reproduce is the "relations of parts;" finally, we have found that the latter are to be studied for the purpose of "bringing into prominence an essential characteristic." The whole may be thus summed up: "the end of a work of art is to manifest some essential or salient characteristic, consequently an important idea, more clearly and completely than is done by real objects. This is accomplished by employing a group of linked parts, whereof the relations are systematically modified. In the imitative arts, sculpture, painting, and poetry, these wholes correspond to real objects."

Having set forth the nature of a work of art, M. Taine proceeds to state the law of its formation. This is, that a work of art is fixed by a whole, consisting of the general condition of the surrounding mental influences and the prevailing manners. It is with a work of art as with the seeds of a plant, which, falling upon congenial soil, germinate and take root. If the temperature be suitable the plant grows up, bears fruit, and propagates its species; but let the thermometer fall or rise a few degrees, let the sun shine too powerfully, or the rain descend too seldom, and the plant changes its character, and perhaps its nature. So it is with the seeds of a work of art. They may be implanted in a nation, but may not germinate, or may do so in different ways. In the moral as in the physical world there is a temperature which accords with certain works and kills and transforms others. Thus it is that at one time the artistic products of a people are stamped with idealism, at another with realism; at one time are notable for the perfection of their design, at another for the splendour of their colouring. The spirit of the age, the state of public sentiment, and the manners that prevail, give them an impulse and a limit, smother them altogether, or cause them to flourish after a settled fashion.

In order that all this can occur, there must prevail a certain amount of joy or sorrow, of bondage or freedom, wealth or poverty; a form of religion, a condition of life; in short, a "conjunction of circumstances by which men are kept under control. This state develops in them corresponding needs, special aptitudes, particular sentiments; for instance, physical activity or tendency to meditation, rudeness here, softness there, sometimes the talent of oratory, sometimes a longing for enjoyment, a hundred other infinitely varied and complex dispositions: in Greece that bodily perfection and equilibrium of the faculties which a too intellectual or laborious kind of life cannot injure; in the Middle Ages the intemperance, of an overstrained imagination and the delicacy of feminine sensibility; in the seventeenth century a knowledge of the world and the dignity of aristocratic saloons; in modern times the greatness of unbridled rivalries and the malady

of unsatiated desires.* Amid this group of sentiments stands conspicuous the typical personage of the time. In Greece this was the nude figure of the youth sprung from a fine race and expert in every physical exercise; in the Middle Ages it was the ascetic monk or the knight-errant; in the seventeenth century it was the courtier; in our day it is Faust or Werther. The several conditions and their results form four terms of a series. First, there is a condition which gives rise to distinct tendencies and faculties; second, a typical personage constituted by the predominance of these faculties or tendencies; third, either sounds, forms, colours, or words, by means of which this personage is brought into view; or, fourth, which accord with the tendencies and faculties of which he is composed.

Taken as a whole, the foregoing system meets with our approval. It contrasts most favourably with those of preceding writers on the same subject, and notably with that which was enunciated with great pomp by M. Cousin, and which had such a striking though temporary success. Were it for no other reason than that all systems of æsthetics have been provisional because dogmatic and therefore incomplete, this one, wherein facts obtain precedence over dogmas, would command our attention and deserve our approval. But we are pleased with it for the more important reason that it reconciles many contending opinions, and prepares the way, not for solving vexed problems, but for proving that they are alike insoluble and unimportant. Philosophers have wearied themselves in propounding answers to the question, "What is beauty?" They have told us in turn that it is an "idea," an "essence," a "force;" that it is produced by "unity in variety," or has its origin in association. The supporters of the notion that beauty is inherent in objects, when met with the question: Why, then, if the Venus de Medicis be taken as the type of the beautiful, should any one be charmed with the Hottentot Venus? To this the answer is, that whoever does not admit the superiority of the former over the latter ought to do so. Then the upholders of the theory of association step in and tell us that no one can admire anything unless the sight of it suggests pleasurable reminiscences, or unless he has been habituated to the spectacle. M. Taine gives up the attempt of proving either the existence or non-existence of that which is alike intangible and incomprehensible. He would not set the gross and very robust women of Rubens in contrast with the graceful and delicate damsels of Raphael, and denounce the former as ugly and go into raptures over the latter. He does not think it a moral duty to characterize as necessarily odious whatever shocks him. On the contrary, he permits others to indulge their tastes, confining himself to noting and examining them, inquiring whence they are derived, stating why they are displayed. If the work of a painter faithfully convey an aspect of natural appearances without being a mechanical copy destitute of imagination, M. Taine would be satisfied. If the work were, in addition to

its representative quality, one marked by excellence in execution, he would call it superior to another work from which the latter characteristic was absent. What he would do before the work of the artist, he would do in the presence of nature. As a natural production, he would find nothing to condemn in the Hottentot Venus, although he might personally prefer the Venus de Medicis. In short, he would confine himself to register facts and deduce inferences from them. His philosophical theories merit our praise whenever they are based on investigation rather than on assumption. They are on a par with preceding theories when treating opinions as facts.

The following is among the weakest points in his system. He maintains that in every age there is a reigning personage in whom is embodied, as it were, the spirit of the time; that in Greece this was the nude and physically perfect youth; in the Middle Ages the ecstatic monk and the amorous knight; in the seventeenth century the accomplished courtier; in our day, the unsatisfied and melancholy Faust or Werther. He maintains, moreover, that this personage gives a special tone to the art of the age.

That in Greece the athlete was held in honour and supplied a fine subject for the sculptor, is unquestionable. But statuary was not the only art which was carried to unexampled perfection in Greece. Poetry, oratory, and architecture there held as high a rank, and have been as much extolled by posterity as the statues which were modelled in order to deify the human frame. Concerning the Middle Ages, we should hesitate as much to conclude that their spirit was truly indicated by the ascetic monk and amorous knight as that they ought to be stigmatized as dark. We do not gather from Chaucer that in England the monks as a class were notable for the austerity of their lives. We are inclined to think that in those times life was very much the same as now, but with this difference, that there then prevailed grosser superstitions than are current in these days even among the ignorant. That the accomplished courtier may be taken as the typical personage of the seventeenth century in France, we shall not deny; but we should dispute the application of the same rule to England, as much as we question the assertion that at the present time the reigning hero is Faust or Werther.

In order to defend the side we have taken, it is necessary to settle another question which really lies at the root of the difference. This is, are there no exceptions to the rule that men are moulded by circumstances and reflect the ideas in vogue? Is the individual wholly destitute of personal influence on his times? If he be dependent on impressions received from without for the force and form imparted to the ideas he gives forth, then we must admit the necessity for some governing power to impress on him a special tendency. But if he be self-contained, and capable of using in a fashion peculiar to himself the ideas current among his fellows, then we must recognise in him a leader among men, a prince of his age.

Such a man we hail as a genius. Placed in

even worse conditions than other men, he triumphs over difficulties and rises to the top, displacing those who had been accepted as chiefs, and making his authority felt not over his own age only, but through all time. M. Taine affirms that "men can comprehend those sentiments only which chime with their own. Other sentiments, no matter how well expressed, are powerless to move them; the eyes see, but the heart being dead, the eyes are instantly averted." (p. 94). In opposition to this, we cite the dictum of Coleridge, which Wordsworth quoted with approval, "Every great and original writer, in proportion as he is great or original, must himself create the taste by which he is to be relished; he must teach the art by which he is to be seen." There can be few better illustrations of this than the case of Wordsworth. His earliest poems were received with indifference by the public, and excited the derision of the critics. Appearing in the double capacity of poet and teacher, he was certain to make enemies; for the hatred of schoolboys to instruction is as nothing when compared with the detestation which educated men display towards those who are bold enough to set up as their instructors. Opposed though he was to the prevailing temper of the age, Wordsworth gradually obtained a hearing. A few were thrilled by his verses. They made known what they had experienced, and induced others to read with care what they had been wont to mock through ignorance. In the end the genius of the poet made its influence felt. His works became classics.

The case of Rousseau tells as strongly in our favour. If ever there was a man whose individuality was rendered conspicuous, and who owed what impression he made to the force of his personal qualities, assuredly that writer was Rousseau. He was a true moulder of opinion. That he should have accomplished so much cannot, we think, be adequately explained by the hypothesis that he represented in any particular the dominant spirit of the time. His paradoxes were first received with a smile, and afterwards accepted as truths. Much of the effect he produced is attributable to the boldness of his assumptions and the finish of his style. He wrote in such a manner that men were almost compelled to hearken. His writings produced such an effect that the current of popular feeling was turned into a new channel, and he who had begun by being scorned as a fool ended by being venerated as an apostle.

We might multiply examples, adding to those already cited the cases of Dante, of Cervantes, of Shakespeare, of Reynolds, and of Turner; but we prefer to strengthen our argument by making an important distinction. There is a class of men who are thoroughly imbued with the sentiments of their age, and on whom the prevailing opinion works with an irresistible force. They are the men of talent. It is their chief merit to act as living mirrors. They cannot master ideas, but patiently resign themselves to be mastered by them. In one respect they are more powerful than the originator of new ideas, for they form the vast majority. Multiplied by numbers their influence is great. Feeling certain that unless they make themselves heard they will

neither gain a position nor retain it, they are always ready to exaggerate. To them ridicule is more welcome than indifference, for if they do not attract attention, they have a foretaste of the oblivion which they always fear will be their fate. Such men composed the crowd of minor dramatists that surrounded Shakespeare. Their plays were sometimes excellent, but they were unequal. They can still be relished by the student, because of the occasional beauties contained in them. But to the master mind is rightly reserved the honour of being read and enjoyed by all. What Shakespeare gained from his own age was trifling compared with what he bestowed upon every succeeding one. The spirit of the time may have operated to produce a "Dr. Faustus," but something else was necessary in order to create a play so fantastic as "A Midsummer Night's Dream," a man so human yet so unreal, so true to nature yet without a prototype, as "Hamlet."

What that something is we know as a manifestation, not in its essence. We call it genius, and regard it as a phenomenon of which the law has not yet been discovered. Looking upon it as the result of physical organization, we are anxious to learn the conditions requisite for its development and display. He who is born with genius can evolve from the ideas acquired by and imparted to all in early life, products both new and original. To take a physical illustration: the man of genius resembles an improved boiler which, with one-half the usual quantity of fuel not only produces twice as much steam as any other, but also produces steam which acts as a motive-power, even after the fire is extinguished. The influence of a man of talent is at best but temporary, and generally dies with him. The influence of a man of genius is everywhere acknowledged, and is perpetual in duration. What had the spirit of the age to do with causing Schiller, when a schoolboy and sequestered from the world, to compose the "Robbers," and thereby make his own reputation and a revolution in German literature? Or how could it have caused Goethe, at an age when other youths think only of play, to invent a religion, and Pascal to discover the methods of geometry? Until sufficient reasons be given for these and cognate phenomena, we shall maintain that the generalizations of M. Taine are more sweeping than the facts warrant.

Every one whose mind is garnered with ancient and modern learning, and who delights in verifying by personal observation the fascinating stories he has read, must regard Italy as a fairy land, and must long to visit it. It was natural, then, that M. Taine should have been prompted to proceed thither; he went, however, not as one who travels merely for pleasure, but as an inquirer, who, while seeking to gratify his curiosity, desires when he gains fresh knowledge, to get rid of old errors. He has now given to the public a faithful transcript of the impressions made on his mind during a sojourn in Naples and Rome. Even were its intrinsic worth far less than it is, we should still welcome this volume on account of the spirit which animated its author. He is as fresh as he is earn-

est. Moreover, he differs from the rack of travellers over beaten tracks and who compile "Scampers," or "Wanderings," or "Jottings by the Way," as much as the framers of quack advertisements differ from the authors of honest reviews. In order to pen such advertisements it is only necessary to be thoroughly unscrupulous, to have an imperfect acquaintance with any language, and a large stock of sonorous and meaningless words. In order to compile an ordinary book of travel, the indispensable requisites are to be destitute of critical acumen, to be puffed up with vanity, to be skilled in quoting appositely with the aid of a dictionary of classical quotations, and to have a great capacity for recording imaginary grievances. Ordinary books of travel are placed on a par by competent critics with a sheet of quack advertisements. They are worth more in a pecuniary sense, because the paper weighs heavier.

Indeed, to travel so as to learn anything worth repeating implies the possession of qualifications with which very few are gifted at birth, or have the capacity for acquiring. The faculty of observation must be keen, the sensitiveness to impressions must be great; the mind must be unhampered with prejudices, and the judgment must be sober and comprehensive. Equally necessary is it to have a thorough knowledge of history and of literature, so as to be able to distinguish fable from fact, and to be proof against imposture. It would be too strong an assertion to say that all guides tell falsehoods; but it would be an equally rash act to take any of their statements upon trust. How many travellers are there who have the discernment requisite in such a case! How many go through museums noting down particulars as absurd as the fictitious details which Beckford wrote concerning remarkable painters, and which the housekeeper whom they were intended to deceive afterwards retailed with the gravity of one who looked for a fee! The late Lord Macaulay once went on a journey through France for the purpose of visiting the chief spots of historical interest. He found it impossible to gain any assistance from the guides, and even forced them to confess that they could be of no use to him. No sooner did they begin their stories than he caught them tripping in dates and facts; and when he poured forth question after question with his usual fluency, they first stared at him in amazement and then left him in dismay.

At the outset, M. Taine announces the kind of account he means to give, and the manner in which he has prepared himself for his undertaking. What he professes to furnish is his journal, with many pages omitted. He takes no note of those commonplace incidents which are thought so important by ordinary travellers, the quality of their dinners, the comfort of their beds. He avows his preference for natural scenery over artistic works, and for the natural over the artificial in art. In his opinion, "provided an artist entertains a profound and impassioned sentiment, and thinks only about expressing it completely, exactly as it is, without hesitation, stumbling, or reserve, it is good; when the artist is sincere and sufficiently master of his means to translate literally and entirely his impression,

his work is beautiful, whether it be ancient or modern, Gothic or classic." He avows his main object is to strive and enter into the spirit of the times wherein were produced the works he criticises, to regard things from the point of view of the artist, and thus estimate them with justice.

Although the works of art in Italy received the largest share of M. Taine's notice, yet the condition of its inhabitants and their political prospects were not overlooked by him. His first thought on landing was directed to the appearance presented by the people, and his conclusion was that they were evidently sprung from another race than his fellow-countrymen. The streets of Civita Vecchia were filthy, and its population was poverty stricken; still these drawbacks did not prevent the element of race manifesting itself with effect. Many noble figures were to be seen in the streets: some were even beautiful, nearly all gesticulated like actors, and displayed wonderful ease in assuming grotesque attitudes. Compared with the French who had landed, they seemed to have sprung from a finer and less vigorous race. But they are indolent; to walk about and enjoy themselves constitutes their happiness. Nature has done so much for them that they are almost spared the necessity of doing anything for themselves. It is the same at Rome. The streets are encumbered with squalid figures basking in the sun, and the windows are filled with gaily-dressed women gazing at the passers-by. All are remarkably quiet, and those who play do so as if amusement were a trouble. Seeing Saint Peter's for the first time, M. Taine was disappointed. He disliked its composite style of architecture, which he considered unfitted for a church. In his opinion those who built Saint Peter's were nothing but pagans afraid of damnation. "That which is sublime in religion, tender outpouring before a merciful Saviour, the terror of conscience before a just Judge, the Hebrew's lyrical and manly enthusiasm before the face of an avenging God, the expansion of the free Grecian nature before natural and smiling beauty, in all these sentiments they were deficient. They fasted on Friday and painted a saint in order to secure his good offices. Michael Angelo, as a recompense, received from the Pope I know not how many indulgences, on condition of making the round of the seven basilicas of Rome on horseback. They had strong passions, unbroken energy, they have attained grandeur because they issued from a great epoch, but true religious feeling they had not. They renovated old paganism, but a second growth is never worth the first. Grovelling superstition, narrow devotion, quickly came to deform and wither the strong primitive inspiration." "In fine, Saint Peter's is but a hall for display—the largest and finest in the world, whereby a great institution flaunts its power. It is not the church of a religion, but the church of a cult."

The like impression was made by the churches of Naples. Santa-Maria della Pietra, for example, is pronounced to be a "gaudy sweet-meat-box;" it contains a veiled statue of Modesty; but so thin is the veil, so clinging, so

puffed out by the breast and the naked parts of the body, that the statue is more than naked. Here paganism is merely varnished with Christianity. The covering is ascetic, but the body is sensual. In place of grandeur is found affectation. These churches are the repositories of fine ornaments, affording the same delight as the contents of a jeweller's shop.

However, if the interior of the churches disappointed M. Taine, the external scenery afforded him unspeakable gratification. To the beauties of external nature he is most sensitive, and the contrast between the balmy and clear air, the blue and calm sea of the Mediterranean, and the dull atmosphere and stormy surface of the Atlantic seen from the coast of his native land, at this season, impressed him as much by its strangeness as it charmed him by its beauty. Here he could imagine with distinctness the notions of life which were entertained by the ancients. He could feel with vividness how precious it was to pass the time in an unconcerned attitude, and calmly to meet death as an end rather than a change. For the ancients, to die was to pass from day to twilight. But like other Southern cities, Naples had a drawback which he could not ignore, and could with difficulty endure. Like all visitors, he felt himself disposed to hold his nose when beholding the most attractive sights. It is said that the natives of the South have finer senses than the natives of the North, but he would limit that claim to their senses of seeing and hearing. We entirely agree with him.

As it is impossible to follow M. Taine step by step, we must pass over his criticism on much that he saw, and give a summary of the more important things he heard. At the present moment most people are more anxious to be informed of the ideas which influence Italians than to have their attention directed to Italian antiquities. Hence the experience of every competent inquirer deserves our earnest attention. Although less strongly disposed to take a side in politics than to pronounce an opinion on a work of art or literature, yet M. Taine's sympathies are evidently liberal, and his political opinions are those of the noble Party of Progress. According to him the Neapolitans are now in a condition similar to that of the French Republicans of 1790. They are given to express strong hopes in inflated language. They are ready to welcome still greater changes than have yet been even proposed. A foreign war would not be displeasing to them, inasmuch as they hold that it would consolidate their position, and cause minor differences to be buried and forgotten.

From a middleman who purchased the cotton of the peasants in order to re-sell it to English merchants, he learned that since the expulsion of the Bourbons the peasantry in the environs of Naples have become industrious as well as free. Commerce used to be virtually prohibited by being hampered with conditions it was hardly possible to fulfil. The people were allowed to eat, drink, and amuse themselves discreetly, but they were hindered from acquiring knowledge by reading, and experience by travelling. They were constantly afraid of be-

ing denounced as disloyal, and thrown into prison, there to linger without hope of escape. Now that the peasantry feel certain of gaining something by their toil, and can follow their own course without dread of painful consequences, they work with unexampled assiduity. Still ignorant and superstitious, they are not over hostile to the briganda. Besides, were they to incur the wrath of these robbers, on them would fall a punishment equivalent to their ruin. By the middle class the priests are now regarded as the authors of every evil. Indeed, there are Jacobites in Italy, as there were in France after the first Revolution. In the former country it is as necessary for some external force to keep in check the elements of dissatisfaction and disorder, as in the latter a foreign invasion proved requisite to rally the majority around the standard of freedom. Dread of attack from abroad entertained for several years to come will be the making of Southern Italy.

The greatest difficulty which the Government has to face is the large number of sinecurists who have been dispossessed of their incomes. In 1791 the same hardships were undergone by the members of the king's, the queen's, and the dauphin's household in France. The Revolution deprived them at once of their posts and their pay. The Neapolitans who have been thrown upon the world are naturally discontented, and are heart and soul adverse to the new order of things. With equal reason, the priests are the enemies of the present Government. They have lost alike their influence and their position. What power they retain is over the women, through whom they labour to undo what has been accomplished, and through whose agency they succeed in causing much serious annoyance. The most favourable symptom is the capacity of the people for learning, and the desire they manifest to be instructed. The knowledge in demand is not of a superficial kind; the philosophy of Hegel is taught in the university, and one professor labours to prove that Gioberti is an Italian Hegel. In short, no people could be better fitted for taking a high place among the cultivated nations of the world. The present form of government may be distasteful to them, but it deserves our approbation, for its delight is to open schools instead of following the example of the government that preceded it and imprisoning all who are enlightened.

Returning to Rome for the purpose of studying its contents, M. Taine likens it to the studio of an artist who once was famous, and who is now tormented with creditors, who have seized his property in order to reimburse themselves. Many things of value have been taken away, but many of great beauty are left behind. What remains is exhibited to strangers in order to gain a living. Rome is a place to visit, but not one in which to remain. Passing over what is said about the antique works of art, we shall note the criticisms made upon the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo.

On entering the Vatican, the first picture which attracts the visitor is the "Battle of Constantine," which Raphael designed, and Ju-

lio Romano painted; then he passes along a glazed passage, where are to be seen vague traces of Raphael's arabesques; then bending back is perceived his famous "Loggia." After that are traversed the four celebrated chambers which the artist decorated. Having seen all these things, nineteen out of every twenty visitors feel disappointed, and exclaim, "Is that all?" These frescoes are like the imperfect texts of the works of Sophocles or Homer: present a thirteenth century manuscript to an ordinary reader in the hope that he will be able to decipher it, and you will find that if he speak his mind he will ask in preference for one of Dickens' novels or Heine's songs. M. Taine confesses that, after the first inspection, he had learned he did not understand the works of Raphael, that he would require to study them repeatedly before he could give an opinion regarding their merits, and that what struck him unfavourably was that the figures "posed." A second inspection of the frescoes, especially of the "Burning of Borgo," confirmed him in his opinion as to the artificial character of the work. The fire does not seem terrible. The personages do not seem excited. Conspicuous among the figures is a young man hanging by two arms, and practising gymnastics. A father on tip-toe receives his child handed down by its mother from the top of a wall; neither appear more affected than if a basket of vegetables were passing from hand to hand. Indeed, the whole affair gives the impression of having been produced as an architectural finish. And why should not these frescoes be so regarded? Were not they so intended by Raphael? If so, it is needful to forget our modern ideas, and become permeated with those of the artist in order to judge his productions.

A modern picture is complete in itself, tells its own story, may be hung in any room. Thus it is a very different thing from a painting made for the express purpose of ornamenting a room and completing the architect's design. The painting of former times was not only executed with these objects in view, but it was also regarded with eyes very different from ours. Our heads are filled with ideas, and vacant of images: we call upon an artist to convey to us sentiments through the medium of forms and colours. Three centuries ago it was otherwise. The spectator did not look for tokens of the inner life; he was satisfied if there were placed before him a nude human form, a beautiful animal. To render the nude was the real aim of Italian painting; "the rest is but preparation, development, variety, alteration, or decline." What we read in Vasari confirms the opinion that all of these painters strove to manifest some aspect or characteristic of the human frame, either covered or naked. Raphael first passed several years in the studio of Perugino, a maker of saints, studying the setting of an arm, the fold of a robe, the form of a peaceful and resigned figure, and then went to Florence, where he beheld in the life of action and passion which there prevailed, human bodies in free and natural attitudes. The result of his training was that he thought in forms as we think in phrases.

His life was a happy one. He was exempted from the struggles which usually embitter an artist's career. From the first, his merit was recognised and his position secure. Genial in temperament and universally beloved, he had no shadow in his life. Unlike the majority of painters, his conceptions were put into shape without the smallest difficulty, and to produce was as easy and natural for him as for a tree to put forth blossoms and yield fruit. "He was no struggler, like Michael Angelo, no voluptuary, like his fellows; but a charming dreamer, who came forth at the right moment for designing human forms." In his sketch of the "Marriage of Alexander and Roxana," and his "Judgment of Paris," are figures of goddesses so perfect in outline, in attitude, and in the tranquillity of their bearing, that we can well believe them to be immortals. When gazing upon them, "it seems as if eighteen centuries had been blotted out from history, that the Middle Ages were but a hideous dream, and that after the lapse of several years of meagre or sad tales, mankind had awakened with a start in the age of Sophocles or Phidias."

Returning to the Vatican, and looking at the frescoes which formerly gave him so little pleasure, M. Taine was deeply impressed with them. He says that, having attained the right point of view, what before appeared cold or artificial, now afforded him extreme delight. He perceived that to body forth the human form was the artist's chief object, and that to effect this perfectly, he made other things subordinate to it.

The calm and softness of Raphael's pictures is especially notable: he paints his personages as if he loved them. This is very perceptible in his "School of Athens." "The groups on that staircase neither have existed nor could they exist, and it is precisely on that account they are so beautiful. The scene is laid in a higher world, which mortal eyes have never beheld, and was projected as a whole from the artist's mind." When standing before such a work, we seem to be contemplating that to which the artist has said what Faust desired to say to the moment in which he should enjoy the fruition of his dreams, "Stand still for ever; this is perfection." Among artists there is none who so closely resembles Raphael as Spenser. After the first perusal many persons consider Spenser quaint or dull; there is a want of reality; then we soar with him into the light, and his personages, who could not exist, are divine."

Michael Angelo differs from Raphael in this important particular: that his works can be understood, relished, without special study. They appeal directly to a modern mind. The explanation is, that Michael Angelo's productions have the impress of a soul struggling towards the realization of something unattainable; that struggles of this sort always produce a result which touches the human heart; for a soul in travail is invariably an object of universal sympathy. His education and his mental tastes led him to delight in the majestic and the impressive. The Old and New Testament and the sermons of Savonarola were his favourite reading. What he produced

never came up to what he had planned. He was continually striving and never satisfied. "During sixty years, his works served but to display the heroic combat which, even to the last, went on in his heart."

The "Last Judgment" impressed M. Taine less than the other Biblical subjects of Michael Angelo. He perceived in it the mannerism of the artist, who, when he undertook it, was upwards of sixty years old, and who, like other artists at the same age, either exaggerates or copies what has been done before. Michael Angelo exaggerates; diminishes the trunks, and swells out the muscles; makes all his personages vigorous athletes intent on displaying their powers. Nevertheless, the work is unique, resembling a loud blast of triumph blown by an old warrior. Particular figures and groups are among the greatest of his productions. "The powerful Eve, maternally pressing against her side one of her terrified daughters; the old and formidable Adam, an antediluvian colossus, progenitor of the human species; the bestial and carnivorous heads of demons; the damned one who presses his arm against his face, that he might not see the abyss which is engulfing him; the man in the coils of a serpent, who stands motionless, laughing bitterly and transfixed with horror, like to a statue of stone; above all, the thundering Christ, like the Jupiter in Homer, who in the plains overturns the Trojans and their chariots; at his side, almost hidden beneath his arms, shrinking, frightened, having the gesture of a young girl, the Virgin, so fine and noble; all these conceptions are equal to those on the ceiling. They give life to the whole; we cease to feel the abuse of art, the seeking after effect, the domination of mannerism; we only perceive the discipline of Dante, the friend of Savonarola, the hermit imbued with the threatenings of the Old Testament, the patriot, the hero, the lover of justice, who in his heart mourned for his city, who attended the funeral of Italian liberty, who, amid base characters and degenerate souls, alone surviving and becoming sadder every day, spent nine years upon this huge work, his mind overflowing with the thought of the Supreme Judge, hearing beforehand the thunders of the last day."

The examples we have given convey but a faint notion of the fulness and depth of M. Taine's artistic criticism. We have been obliged to omit all reference to the most interesting portions of his critiques, that is, to the illustrations drawn from the history of contemporary manners of the "moral atmosphere" with which Raphael and Michael Angelo were surrounded. We have also been compelled to pass over unnoticed his criticisms on other artists, as well as his opinions respecting the architecture and antiquities of Rome. What we have said will suffice, however, to convince every thoughtful reader of the independence and originality with which in this volume old problems are restated and solved afresh, and we trust will have the effect of inducing our readers to obtain the volume for themselves, and ponder it with the care and attention it deserves. Before closing it we shall extract the

leading opinions herein expressed regarding the condition of the Pope's subjects and the Pope's government. This will form both a pendant and a contrast to what was said about the political condition of Naples, and will interest many who are unhappily indifferent to art, or who are satisfied to accept on all questions relating to it the second-hand sayings in guide books, or the flippant critiques in newspapers.

M. Taine is candid enough to declare his incompetence for giving an exhaustive account, from personal knowledge, of Roman society; he assures us, however, that his conclusions have been arrived at after having had fifty or sixty discussions with different classes of the people. We are the more disposed to accept the correctness of his statements, because they are advanced with a modesty which is the surest token of good faith. The first thing which struck him was the small number of native artists in the metropolis of art. The painters are copyists by choice, the sculptors expend their energies in polishing their statues; for they know that rich foreigners appreciate that which shines. It is not wholly the fault of the artists that they are so wanting in originality. They are unable to learn, as they are forbidden to travel, or, if permission be given to them, it is with the hint not to return. A man who has the reputation of being a student is watched by the police, who easily find a pretext for entering his house in order to discover a reason for ordering him to enter at, and not to stir out after sunset. There are plenty of professors at the University, but they are so badly paid, that in order to keep body and soul together they are obliged to embrace a profession. It is noteworthy that the sciences of the Middle Ages are held in honour, while modern science is ignored. The necessary means for teaching the most important part of medicine are considered improper; midwifery being taught through the medium of drawings.

Among the so-called educated class there is plenty of natural talent, but also plenty of selfishness. Very few would risk a coin for Italy; fewer still would jeopardize their lives. They will talk loudly, and allow others to do the work. Self-sacrifice they regard as folly. They smile when they see a Frenchman become excited at the prospect of glory, or for the honour of his country. They are patient, subtle, and insinuating; always aiming at taking an advantage without committing themselves. The state of society is an explanation of their conduct. Favouritism is not avowed only, but is the rule. Those who employ a pretty and accommodating lady to prefer their requests are sure never to be denied. To appear well dressed is a passion which must be gratified at all hazards. A husband does not heed what his wife does so long as she can bring money to the common purse; or if he do open his eyes, it is in order to reap a pecuniary profit. Here, as elsewhere, ignorance is found along with indolence. A girl who can write a note is considered learned. No reproach can be levelled against the morality of unmarried girls, their honour being as precious to them as

their lives. Their desire is to get married; their greatest triumph, to hook a husband; after marriage they are ready enough to forget the virtues they once practised. It is doubtful if the Romans really desire to become Italians. Some are of opinion that at the end of a month after the incorporation of Rome with Italy they would detest the Piedmontese, and regret the Ecclesiastical Government, which now permits them to do what they please provided they never meddle with politics. They are semi-savages, who would not readily submit to the restraints of laws impartially administered.

Between the commonality and the nobility there is not much to choose. As a body the Roman nobles are stupid: Prince Lello, in M. Edmond About's "Tolla" is a fair sample of his class. Many of them have travelled, and have had opportunities for becoming enlightened, but have not profited by them. When they entertain, their guests belong to their immediate circle, and are as much a part of the mansion as the chairs and tables. It is almost impossible for a stranger to acquire their confidence. Their education disposes them to regard even their very neighbours with suspicion. What they really mean they rarely say. The only thing they do with heartiness is to make love. This is not forbidden by the Pope; he only interferes when the consequences become disquieting. Should they possess estates, they must entrust them to agents. The proprietors of those estates are not to be envied. If a farmer fails to pay his rent on the appointed day he asks for three months' grace; then he repeats his request, till at length his landlord's patience is exhausted. It is decided that he must be evicted, but his nephew is a canon, and the governor of the district is induced to pray that the landlord will have pity on his tenant. A year passes, and the sheriff's officer is despatched: he stops short on being told that a cardinal is the delinquent's friend. The consequence is that justice is delayed, that the tenant is afforded renewed opportunities for showing himself to be an honest man, that he takes advantage of those opportunities to harass his landlord so grievously that the latter is forced in the end not only to forego his claim but also to bribe his tenant to give up possession and proceed elsewhere in order to recommence the same game.

At present, politics are the chief topic of conversation in Rome. It is often said that the presence of the French troops has made the Government more tyrannical, and many expect that its fall cannot be long delayed after the withdrawal of the foreign garrison. M. Taine does not think the oppression so cruel as is supposed, and believes that it cannot be compared to that of the Bourbons in Naples, where men were tortured as well as imprisoned. There is nothing surprising in liberal opinions being held in aversion here; an ecclesiastical government must disapprove of that which is contrary to its spirit. One priest may be independent in heart and deed, but several acting together must behave like despots. The Pope is obliged to follow in the course chalked out for him, to uphold the traditions of his

office, and denounce as revolutionary whatever is new. He is at once the assertor and the guardian of the truth: his word is law, but in order to be so regarded it must coincide with the doctrine of the Church. As Church doctrines are all classified and defined, as, indeed, every question, according to the Romish Church, has long since been settled, it is unnecessary to attempt the discovery of new truths, for it is impossible to discover any.

Among the young and well-informed Romans it is thought possible to retain the Papal system while getting rid of its drawbacks, and to reconcile Church dogmas with modern progress. These aspirations are very poetical, but also thoroughly impracticable. They exhibit what is desired rather than what can be accomplished. Regarding Roman Catholicism as a fact, M. Taine tries to estimate the nature of the forces which sustain, and of those which counteract it.

The first is the preponderance of rights. A savage, an infant, an uncultured mind, requires a sign in place of the thing signified: this is either a fetish as in Africa, or the image of a saint, as in the Middle Ages. The same want is still felt by a Sabine shepherd or a peasant of Brittany. To them a finger of St. Yves, a garment of St. Francis, or a statue of the Virgin, is God. In their estimation a vow performed, a fast kept, beads rightly counted, a medal kissed with fervour, constitute true piety. As knowledge extends, these mechanical observances are abandoned. This has occurred among the educated classes in France since the seventeenth century.

The second force is the possession of a complete and fixed system of metaphysics. On this account Roman Catholicism is always in direct antagonism to experimental science. Every day, however, the contest between the two is becoming more and more favourable to the latter. The discoveries of science are being accepted as facts it is impossible to dispute, and are taking rank among the commonplaces of mankind. In time they must be accepted by the whole body of the Roman Catholics as they now are by a few among them, and the metaphysics of the Church will then fall into as great disrepute as image worship. Both of these are dead forces, operating merely from their acquired velocity. The following are living, that is, are always supplied with fresh impulses.

In the first place may be ranked a "Monarchical Church," skilfully organized, standing alone, and aiding governments to maintain order and obedience. Such a Church serves to bridle the socialistic passions which threaten modern society. The more a people, like the French or the Austrians, submits to a yoke, the more attached is it to the Roman Catholic Church. So long as a people like the French consents to place the supreme power in the hands of an individual, and forego personal freedom, so long is it likely to have the Pope for its spiritual head.

Mysticism is the second of the vital forces. In our day men have grown very accessible to

external impressions, and inclined to seek a refuge in the poetry of religion from the mental doubts which trouble them. To such persons there is something soothing in the worship of the Virgin. In women the tendency is even more marked, for they are exposed to the same difficulties as men without being affected by the same counteracting influences. Wearied with the monotony of existence, and longing for a brighter prospect, they find consolation and composure in the practices of the Church and belief in all its tenets. The mystical passion for a saint gives them more unalloyed pleasure than love for an earthly sinner.

Roman Catholicism, then, may undergo the following transformation. Its rites may be modified for all but the ignorant, its system of metaphysics fall to the ground except in schools, the ranks of its hierarchy be closed up, and its sentimental doctrines be expanded. It will then appeal chiefly to governments and to women, be at once a political power, and a refuge for stricken souls. Nothing but the ascendancy of a new religion will overturn it; a people never quits one form of religion but to embrace another. In the course of a century or two it may be menaced with a new form of Protestantism, that of Schleiermacher and Bunsen, brought into harmony with the demands of civilization and science, and fitted to be embraced by that higher class which, under the influence of Voltaire and Rousseau, adopted deism. Should Roman Catholicism emerge unchanged out of such a struggle, it may be considered immortal, and the prophecy of Mauculay will be realized.

The great charm of this work is its comprehensiveness. Of this no extracts or any sketch can convey an adequate notion. Many questions of great interest are discussed in it, to which we have made no reference. Indeed, a volume of this kind cannot be judged from a single chapter, any more than the character of a city can be learnt from traversing a single street. Unless we greatly err, all who travel through Italy out of curiosity, or sojourn there from choice, will find it needful to consult the work of M. Taine. When completed, it will long continue to be the standard work on the subject. Among the dignitaries of the Romish Church it will never be popular, yet they will find it very useful. The hatred which they have vented on M. Edmond About and M. Renan will, for a time, be diverted into a new channel. At Rome, M. Taine is certain to be regarded and denounced as the representative in human form of the roaring lion, that delights in devouring the Pope's faithful subjects.

In his own country he is already loathed and feared by those whose understandings have been distorted by bigotry. The clerical authorities of the Sorbonne have decided that no candidate for a degree shall be permitted to publish a thesis upholding the doctrines which he originated and advocates. This is a high testimony in his favour. It must always be gratifying to a thinker to be dreaded by the cor-religionists of the persecutor of Galileo. Next

to the honour of being universally applauded is that of being denounced by those whose approval is dishonouring.

In addition to being an acute critic, M. Taine is a true artist. He does not, it is true, handle either pencil or chisel; but the giving colour to canvas or life to marble, is but one medium for artistic display. To compose a book is a fine art. Unfortunately, most writers fancy that they have done enough in recording their opinions with accuracy, and in language which correctly expresses their thoughts. That the materials should be grouped together in the best order, and toned down so as to produce the maximum of effect, is usually so little heeded as to be left unattempted. Indeed, the rule is to write what comes first, and leave the rest to the printer. Frenchmen are more sensitive on these points than Germans and Englishmen. They have a taste for symmetry and a knowledge of proportion. They hold that writing ought to give pleasure as well as teach, that for different classes of subjects there is an appropriate drapery, for every kind of discussion an appropriate form. In carrying these maxims into practice, M. Taine has shown himself a master. He deals with his paragraphs as a painter harmonizes his colours. His diction is always in keeping with the subject, and is finished almost to excess. When regarding the epithets and images he employs, we are as much struck with the affluence of his mind as with their appositeness.

Although less ambitious a performance, yet we should rank this work as highly as his "History of English Literature." Written rather to express opinions than illustrate a system, it pleases us all the more. While perusing it we are not obliged to pause and ask ourselves: does this deduction which professes to be scientific, tally with actual facts? Although when seeking for the soul of a writer in his works, M. Taine is always ingenious and thoughtful, yet he does not impress us so powerfully as when, in the presence of a great work of art, or a rare specimen of natural scenery, he is fraught with emotion, and strives to make his readers partners in his feelings. Combining a love for science with a fine taste, and possessing a large knowledge of literature, he treats all questions on broad principles, and from a lofty point of view. Herein lies his strength. But the strongest man has his weak side, the most comprehensive thinker omits some element from his calculations; even a philosopher is a mortal. In our opinion the weakness of M. Taine is as natural as it is pardonable. Quick to discern the shortcomings of others, eagerly desiring to avoid similar faults, he exerts himself with laudable energy to render his conclusions proof against attack. Perceiving intellectual processes to be analogous to physical ones in this, that both can be comprehended only when all the necessary facts have been collected, classified, and verified, he has devoted himself to the patient massing of facts in order to deduce therefrom conclusions revealing the character of our mental states in terms which cannot be challenged. In many cases he attains what he thinks to be demon-

strated truth. We have already given our reasons for differing from him in so thinking. We may now add that, while ready to hail his success as freely as any other indisputable fact, we not only doubt the possibility but also the utility of its accomplishment.

Annihilation itself is not a more appalling prospect than that of the day when everything shall be intelligible, when a formula shall be the key to unlock every secret of Nature, when there shall be nothing to strive after, for there will be nothing to learn. To grope in the dark may be unpleasant, but to be exposed to the untempered blaze of the sun is equally disagreeable. To blunder in our estimates of authors and their works is humiliating only when we are conscious that our errors are due to carelessness in collecting facts and heedlessness or partiality in weighing them. The critic may some day be endowed with an infallible instrument by which to probe the human mind and discover its secrets. We have no ambition to possess that magical wand. Enough is it for us, as it was for Lessing, to be always pursuing the truth, knowing well that we chase a divine phantom, knowing also, however, that the delight of the chase is infinitely preferable to the surfeit of possession. Our homage is paid to the Goddess Truth all the more heartily and reverently because we believe her to be far

"Too bright and good
For human nature's daily food."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Foreign Books noticed in the following sections are chiefly supplied by Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, and Mr. NUTT, 7, St. Strand.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

MR. DONALDSON continues his valuable Introduction to the History of Christian Literature and Doctrine in the Ante-Nicene Period by two volumes containing the Apologists.¹ The principal writers of whose works an account is here given are Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus, and Athenagoras. The method pursued is the same as in the previous volume; the history of the works, the history of the authors so far as it may be known, and an abstract of their doctrines, are given under separate heads. There is prefixed an introduction, which gives a fair and impartial estimate of the characteristics of this portion of the Patristic literature. The title Apologists is at first apt to mislead, and the modern reader, on his becoming acquainted

¹ "A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council." By James Donaldson, M.A. Vols. II., III. The Apologists. London: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

with these authors, will assuredly experience a feeling of disappointment. The arguments appear *jejune* and beside the mark; but they are not to be taken as replies to systematic attacks upon Christianity. They "are not apologies for Christianity," they are apologies for Christians accused of crimes, of impieties and immoralities, of conspiring against the well-being of the State and of society. They endeavour to enlist the common sense and sense of justice of the emperors to whom most of them were addressed on behalf of the Christians exposed to persecution from the heathen populace and from subordinate authorities, because their tenets and practices were misunderstood. The policy of the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius was favourable to the progress of Christianity, and enlightened views of imperial policy led to the foundation of educational and charitable foundations bearing a resemblance to those which grew up under the Christian system. The difficulty which Christianity had to encounter lay principally with the masses, who still believed in polytheism, and were attached to its observances. The cultus of the gods penetrated the whole of social life. The Christian, in withdrawing himself from idolatrous observances, was compelled to withdraw himself from society, and became in popular estimation at once an atheist and an enemy of the human race. Hence the imputation of Thyestean banquets and Œdipodean intercourse, which received a shadowy confirmation from reports of the Eucharistic ceremonies and the feasts of charity. In repelling the accusations against themselves, the Christians necessarily retorted upon the Pagans the corruption of their own society, authorized as it was by the scandalous stories in their mythology, which, however condemned or explained by the wiser, were taken literally by the vulgar. Then there arose the discussion on the relation of Christianity to Philosophy. The Apologists recognise in the philosopher a certain insight into divine truth, but feeble compared with that which dwelt in the prophets. Philosophy was variable and self-contradictory, Christianity alone stable and consistent. The philosophic teaching with which the Apologists show the greatest affinity is that of Socrates and Plato, or of certain schools derived from Plato, the influence of Aristotle in this period being unknown. With Stoicism Christianity had much in common on its moral and social side, and was in fact greatly indebted to it; speculatively, the two repelled each other. "The impersonal character of the Stoic Divinity closed up the Stoic heart against Christianity," and *vice versa*. In the department of what would be called, in modern phrase, the Evidences of Christianity, the Apologists are very meagre and deficient; they rely principally on the argument from prophecy, exemplifying it in the most far-fetched interpretations of the passages of the Old Testament as significant of Christ. Whatever its comparative merits relatively to Paganism, if Christianity had had nothing better to rely upon than Justin's argument from prophecy, it would never have conquered the world. Mr. Donaldson then sketches the growth of the

doctrine of the Logos which appears in this period, derived from or having a close affinity with the Philonian doctrine. By a necessary logical development there issued from it the dogma of the Deity of Christ, which as yet was held only in the vaguest manner. We cannot follow Mr. Donaldson through his analysis of the writings of the several Apologists, and add only a brief extract from this candid and impartial work. We give the following the rather as not entirely agreeing with it:—

"There seems not the slightest reason for the opinion that the Church was divided into a Pauline and a Petrine party. The reasons which have been assigned for this opinion will be discussed as they come up in treating of the various writers. The Christians acted towards each other with charity. They permitted differences of opinion in regard to the divinity of Christ. They permitted differences of opinion in regard to the observance of the Passover. But towards the end of our period a mighty change came over the Church; and we shall find the most violent passions, the keenest bigotry, and the most absurd dogmatism play very prominent parts. And this is what we might expect. The Church was liberal during the Apologetic days, because from ignorant simplicity and childlike love it was indifferent to outward observances and to speculative opinions. As soon as Christians come to attach any value to outward observances and to dogmas, a spirit of intolerance will show itself." (Vol. ii. p. 47.)

Mr. Merivale's lectures,* both the present and the previous series, have the value of illustrating the truth that there is no absolute break in the history of religion any more than in any other human history. But in exemplifying this truth in the instance of the growth of Christianity, the author has found himself on very delicate ground. The usual dogmatic prepossessions concerning the nature of a Divine Revelation are very much against it, and it cuts away, or at least seriously imperils, a very common argument for the miraculous origin and propagation of Christianity. It is very generally urged that the excellences of Christianity presented an impediment to its reception by the Pagan nations, which could only be overcome by a special Divine interposition—that it made its way in spite of them by a supernatural aid. Mr. Merivale shows, on the other hand, that its very excellences materially assisted its reception. The object of the Boyle lecturer was to show the coherence of Revelation with the Order of Providence; he has in consequence exposed himself to the imputation, in some quarters, of resolving it into the Order of Providence. He has been reminded that to argue the divinity of the Revelation from its correspondence to the real wants and best anticipations of Pagan human nature is at best a two-edged sword. Such representations have apparently produced their effect; at any rate, and from whatever cause, we have to complain

* "The Conversion of the Northern Nations. The Boyle Lectures for the Year 1865." Delivered at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. By Charles Merivale, B.D., Rector of Lawford, Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons. London: Longmans. 1866.

that Mr. Merivale sets himself from time to time to blunt effectually one of the edges of his too trenchant weapon. He both refrains from pushing home his general argument, and he presents contradictory views of historical details. The particular purpose of the present set of lectures is to show that in the coherent progress of the Christian religion in the world it was to be embraced by Teutons as well as by Greeks, and to take up into itself ethical elements from the German peoples, as it had adopted philosophical conceptions from the schools of Athens and Alexandria.

"God had other races of men, other habits of mind and spiritual training, to bring into the confession of faith in Him and in His Gospel; and He required the teaching of His Word to be placed upon a broader foundation, to be developed from a deeper source; that Christ might become the Desire of another people, the Light and Life of a new world of humanity."—p. 20.

Now it does not appear to us that Mr. Merivale perceives the great difficulty of maintaining the intermediate position which he takes up between the antagonistic theories of the natural and supernatural propagation of Christianity. At one moment we anticipate that his knowledge of history must oblige him to modify the notion of a sacred deposit of faith containing implicitly all doctrine afterwards rendered explicit, yet always self-evolved; but anon, his dogmatism and ecclesiasticism compel him to justify as truths the Athanasian and Augustinian theology, together with the Sacramental system of the Church. He conceives, as he tells us, the Christian idea of religion to be based upon the annunciation to man by Jesus Christ, of his corrupt and fallen state, and of the mode of his restoration; that it is quite different from that of the heathen world, and from the conceit of personal merit which "colours every deviation from the Catholic doctrine of the Divine Nature, sometimes even among those who have been bred and baptized in the true faith of the Holy Trinity." (p. 46.) It was the great work of Augustine, "although his books on the Trinity are scarcely less scientific than those of Athanasius," to establish "the doctrine of human corruption, of original sin, and the need of grace Divine." In the heresies alike of Arius and Pelagius we "recognise the same restless activity of our inbred Paganism;" in the great controversies carried on by Athanasius and Augustine we are to perceive how Providence "raised a barrier against Paganism in the genuine deductions from Scripture of the Church and her doctors." Of Augustine it is further said, "that he has been for fifteen centuries the salt of Christian divinity, every revival of religion has drawn strength from his medicinal waters." So far, indeed, from these lectures presenting really any valuable demonstration of the historical progress of Christianity, their real tendency is to insinuate, under the cloak of a few plausible historical illustrations, the narrowest and most unmitigated dogmatism. Perfectly determined is Mr. Merivale to guard himself from all suspicion of complicity with any of the floating heresies of

the day; he cannot, therefore, notice the noble qualifications of Origen without appending a somewhat halting, yet thorough, condemnation of his Universalism:—

"He believes in the ultimate reconciliation of all men, of every soul of man, and of devils also, to God; for so widely, so fancifully, does he interpret the promised restoration of all things. If this be an error in fact—as certainly it exceeds the limits of the revealed—it is, at least, a generous error. If it be a heresy, it is one which has found, and is likely, perhaps, to find, few followers. If it is too bold, there are few, perhaps, who will have the courage to embrace it. But the Church of God is a jealous Church, and to the Church it savoured of Paganism; it augured that reaction of vain human imaginations against which it was the sacred mission of the Church to guard."—p. 37.

We have said the particular object of the present set of lectures is to show how in the providential order the Northern nations were adapted to contribute special elements to the growth of Christianity. How does the Lecturer deal with the questions which thereupon arise? Do we owe certain elements in Western and modern society rather to Christianity or to race? With these questions Mr. Merivale does not really grapple, and where he touches upon them entangles himself in contradictions. We may instance his treatment of the relation of the Gothic principle of loyalty to Christianity. The Greek or Roman, we are truly told, conceived and felt patriotism; certainly he did not owe it to Christianity; "of loyalty he had no conception," neither of submission to impersonal law, nor of attachment to a personal sovereign. "Patriotism was a Pagan virtue," "but loyalty," according to Mr. Merivale, "is a Christian grace;" although loyalty is as little to be found in the New Testament as patriotism, nor ever appeared in Christianity "until the conquerors from the North brought it straight with them from their deserts." If this principle, then, is found with the Northerners when they are not Christian, and not found with other peoples when they are Christian, the philosophical historian would conclude that it must be a Northern characteristic; but the Boyle Lecturer desires to prove it a "Christian grace," and therefore, "Christianity interpreted to them their own instinct," because "this is the very type of the relation of the believer to God;" strange, then, that Christianity should not have proclaimed it before. Equally hampered is the lecturer with the position of woman in Christianity. He acknowledges the Teutonic origin of the romantic sentiment, but he prefers to found the equality of woman to man, as recognised in modern Christianity, on a dogmatic basis—that "God sent forth his Son made of a woman." If man denies Christianity, he will deny the spiritual claims of woman. "For so he did in antiquity; so do, perhaps, all existing heathenism; so threaten to do all modern unbelief and scepticism"—a hardy assertion; for we suppose Mr. Merivale would have called Comte an unbeliever and Parker a sceptic. But this dogmatic basis has peculiar difficulties of its own. The birth of Christ, we are told, of "a Virgin-Mother," is

the "charter" and "pledge of woman's equality with man;" it would surely be a pledge of much more. "It puts to shame mythologies," which seems a very hazardous allusion. And we are warned at the same time against "the elevation to the place of accepted dogma of the most extravagant of human inventions;" yet half Christendom accepts this most extravagant invention as a necessary corollary from the "test and token of a general revelation." To the unbeliever, it need scarcely be said, two Immaculate Conceptions present no greater difficulty than one, nor the deification of a woman greater difficulty than the deification of a man. The conclusion of the whole series of discourses presents an example of playing fast and loose which we have rarely seen surpassed. "Development," which has carried Mr. Merivale to perilous heights of dogma, becomes "fktion," when it exaggerates the humble "Virgin-Mother" into a divinity; the Church, in which but now male and female were on a line of spiritual equality, becomes the "masculine Church of the Apostles," not to be moulded to the imaginations of female votaries; the men "to whom the power of preaching and teaching is given," are not to "surrender their prerogative of thought and reasoning and criticism;" the Church is not to "work upon female impulses and fancies," lest it "lose as rapidly as it will gain;" "if the women enter in at the one door, the men will go out at the other;" which strikes us as a very strange exemplification of the spiritual equality of the sexes.

Mr. Mozley's "Bampton Lectures" on the subject of Miracles, correspond neither to his reputation nor to his power, nor yet to the greatness of the occasion. "There has arisen," he says, "in a certain class of minds, an apparent perception of the impossibility of suspensions of physical law;" he proposes, therefore, to address himself mainly to the question of the credibility of miracles, only touching subordinately on their use and the evidences of them. On these latter points he has not, indeed, dwelt at so great a length as on the former, but he bases the whole of his discussion on an assumption of the use of miracles, even of their necessity in the case of a Revelation, and in the case of the Christian Revelation in particular; and he specially examines the proposition, that "no testimony can reach to the supernatural," of which, in a certain sense, he admits the truth. But—considering the growing strength of the "apparent perception" of the impossibility of miracles, or at least of the presumption against their occurrence from the conviction of the mutual coherence and relativity of the universe as a whole, the substitution of the conception of revelations by orderly growth for that of revelations *per saltum*, as well as the persuasion, becom-

ing more and more widely spread by reason of modern investigation into the Christian *Origines*, of the weakness of the evidence whereon the miracles with which we are principally concerned must rest—it does surprise us that Mr. Mozley should have contented himself with going round again in the old circle traced by Butler and Paley in their arguments with the Deists. Mr. Mozley is equally behindhand in his argument for the possibility of miracles, as not excluded by our experience of the uniformity of nature hitherto. For the presumption with which the maintainer of miracles has in these days to contend is much more than a mere presumption in favour of repetition, or expectation of the recurrence of events like those already experienced; it is a presumption against any break in the implication or continuity of co-existences. The mere repetition of the rising of the sun, considered as an isolated phenomenon or event during the whole human experience hitherto, may not exclude the possibility of its ceasing to rise; we may have no valid or sufficient reason to infer, from the mere fact of the repetition hitherto, the necessity of continuance. Mr. Mozley does not, as it seems to us, push his argument farther than that. The scientific, or we may say rational presumption, with which he really has to contend is, that the sun will continue to rise as long as other astronomical conditions remain the same as heretofore. The miracle of which he ought to vindicate the possibility, the reasonableness, the conceivableness, is one which supposes unlike consequences from like antecedents, unlike effects from like causes and conditions, unlike products from like factors, different sums from identical items. To the Reason, which regards the universe as a whole, made up of mutually interdependent parts, the withdrawal of any part is inconsistent with the continuance of the rest, the orderly function of the whole is made up of the constant and ascertained function of its constituents. Nor can the immediate action of the *Deus ex machina* be assumed, for he is not suspended above the other agents, but is the spring which is already moving them all. The divine universe is as a mighty equation, which subsists as long as equivalent operations only are performed upon its members; if an addition or subtraction be made on one side only its balance is destroyed. Thus there is a growing persuasion (and it is this particular persuasion in our educated minds with which we consider Mr. Mozley has not attempted to deal) that a miracle of particular immediate intervention in the universe implies a contradiction, the rest of the universe being by the hypothesis left as before; for if it were not left as before there would be no miracle or interposition. The problem suggested by the conception of the universe, as a whole of coexistent parts, which Mr. Mozley has to solve, may be simplified into such a form as this; an equilateral triangle is also equiangular, and it is not conceivable, or possible even, for a miracle to make a triangle otherwise than equiangular, so long as it remains equilateral. It has long been admitted in theology, that it is beyond the power of the Deity to change the past—

* "Eight Lectures on Miracles." Preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1865, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By J. B. Mozley, B.D., Vicar of Old Shoreham, late Fellow of Magdalen College. London: Rivingtons. 1865.

Μένον γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερεοῦται
 Ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἄντ' ἢ πεπραγμένα,—

in other words, to interfere with relations in the order of succession. It is, we apprehend, coming to be acknowledged also as a theological truth, that it would imply a contradiction of himself were the Deity supposed to interfere with the relations of things in the order of co-existence. Incompletely as Mr. Mozley has dealt with the abstract question of miracle, he is still less satisfactory in his assumption of the necessity of miracle in the case of the Christian Revelation. He puts it as follows, in a remarkable passage, which we must transcribe:—

"If a person of evident integrity and loftiness of character rose into notice in a particular country and community eighteen centuries ago, who made these communications about himself: that he had existed before his natural birth, from all eternity, and before the world was, in a state of glory with God; that he was the only-begotten Son of God; that the world had been made by him; that he had, however, come down from heaven, and assumed the form and nature of man for a particular purpose—viz., to be the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; that he thus stood in a mysterious and supernatural relation to the whole of mankind; that through him alone mankind had access to God; that he was the head of an invisible kingdom, into which he should gather all generations of righteous men who had lived in the world; that on his departure hence he should return to heaven, to prepare mansions for them; and lastly, that he should descend at the end of the world to judge the whole human race, on which occasion all that were in their graves should hear his voice, and come forth, they that had done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that had done evil unto the resurrection of damnation—if this person made these assertions about himself, and all that was done was to make the assertions, what would be the inevitable conclusion of sober reason respecting that person? *The necessary conclusion of sober reason respecting that person would be that he was disordered in the understanding.*"—pp. 14, 15.

We have put in italics the alternative which Mr. Mozley states with a terseness and a harshness from which a Strauss would have shrunk, but which the orthodox controversialists may hereafter find they have unwisely adopted. It is *πρὸ τάπων τάρτεσθαι*; the courage lent thereby is artificial, but the ruin upon defeat complete. The argument, if such it may be called, is thus stated: "By no rational being could a just and benevolent life be accepted as proof of such astonishing announcements. Miracles are the necessary complement, then, of such announcements, which, without them, are purposeless and abortive"—that is to say, the announcements, being incredible in themselves, prove thereby the truth of the miracles which are requisite to attest them; and the miracles, in their turn, though incredible in themselves, being thus proved to be true, prove in return the truth of the incredible announcements. It is due, indeed, to Mr. Mozley to point out that he does consider elsewhere the evidence for the Gospel miracles, or some of them, to be in itself so conclusive as to enable the acceptance of them at the same time that the mediæval mira-

cles are rejected. And we are amazed at the simplicity with which he puts forth such a statement as the following (the italics are ours):—

"That certain great and cardinal Gospel miracles which, if granted, clear away all antecedent objection to the reception of the rest, *possess contemporary testimony, must be admitted by everybody*, at the peril of invalidating all historical evidence, and involving our whole knowledge of the events of the past in doubt. That the first promulgators of Christianity asserted, as a fact which had come under the cognizance of their senses, the Resurrection of our Lord from the dead, is as certain as anything in history." (p. 217.)

We do not at all see that the fear of throwing doubt upon other histories is philosophically or morally a ground for "admitting that we possess contemporary testimony" in the Gospel histories, if those writings are not proved to be the work of contemporaries. Nor can we see that the refusal to admit that we "possess contemporary testimony" to a history incredible itself, when the contemporaneity of the authors has not been shown, can involve in doubt our knowledge of the Peloponnesian war, or the conquest of Gaul, or the Peninsular campaigns, which are not incredible in themselves and are recorded by undoubted contemporaries—Thucydides, Cæsar, and the Duke of Wellington. When Mr. Mozley has further investigated the authorship of the books of the New Testament he will probably speak with more reserve of the "first promulgators of Christianity" asserting that the resurrection of Jesus from the dead was a fact which had come under the cognizance of their senses.

We have the first part before us of a most valuable work by Professor Kuenen of Leyden, made generally accessible in the translation of a thorough scholar and advanced theologian, and recommended by a brief introduction by M. Renan.* It is seldom that three such names are seen borne on one title-page. The author undertakes to present a history of the Hebrew literature, properly so called, as far as it is preserved to us from the earliest times; in other words, a history of the literature of the Old Testament. The history of this literature will reflect during the period over which its composition ranges the intellectual, moral, and religious characteristics of the people itself. A divine product, so far as the authors obeyed the higher movements of the Divine Spirit, is at the same time a human product, and must present phenomena common to it with other compositions on kindred subjects, by men of other races. And even if it presents the appearance of a whole, more penetrated than any other native literature that we know of with a religious spirit, and directed, with some few ex-

* "Histoire Critique des Livres de l'Ancien Testament." Par A. Kuenen, Docteur en Théologie et en Philosophie, Professeur à l'Université de Leyde. Traduite par M. A. Pierson, Docteur en Théologie et en Philosophie, avec une Préface de M. Ernest Renan, Membre de l'Institut. Tome premier, des Livres Historiques. Paris. 1866.

ceptions to religious ends, we are the rather engaged to trace the conditions under which the peculiar growth took its exceptional form. A capital question in these inquiries undoubtedly is that which concerns the dates and authorship of the books themselves; for the significance of the literature as a whole, and of its several parts, will be altogether different, according as it shall be found to have been spread in the time of its composition over a period of fifteen hundred years, or of a thousand, or of five hundred. The books of the Old Testament were distributed by the Jews themselves at the commencement of the Christian era into the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings: a division still preserved in our Hebrew Bibles. The "five books," so called, of Moses, constitute the Law; the Prophets consist of the prophetic history, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and of the prophetic books properly so called, Daniel excepted; the Writings comprised the Psalms and the didactic books, together with Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. A more natural distribution of the literature, according to its subject matter, is followed by Professor Kuenen, into—1. The historical books; 2. The prophetic books; 3. The poetical and didactic books. In the present volume the dates and origin of the historical books are treated of. The discussions connected with the Pentateuch occupy about half of a volume of six hundred pages. The principal conclusions in respect to it at which the learned Professor arrives are the following: The Decalogue, in a shorter form than it exists at present, together with a few other ordinances, are all that Moses left in writing. The spirit of the great legislator may have exercised a powerful influence upon the formation of the religious, moral, and political life of the nation; but in the age of Moses himself there was neither room, nor occasion, nor means for an elaborate written legislation. The non-Mosaic documents comprised in the Pentateuch commence with the reign of David, when some regulations for worship and life, already in practice, were committed to writing, (Book of the Covenant). Shortly after the building of the Temple by Solomon, a priest or Levite composed the book which commences with the Creation of the world and concludes with the conquest of Canaan—having for its principal object the regulation of the public worship; but this book was not published, and, remaining in the hands of the clergy, received additions and modifications from time to time (Book of Origins). In the reign of Manasseh some unknown prophet, desirous of exterminating idolatry and of engaging the people in the sole worship of Jehovah, composed the Book of Deuteronomy, modifying in some respects the original Mosaic institutions, and insisting especially on the obligation of a central worship at Jerusalem. With these ends in view, he would by no means conceive that he was falsifying, though fictitiously ascribing his work to the great legislator himself. Fifty years later the principles of the Deuteronomist were carried into effect by the reform of Josiah. The general revision, with occasional modification and in-

terpolation, of the Pentateuch thus formed, was accomplished by a priest of Jerusalem, living about the commencement of the Exile; the question, however, is left open, whether the final revision of the Pentateuch were not posterior to the Exile, and possibly due to Ezra. With respect to the contents of the Pentateuchal writings, they may be classed under two heads—the legislative and the historical material. The legislation of the Pentateuch is by no means Mosaic, if by that term is to be understood that it was formally the production of Moses himself; in another sense, namely that it carried out a principle which may be believed to have originated with him of consecrating a chosen people specially devoted to the service of Jehovah, there is a fundamental truth in the Jewish and Christian traditions which set forth the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But then, secondly, the events narrated are not traceable, even those which represent the Exodus and the giving of the law in Sinai, to any contemporary record; the form of the history is rather to be considered as a clothing of received ideas respecting the relation of the Hebrew people to Jehovah. Much less are the patriarchal histories supported by any contemporary evidence, or even trustworthy tradition. The first part of Genesis is merely a collection of Semitic traditions, some based on fact, others merely legendary—orally transmitted at first, afterwards committed to writing, and bearing the impress of the Israelitish conceptions prevalent from the tenth to the eighth century before the Christian era—and what is true of Genesis is in greater or less degree true of the Pentateuch generally:

"La critique moderne lui a rendu sa vérité essentielle, son vrai sens. Assurément, le Pentateuque n'est plus ce qu'il a longtemps été au point de vue insoutenable de la tradition ordinaire; un écrit authentique du grand législateur. Mais, en revanche, ce recueil est aujourd'hui et sera toujours pour les esprits éclairés un des documents les plus remarquables de la littérature d'un peuple que d'étranges et de hautes destinées rendent toujours plus digne de l'attention des penseurs."—p. 298.

Professor Kuenen's analysis of the other historical books is equally complete—the account of the traces of perished books, referred to in Kings and Chronicles, is exhaustive. He acknowledges the historical character of the bulk of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, while he fixes on reasonable grounds their final revision to the same date as that of the Chronicles, about 380 before the Christian era. Professor Kuenen has a thorough mastery of his materials, and a calm and impartial judgment.

The treatise of M. Nicolas on the Apocryphal Gospels forms a sequel and complement to his previous *Biblical Essays*. The Founder of Christianity left nothing in writing; and for a considerable period, which we need not here undertake to define, the disciples and adherents of his religion expected his speedy return, to set up on earth his kingdom of righteousness.

"Études sur les Évangiles Apocryphes." Par Michel Nicolas. Paris, 1896.

The composition of histories of his earthly life during his first manifestation would be held superfluous in the earliest age, and even might be misleading; so that Papias in the second century expressed his preference for the oral over the written tradition. But on a sudden, as it were, there springs up a most copious literature, partly because the expectation of that speedy final personal Revelation was beginning to die out; partly because, as Christianity came in contact with various religions and philosophies, they began both to borrow from it and to lend to it, and the product in the literary regions of the world took a literary form. Christianity also spread itself among persons of all degrees of culture in their several schools; and the products of which we are speaking were adapted to the appreciation of minds more or less discerning, more or less vulgar and obtuse. It may be allowed that in literary merit the Apocryphal Gospels, as far as we possess remains of them, fall very much below those which Christians afterwards generally agreed to designate as canonical, although there are not wanting points of contact and similarity between them. To some extent also the differences observable between the Canonical Gospels severally, may be accounted for by differences in the intellectual and religious condition of their authors or compilers, with their consequent special aims and tendencies, and by differences in educational condition of those for whom they were particularly designed. The mutual contrasts, however, which the Apocryphal Gospels present, are very marked; and M. Nicolas has done well in distributing those productions into different and, for the most part, obviously distinguishable classes—the Judaizing, the anti-Judaizing, and the Orthodox. The arrangement of his material is generally satisfactory, although in some cases we should not be disposed to agree with him—as in ranging the Gospel which Justin Martyr appears to have followed in the same Judaizing section with the Gospel of the Ebionites. His treatment, under the second head, of the question as to the relation between the Gospel of Marcion and our present third Gospel, is singularly clear and temperate. M. Nicolas has the courage to withhold a peremptory judgment when the evidence is deficient; he neither thinks it proved that Marcion mutilated the Gospel of Luke, for if he had mutilated it of the passages not found in the Gospel which he used, dogmatic reasons would have led him to carry his mutilation further; nor that the compiler of the third Gospel amplified the Marcionite Gospel, for which there is no historical evidence, although as a hypothesis it squares with the facts at least equally well with the preceding. M. Nicolas rather inclines to the opinion of there having been in circulation longer and shorter copies of our present third Gospel, some becoming “acclimatized,” as he calls it, in some regions or churches, others in others; and that Marcion, with his master, Cerdo, before him, had found the shorter form current and adopted it, but without any design of falsification. The last part of the work of M. Nicolas abounds in curious details, and his

readers are led to perceive what an extended and long-continued influence has been exercised upon Christianity by the Apocryphal Gospels of the third class, although they were not admitted by the Church to the rank of the Canonical Scriptures.

“*Ecce Homo*” is a plausible attempt to repair the damage done by modern inquiries to the traditional dogmatical conception of the person of Jesus Christ. It professes to be the result of a reconsideration of the whole subject, and to trace the biography of Christ from the time when as yet he bore no such name, but was simply a young man of promise, as St. Luke describes him, “popular with those who knew him, and appearing to enjoy the Divine favour.” The conclusions which the author professes to have accepted are not necessarily “those which church doctors, or even apostles, have sealed with their authority, but which the facts themselves, critically weighed, appear to warrant.” The precise question treated in the present volume is stated to be, “What was Christ’s object in founding the society which is called by his name, and how is it adapted to attain that object?” What the author means by a critical weighing of the facts themselves we are at a loss to understand. There is not even a pretence of analysing the “biographies” of Christ which have come down to us. It is conceded that “nothing can be more natural than that exaggerations and even inventions should be mixed in our biographies with genuine facts” (p. 10); and the appearances at the baptism of Jesus were not such as necessarily to be miraculous, nor are the incidents of the temptation described to us by eye-witnesses. Nevertheless, though the account of the temptation rests on no very strong external evidence, and there may be exaggeration in its details, it can scarcely be otherwise than true in substance—first, because “truth is stranger than fiction,” and because in its strangeness it is “nicely adapted to the character of Christ as we already know it”—that is to say, as “the Lamb of God,” according to the phrase put by the fourth Evangelist into the mouth of the Baptist. The author supposes the temptation by “the Evil Spirit” to have been appropriate to the first dawning in the mind of Christ of the consciousness of his possession of supernatural power; and on this undoubted possession of supernatural power by Jesus, gathered as the result of what he calls “weighing the facts,” the whole scheme is reared of “*Ecce Homo*.” The Discourses of Jesus in all the Gospels are taken as authentic in the lump, from whence is derived a by no means novel argument—he who was endowed with such supernatural powers could assert nothing but truth concerning himself, and Christ did put forth “unbounded personal pretensions.” We have here sufficient foundation for the whole of the Nicene and Athanasian dogmatism. And there is the strongest confirmation, according to our author, of the justice of these “unbounded personal pretensions” to be found in the con-

* “*Ecce Homo. A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ.*” London: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

sideration, that no one who could rightly be described as a "Lamb of God" could have put them forth unless he had really been conscious that they were justified. Putting aside, however, the theological side of these "personal pretensions" Christ is represented to us in the "biographies" setting himself forth as Master and Lord and King of Men. We have here, again, to complain of the uncritical manner in which this discussion is conducted; there is not really the slightest attempt made to trace through the several Gospels the data we possess for forming an estimate as to what Christ's conception of his kingdom really was, to what extent the Messianic idea, and what kind of Messianic idea, entered into it, what modification it passed through in the course of the life of Jesus, how far it really rose above Judaic notions, or was or was not combined with millennial expectations; there is not the slightest attempt made to separate, in the claims put into the mouth of Christ in the Gospels, that which may reasonably be supposed to have belonged to himself from that which was derived from the conceptions of the biographers. There is much which is reasonable and sensible in the second part of the volume, entitled "Christ's Legislation," much which is descriptive of a true Christianity, of a true religion of humanity, although the treatment of the subject is vitiated here also by an uncritical, unpainstaking assignment of all which is excellent in Christianity to the conscious immediate operation of the "Founder" himself.

Without intending his work for a direct reply to that of M. Renan, M. de Pressensé acknowledges the necessity for Christianity in our own day of presenting a "Life of Christ," which will assign to that person an intelligible seat in the phenomenal history of the world. M. de Pressensé represents a school, the orthodox school of French Protestantism, although on several points there is an orthodoxy and a Protestantism more ultra than his own. On the subject, however, of the union of the two natures in the one person of Christ, M. de Pressensé is thoroughly orthodox. He protests against a doctrine which would reduce the humanity to a mere appearance, and render impossible any history of the earthly life of the Saviour; but he conceives that acknowledgment of his true humanity to be perfectly reconcilable with the perfect faith in his Divinity "which has been the universal belief of Christians for eighteen centuries." This work of M. de Pressensé's contrasts most favourably with that which has just been noticed: it is distinct, methodical, and intelligible in its conclusions. The author does not content himself with assuming a vague and ambiguous supernatural, but lays it down as an essential divergence of principle between himself and M. Renan!

"Nous avons le droit d'établir contre eux l'existence d'un ordre divin, en dehors et au-dessus de la nature, que nous pouvons appeler l'ordre surnaturel.

Une fois qu'il est reconnu, nous ne pouvons limiter d'avance son action ou son intervention dans la nature, et il est logique d'admettre au moins la possibilité du miracle."—p. 25.

He then deals with the theistic objection to miracle—that, strictly speaking, there can be no supernatural to the universe in which the Deity is immanent—which he puts down with the assertion that such a doctrine is mere pantheism, and tends to confound the creation and the Creator. We should have, indeed, to express our own dissent from most of the philosophical or critical principles which M. de Pressensé invokes in the course of his treatise, but can indicate it as consistent on his side of the questions which it treats. He undertakes to establish the genuineness and authenticity of the narratives on which he depends, and he then keeps closely to them; he does not hesitate an instant from the miraculous conception to the miraculous Ascension; and he finally appeals to that which he terms a fifth Gospel, the internal assent which has been yielded from age to age by every Christian heart to the saving verities proclaimed in the life of Christ.

Those who can recall to mind the position of Roman Catholics in this country previous to the removal of their civil disabilities, and who from any cause have watched the progress of their church in England from that time to the present, will read with interest the "Life of Father Ignatius," whose "conversion" nearly synchronized with the first-named event. Protestantism in England had been dominant under an artificial protection; its dominance, therefore, was no evidence of its truth. On the removal of the artificial protection it was a sure consequence that the hitherto disabled religion would make many converts, as it has done, which is no proof of its truth, or comparative truth either. Many of these converts have been drawn from the ranks of "Evangelicalism." Dr. Newman's first religious impressions were "Evangelical," so were Mr. Spencer's; his theology, when a clergyman of the Church of England, was that of Thomas Scott. There is no doubt that the *selfism*, the desire of certitude for the *ego*, which is characteristic of Calvinism, may in some cases predispose for the acceptance of the claims of a Church which promises absolute certitude. Remnants of individualism will no doubt emerge in converts from Protestantism. Perhaps such are to be recognised in a disposition to become the founders of new orders, rules, colleges, institutions, or special works. The special work to which Father Ignatius devoted himself was that of the conversion of England, not directly, but by organizing a great system of prayers, *avees*, masses, of which the diffusive efficacy should operate to that end. Father Ignatius was not always without suspicion of some remaining leaven of Protestantism—at least he was found

* "Jesus Christ: son Temps, sa Vie, son Œuvre." Par E. de Pressensé. Paris. 1866.

* "Life of Father Ignatius of St. Paul, Passionist (the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer)." Compiled chiefly from his Autobiography, Journal, and Letters. By the Rev. Father Pius & Sp. Sancto, Passionist. Dublin: Duffy. 1866.

to be "grazing the brink of error." when he said in a sermon (in 1839), "I declare myself ready to renounce my belief, if it were sufficiently shown to me that the evidences on which I believe it to be divine are wrong. This is the spirit in which I wish all Catholics would offer themselves to discussion with our Protestant brethren." (p. 273.) On which his biographer observes, "The proposition that a Catholic and a Protestant may meet on equal terms to discuss their tenets, each open to conviction by the other's arguments, is simply erroneous and scandalous, to say nothing more." (p. 274.) So Father Ignatius was "of course called to order for his sermon," and "a word from the bishop is enough to make him retract." On another and later occasion there was no defect to be found in his "Catholic" spirit. About the year '50 or '51 he was going about asking for prayers for "unity," and was speaking with a roomful of Protestant clergymen on the subject; he made such an impression upon them, that they agreed to kneel down then and there and pray for unity, and asked Father Ignatius to join them, pressing him to do so on every side. On this "he jumped with indignation, and said, in a manner quite unusual to him, 'I'd rather be torn in pieces by forty thousand mad dogs, than say a prayer with you;'" the reason being "the law that forbids all Catholics to communicate with heretics in divine things." So Father Ignatius became more cautious how he invited Protestants to pray for unity. The amiability belonged to the man, the uncharitableness to his Church. This kindly-affectioned, somewhat weak and eccentric person, died suddenly while prosecuting his missions in Scotland, October 1st, 1864, at the age of sixty-five.

The desire shown by some Anglicans for further knowledge of the Eastern Episcopal Communions, has led Mr. Malan to translate from the Russian an account of the Church of Georgia,* which appears to date from the fourth century, but to have fallen now under the supremacy of the Czar. The interest shown in some quarters in various projects of ecclesiastical reunion leads us simply to note the book, although drier reading cannot easily be imagined.

We notice this and the following volume rather because of the names and positions of the authors, than from any substantial merits in the works themselves. Mr. Plumtre's Sermons¹⁰ present a most watery Divinity of subdued Evangelicalism and ineffectual mediation—a Divinity which will instruct no one, an Evangelicalism which will not convert, and a mediation which is ineffectual to reconcile. At

his Sermon on Justification by Faith, Luther would have spat or thrown his ink-bottle. The modern theologian may thank the preacher for the admission that in the foundation text on which this mighty doctrine — *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie*—has been reared, the word translated "faith" (*emoonah*) is there alone so rendered, out of forty-nine times that it occurs in the Old Testament (p. 398): an observation which may set more fearless inquirers upon a more thorough investigation into the basis of the great Protestant doctrine. The Sermons generally are of the "Dangers and Safeguards" type.

It is really to be regretted that Mr. Maurice,¹¹ to whom so many — besides those of his own especial following — feel indebted for many things well said, done, and written in years gone by, should imagine himself still called upon to rectify everybody's views concerning the present and future of religion on every possible occasion; and that even an eccentric bishop cannot dilate rhetorically, *more suo*, upon Colenso, the cattle plague, and the coming of Antichrist, without its calling forth Mr. Maurice's present impressions concerning "Salvation," "Free-thinking," "Conversion," "Civilization and Christianity," "God and the Evil Spirits." The time comes for the soldier to repose upon his laurels.

In the second edition of his work on "The Emotions and the Will,"¹² Mr. Bain has recast some portions with the intention of bringing out still more plainly his doctrines of the genesis of the Will and of the Conscience, sense of Duty, or Moral Sense. The tendency of his work is eminently practical, and his views of the highest value in rational methods of education and of self-government. Indeed, he observes with great force, that a thorough and rigorous application of the doctrine of an innate moral sense would banish education altogether. He combats the notions of an innate sense in its more modified form, as presented by Dr. Whewell, as an Ideal or common Consciousness, in which all men share. Every judgment, whether on moral or other subject-matter, must be the judgment of an individual; truth of every kind must be truth to some one mind. And he pushes to the utmost the objection to a supposed ideal standard in collective conscience, derived from the observation of the most startling varieties and differences in human conduct and legislation, showing, as it would seem, *dikaia* to be *vôvov* *du phécei*. As the upshot of the discussion on that important branch of his subject, Mr. Bain states his conclusion to be, as the result of a *posteriori* observation, that the moral rules found to prevail in most if not in all communities, are grounded partly on Utility and partly on Sentiment (p. 277), the Utility and

* "A Short History of the Georgian Church." Translated from the Russian of P. Joselian, and edited, with additional Notes, by the Rev. S. C. Malan, Vicar of Broadwindsor, Dorset. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1866.

¹⁰ "Theology and Life. Sermons chiefly on Special Occasions." By E. H. Plumtre, M.A., Professor of Divinity and Chaplain, King's College, London, Prebendary of St. Paul's. London: Alexander Strahan. 1866.

¹¹ "The Conflict of Good and Evil in our Day. Twelve Letters to a Missionary." By the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A., Incumbent of St. Peter's, Marylebone. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

¹² "The Emotions and the Will." By Alexander Bain, M.A., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. Second Edition. London: Longmans. 1865.

the Sentiment being also relative and variable. Mr. Bain, therefore, rejecting though he does the supposition of an innate sense of right in any form, does allow that certain rules grounded, even when they differ, in similar processes, do in fact prevail in all human communities, and that human beings are constituted so as to move easily and necessarily in certain grooves. And still keeping clear altogether of innate ideas, it might, we think, with advantage be further pointed out that human beings are specially constituted to develop the feeling of duty or "ought"—the same sense of "ought," even when they show it in the most dissimilar manners. The same sense of "ought" is felt when the Parsee leaves the corpse of his parent to be torn by birds, as when the European buries it. And it is peculiar to human beings, as far as we know, to be capable of developing this feeling of "ought;" a rudimentary moral sense may be generated in a dog, in ways which illustrate the production of the more perfect feeling in mankind, but not even a rudiment in lower animals; to acknowledge a special capacity for that development involves none of the difficulties or contradictions which belong to the hypothesis of innate ideas, and is of far more importance as furnishing guidance to the teacher.

An exposition of a philosophy of a very different kind is published from the papers of the late Mr. Joseph Green,¹² known to many as a friend, and indeed, co-worker with Mr. Coleridge, to many more as a distinguished surgeon and estimable man. In the memoir of Mr. Green prefixed to the present publication, it is said of Coleridge that he had an inveterate habit of magnifying the "projected" into the halfdone, and the "begun" as nearly complete. Admirers who had not taken the measure of his sanguine temperament, imagined that he must have left behind him an "Opus magnum" all but finished, which was to accomplish that revolution in philosophy of which he had so long announced himself as the high-priest. "But in truth," says Mr. Simon, "the existence of any such work was mere matter of moonshine. Coleridge had not left any available written materials for setting comprehensively before the public, in his own language and in an argued form, the philosophical system with which he wished his name to be identified" (p. 38). Mr. Green undertook to do so, and least he should be unable to accomplish his design on its desired scale had prepared for publication the two volumes now given to the public, when his own death supervened in December, 1863. It need not be said that the doctrine here set forth is that of a Realism, founded on the assumption of typical factive ideas, Will-Acts of the Supreme Idea, cognisable by the intuitional Reason, as distinguished from the logical Understanding, and constituting Truth to it. Mr. Green also thoroughly adopted, and here expounds, Coleridge's

doctrine that Christianity and philosophy, the two being rightly explained, are identical. The second of these two volumes is entirely devoted to that object, and is founded upon the doctrine of the Logos, or personal divine Reason the fount of all communicated Being and of all derivative Ideas, all things made by Him, lighting every man that cometh into the world—the Life the Light of men—"operative objectively to realize living wholes of parts in which each and all may attain to the highest excellence of being and subjectively operative to potentiate every conscious intelligence to the apprehension and conception of the Idea by which this reality is obtained" (ii. 67). The way in which the coincidence of the highest philosophy with Christian dogmas is carried out may be seen in the following favourable specimen:—

"The celebrated term *ὁμοούσιος*, associated as it unavoidably is with the doctrine of the 'eternal generation' of the Son, was deemed the stronghold of the controversy; and the proposal from the opposite party of substituting the term *ὁμοιούσιος*—of 'like' substance—was indignantly rejected by the orthodox Trinitarians. And it may be here observed that the doctrine of the Spiritual Philosophy fully coincides with that which, since the Council of Nice, the Church universally recognises as the truth; and necessarily so, since if the Son is to be conceived as divine and essential to the Godhead, He must be conceived as 'consubstantial' (that is, of the self-same Spirit or divine Will) with the Father: and God cannot be conceived as One in the Trinity otherwise than as the self-same divine Spirit self-hypostatic in each of the distinctions. And let it be recollected that this controversy is no idle logomachy. It is essential to the interests of our spiritual being to contemplate in the Godhead the distinctions which secure the idea of a personal God—namely, the Absolute Will self-affirmed as the Father, who cannot be contemplated otherwise than as above and unconfounded with the world: but who in His only-begotten Son is ever in the world, and is ever working for its heavenly restoration and integration; while all temptation to sever the idea of their absolute and indivisible union is forbidden by the contemplation of the one Spiritual Life which they eternally enjoy."—Vol. ii. pp. 224, 225.

We may now descend once more to *terra*, if not to *terra firma*; and whatever other judgment may be passed upon his disquisitions, this merit belongs to Dr. McCosh, of generally clear and lucid expression; "he endeavours to clear his meaning to himself, and to enable his readers to follow him, and avoids, so far as may be, those technical phrases and pedantic formulas which repel many beginners from prosecuting their philosophical reading. He has not shaken himself equally free, nor, candidly speaking, considering his object, was it possible for him to do so, from personal references and citations. His object is to counteract what he conceives to be mischievous or erroneous in Mr. J. S. Mill's

¹² "Spiritual Philosophy: founded on the Teachings of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge." By the late Joseph Henry Green, F.R.S., D.O.L. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by John Simon, F.R.S., Medical Officer of H.M. Privy Council, &c. &c. In two volumes. London: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

¹⁴ "An Examination of Mr. J. S. Mill's 'Philosophy,' being a Defence of Fundamental Truths." By James McCosh, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast, author of "The Method of Divine Government," "Intuitions of the Mind," &c. London: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

philosophy, and he cannot do so without referring in detail to the particular arguments and propositions which he deems it essential to controvert. Dr. M'Cosh's "Examination" is intended, we are told, for a critique of Mr. Mill's Review of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy, so that we might expect a very pretty three-cornered duel; but Dr. M'Cosh's purpose is not by any means so much to rehabilitate Sir W. Hamilton, as to show the baselessness of Mr. Mill's system. His principal point of attack is Mr. Mill's definition of "matter, as a permanent possibility of sensation." Whether Mr. Mill, in putting forth this definition, purposely left a doctrine in provisional obscurity, we are unable to say, but he has certainly exposed himself to the charge of reducing the non-ego to a mere modification of the ego, and representing the external world as an illusion. If, indeed, it be an illusion, the process of the illusion should be pointed out. Vagaries in the reports of our senses—as to a particular colour or sound or form—do not suffice to invalidate the trustworthiness of the general and constant testimony that these reports come to us from without ourselves. They come to us more or less varied and distorted; in other words, our knowledge of the external world is relative. This relativity of our knowledge Dr. M'Cosh does not seem cordially to accept; indeed, he repudiates it; "there can be no proof advanced in its behalf—that is, to show that the mirror does not correctly reflect the object presented to it" (p. 281). And yet in the same breath he admits, "that human knowledge never comes up to the extent of things," and "that human knowledge is often partial—that is, is only partially correct, and may have error mixed up with it" (*ib.*);—that is to say, it is truth to us; but truth to us we may, reasonably suppose is not truth to a dog, nor truth to an angel, if angels there be.

As we are going to press we receive the pamphlet containing correspondence between the Prelates of Canterbury, Cape Town, and Natal, with some observations, apparently by a legal hand.¹⁸ The point to be noted is this: the Archbishop of Canterbury justifies his absolving the clergy of Natal from obedience to their bishop on the ground that *in his opinion*, the reasons assigned by the Bishop of Cape Town for his so-called deposition "would have sufficed for the ejection of an English clergyman from his cure." The compiler therefore contrasts in parallel columns the reasons so assigned by the Bishop of Cape Town, and shows them to be in direct antagonism to the decisions of the Court of Arches and Privy Council in the Gorham and Essays and Reviews cases.

We have also received at the same moment, from Natal, "a Letter" by the bishop, and several sermons.¹⁹ His lordship is speaking out manfully, not confining himself to the Pen-

tateuch or the Old Testament, but grappling also from time to time with the structure of the New Testament and the composition of the Creeds—meanwhile never losing sight of the essential practical Christian truths which it is his office to enforce. We do not doubt that, as a sufficient number of these addresses are thrown off, they will be collected for republication in England, and will become most useful among ministers of the newer schools of thought at home.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

If a virtue could be repented of, or candour in discussing a public interest regretted, Mr. Mill will have abundant reason to wish he had been less plain-spoken in his chapter on the Suffrage, when he reads, if he should chance to do so, the use to which his admissions are put by Mr. Lorimer in his "Constitutionalism of the Future."²⁰ This book is a parody on plurality in voting, and makes a thing, in itself reasonable, ridiculous by the extent to which it is carried. Mr. Mill thinks, and few we imagine do otherwise who think at all, that in the present state of education in England the great majority of the population are put poorly prepared for the exercise of the suffrage. He also thinks that any *very* great extension of the suffrage would not merely redress the balance of political power in England, but definitively transfer it to the lower and middle classes, to make use of the vaguest and most misused expressions in the vocabulary of politics. That this would be the tendency of such a change cannot, of course, be disputed, and a certain section of modern political writers, who may be called the bastard-genteel school, have taken full advantage of the fact to contend that the tendency in question is irresistible. We have heard of Tower Hamletizing the constituencies until the term has become as offensive as a popular tune which has been in possession of the Italian organ-boys for a twelvemonth. Is it meant to be asserted by those who so constantly recur to this argument, that in England, of all countries in the world the upper classes would give up their political habits and relinquish their governing tendencies if only the task were made a little more difficult and distasteful to them? Do these so-called Conservative writers so judge the party whose advocates they profess to be? If so, the upper classes are much more respected by their adversaries than by those who publicly affect to write in their interests. If the gentry of England were indeed so superfine that a little closer contact with the vulgar and their

¹⁸ "Letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Cape Town, and the Bishop of Natal. With some observations on the Archbishop's Reply to the Bishop of Natal." London: Trübner. 1866.

¹⁹ "A Letter to the Members of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal."

By the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Natal. Pietermaritzburg: Davis and Sons. 1866.

"Sermons preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter's, Maritzburg." By the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Natal. Nos. 1—9. The same.

²⁰ "The Constitutionalism of the Future." By J. Lorimer. Edinburgh: C. and A. Black. 1865.

interests would disgust them with the profession of politics, there might be some ground for this affected alarm, which is, in our opinion, entirely factitious and ungrounded. The liberal party at least think far too highly of the upper classes of this country to anticipate such a result, which would be out of harmony with both the history and character of the English gentry. England would indeed suffer from any change which would result in their relinquishing their political habits and influence. But we can imagine no change, however revolutionary, which would be accepted by them as a complete defeat, while such as have been as yet contemplated among us, aspire only to diminish a power which the advocates of those changes believe to be excessive. It is certainly a curious sign of the times when a Conservative, or, as he prefers to call himself, a Tory, like Mr. Lorimer, comes forward to advocate universal suffrage; but the safeguards by which he proposes to counteract its dreaded democratic results are still more curious. The argument from the Church Catechism, by which he recommends what he calls his scheme of dynamical representation, would be more decisive if men were in a political sense more agreed on the definition of who are those betters before whom they are enjoined to order themselves lowly and reverently. But to come to the scheme which we have called a parody on plural voting. It ought to be given in the author's own words, and we shall reprint the page in which he tabulates the results of his opinions:—

"(1.) An ordinary rough, who had no other qualification except that he was a British subject, labouring under no disqualification, would thus have one vote. (2.) If he had attained the age of fifty-one, and could read and write, he would have five votes. (3.) If he got so far as to pass the second-class examination he would have nine votes. (4.) The graduate of a university, forty-one years of age, who had 500*l.* a year, and was a member of the bar, would have the following votes:—As a citizen, one; age and experience, two; property, three; education, four; profession, four.—Total, 14. (5.) The maximum attainable would be citizenship, one; age, three; ex-M.P., three; 10,000*l.* a year, ten; university degree, four; profession, four.—Total, twenty-five."

This is dynamical representation! or, as Mr. Lorimer elsewhere calls it, the exhaustion of the social elements of the voter. It seems to us, however, to be much like the exhaustion aimed at by those who had the social superiority in the Middle Ages, when they put on their coats of mail before they turned out to fight those who had nothing but their natural courage to rely on. If every so-called social element is to be provided with extraneous means of self-defence, in addition to the power inherent in it, we may as well at once give up all ideas of progress, and subside into a quiet resignation to things as they are. For our own part, though the principle of plural voting is logically defensible, and has the authority of one from whom we differ with the greatest reluctance, we are very far from thinking it indispensable, while we despair of its introduction

into the suffrage, even in the moderate form in which it would be tolerable. The influence of wealth and station in England is already so great, that, as a practical measure, it seems quite unnecessary to increase it. The progress of education in the country, however short of what is to be desired, is yet made manifest even in this very question of Parliamentary Reform, by the calm tone of the public mind, and by the general wish that all proposals should have a fair hearing, and the best be acceded to. It is not likely that those classes which at present possess the greatest share of political influence in England will have it taken out of their hands by the present generation, if they choose to defend their position by reason and their projects by argument; while every succeeding generation, it is to be hoped and confidently expected, will be more and more open to appeals to that tribunal. The liberal party, at any rate, do not despair of finding the best and ablest men of the country at the head of its affairs, and is least of all likely to deny that many such are to be found where they might naturally be expected, among those classes which have longest enjoyed power and influence, and whose passive resignation of that influence, under any circumstances, is as inconceivable to their adversaries as it would be disastrous to their country. When a Conservative concedes universal suffrage under any conditions whatever, it can hardly be said that it is consolatory to find him entertaining any other liberal opinions; but we are glad to remark that it appears to Mr. Lorimer, "so far as he can pretend to have an opinion on the subject, that Mr. Hare's scheme for collecting the suffrages of the community would be a very great improvement on that at present in use, and would completely obviate the great injustice which the non-representation of minorities unquestionably occasions." It is, however, somewhat amusing to observe the diffidence with which he puts forth his pretensions to an opinion which is at least as well founded as any other in his volume. But perhaps the social element, which together with every other at present existing, ought in his opinion to be dynamically represented, is the power of a local landlord in a poor borough of five hundred constituents. At any rate, let this diffidence arise from what it may, it cannot be traced to any uncertainty about the nature and consequences of the system of voting advocated by Mr. Hare; and we rejoice in this instance, as in every other, to find the growing influence of one of the most practically important suggestions of modern politics. The simple artifice by which this scheme has been decried as complicated and incomprehensible, is becoming too transparent much longer to disguise the repugnance which is felt to that relinquishment of nine-tenths of the improper and indirect influences which infect our present system, to which its adoption would put an end.

Mr. Buxton's "Ideas of the Day on Policy," is very far from being one of its worst ideas.

* "The Ideas of the Day on Policy." By Chas. Buxton, M.A., M.P. London: J. Murray. 1886.

It consists of a careful selection of the chief arguments relied upon by the opposing parties in almost every question at present discussed among us that does not bear on dogmatic theology. The method adopted is that recommended and exemplified by Lord Bacon, in his "Colours of Good and Evil," and marshals in opposing columns the pleas brought forward by Tories on the one side and by Liberals on the other. It might be called a specimen of political book-keeping, in which every question is debited and credited, with the intellectual assets at its disposition. It is manifest that the book-keeper in such a case must be beyond suspicion, and we think we cannot give higher praise to Mr. Buxton than by the expression of our conviction that the most diligent search will not discover a false entry. The convenience of rapidly overlooking what has been said upon any subject which has been for some time under public discussion, is too great to escape the most careless, and will not be despised by the most painstaking. The candour and love of fair play which are manifest in every page of this little book, give great effect to a general criticism on the temper and character of the House of Commons which is not very likely to increase Mr. Buxton's popularity with his fellow-members. "Most Members of Parliament," he says, "care little for its politics, but look upon the House of Commons as an agreeable lounge; a large number, again, take a lively interest in Parliament as the scene of party conflicts, but the idea never crosses their mind of thinking for themselves, or taking a line of their own, on the questions of the day, and they look with wondering disgust on those who do." Mr. Buxton hardly seems to think that the atmosphere of the House is compatible with any higher aims. This, however, can only be the case when the higher aim is clogged with aspirations to place or office, which, being the accidents of party, must be bought by partisanship. There is nothing to prevent the greatest crotchet-monger in Parliament doing good service to his countrymen, if only his intellect be equal to his crotchets.

M. Stapleton's volume on "Intervention and Non-intervention," in spite of its general title, is nothing more than a violent attack on the foreign policy of the late premier, whom he accuses of degrading England from the position of the most universally trusted to that of the most suspected country in Europe. He does not stop short of the conclusion that England, when under the government of the Whigs, has done all in her power to produce that prejudice in the minds of continental Europeans which is expressed in the phrase *perfidie Albion*. It is somewhat strange, at first sight, that the liberal party among us should have to answer such a charge, but the reasons which give a colourable pretext for the accusation are not far to seek. International law, except in so far as it may be deduced from existing treaties, and based on positive contract, has no existence, as law, in any proper sense of the term; it can-

not rise above the authority of a prevalent opinion, and in this it exactly corresponds with those notions of good manners which were general in Europe when most of its maxims were first formulated, while its only sanction is drawn from the possibility that any infraction of its maxims would be punished like offences against good manners, by the swords which those who appealed to both then wore at their sides. A law thus dependent on opinion for its ultimate efficiency, is as little durable in any of its positive rules as the opinion on which it rests. Since the French Revolution the maxims of international law have had to accommodate themselves to the wishes and aspirations of the various populations of Europe, as well as to embody the conventional arrangements made by their rulers. Among a number of states governed on like principles such arrangements might long remain undisturbed, but as soon as the principles of arbitrary government and representative institutions were involved in national conflicts, it was not to be expected they could any longer answer this purpose. There is a certain insincerity in speaking, as Mr. Stapleton does, of rules laid down to preserve the balance of power in Europe as founded on the principle of non-intervention. The rules of international law, which have been founded on dynastic interests, cannot be expected to suffice in cases where something more and more important than territorial aggrandizement is at stake. Had it not been for the Holy Alliance, Lord Palmerston's policy would never have come to the birth as the natural antithesis to its plans and purposes. Non-intervention does not mean complete indifference. It would otherwise disarm its adherents for every purpose but that of self-defence, and be the grave of every international sympathy. It is this sympathy with the aims of the liberal party in Europe which really exposes Lord Palmerston to the adverse criticisms of Mr. Stapleton, which are too continuous to be candid, and too comprehensive to be true. No case whatever in which England has differed with any nation, is too trifling for the notice of this hearty hater. In India and on the China seas we have behaved ourselves, in Mr. Stapleton's opinion, little better than robbers and smugglers. He thinks it quite unnecessary to discuss the question how far it is possible to conduct the national affairs of a civilized country with relatively barbarous ones, and yet maintain our sense of national dignity intact under their views of the conditions of our mutual intercourse. Law, as such, can only maintain itself among the likeminded. In these cases there is no community of opinion between the parties on which international relations can be securely founded, but a constant dissension, which necessarily breaks out from time to time in appeals to force: a school which, however it may be despised, is that in which alone the law of nations has been formed in Europe.

M. Michelet has recently published a new edition of his *Essay on the Working Classes*,^a

^a "Intervention and Non-intervention." By A. G. Stapleton. London: J. Murray. 1866.

^a "Le Peuple." Par J. Michelet. Paris: Charmerot and Co. London: D. Nutt. 1866.

written in 1846, many passages in which have become classical from the loving sympathy by which they are inspired. The whole book is an eloquent apology for the faults, and an enthusiastic eulogy of the virtues of those it describes. There is something more than the insight of a poetical imagination in the pictures he draws of French peasants and operatives. It is, however, not to be disguised that the engaging features of this flattering likeness are taken from the feelings and sentiments rather than from the thoughts and views of the class. Those passages in the dedication of the first edition to M. Edgar Quinet, in which he gives such interesting autobiographical details of his own youth, are not likely to be soon forgotten by any one who has ever read them, while the indignant protest he makes in the same place against those French novelists who, describing almost exclusively the vices of Parisian society, give up their country to the scorn of foreigners, may be taken as the keynote of the better and more comprehensive view which he so eloquently sets forth. Full of that insight which sympathy alone can give, the volume is equally distinguished by those artistic exaggerations for which its author is so remarkable. None of the noble qualities he finds in the working classes can be for one moment disputed; they are for the most part such as are the natural growth of the circumstances in which they are placed, and are full of touching poetry as conceived by him. But is there any class whatever not susceptible of a poetical transfiguration, if the fitting poet be ready with his song? It is very natural that in any such case the poet should become so enamoured of his subject as to attribute to it all beauty and excellence in terms which almost imply that it has the monopoly of them. But every one knows that M. Michelet writes like a lover; and though he for the moment carries away his readers, and warms them by an enthusiasm too rare not to be delightful, we are afraid that he has never taken sufficient security against the reaction to his excitement by a calm summary of—what, then, shall be done?

Another book on the same subject, or rather on the political capacity of the same class,* by an equally decided, but we fear not so disinterested a partisan of their rights, affords a curious contrast to the above in tone, method, and result. While Michelet is full of their past history and present condition, Proudhon is concerned only with their future, and is not very far from despising the working classes of France, because they are, as a body, unprepared to accept his views of that future. All hope of sympathy between the different classes of society he manifestly looks upon as Utopian and misleading. He divides class from class, that the lowest of all may become a political instrument in the hands of those who espouse their special interests, which he maintains can never meet with their just acknowledgment, until, by a strict and exclusive organization, they make

the power of their weight and numbers felt and attended to.

"But what is to be done," he says, "with people who have no distinct notion of their own political position or rights, and have done nothing but about 'Vive l'Empereur' or 'Vive le Roi,' or 'Vive Monseigneur' or 'Vive notre maître,' who have abolished all things and founded nothing; who love military glory, and prefer animal courage to intellect; whose views of foreign politics are always clouded by passion; who exaggerate every national vanity and pretension, and forget every really French interest; who adore rhetoric, who admire orators; who cannot reason; speeches that come to no conclusion; images rather than ideas; and phrases more than arguments; who are the dupes of every affected sentiment, and are incapable of detecting the grossest charlatanism; who insist on being flattered and courted; who are passionately attached to show and magnificence, to uniforms and embroidery; who desire an expensive government, and think that luxury their own because they pay for it; and yet, though proud and haughty as a body, are not too much so as individuals to ask for 'something in' when they are paid the promised price for work done; who, if they are domestics, will either take a commission from their employer's tradespeople, or pilfer from what is entrusted to their care; who, if coachmen, waiters, porters, cabmen, to say nothing of a host of others, must always ask for something to drink—what is to be done with such a people as this? indignantly exclaims that would-be tribune. What is the use of universal suffrage to a class that, when they are justly paid what is their due, are not satisfied unless they get some *douceur* in excess of the terms of their contract?"

And yet these two pictures of the same class in the same country are far from inconsistent with one another; they are but the views of it from without, the basis and surface of class character, so far as any such generalizations are true at all. It is clear that Proudhon could not possibly have supposed that all the vices he lays to the charge of the working classes could be overcome and forgotten in time for their next opportunity, which he announced for 1869; when, if they would take his advice, and in the interval reform themselves, they would have their chance of striking for a system of mutuality and reciprocal assurance, of decentralization and federal government, which would inaugurate the long-expected reign of social happiness and justice, and France and Frenchmen be happy by his means. Is it worth while making the obvious reflection suggested by every page of these two books?—that classes of society are kept asunder by their vices, and brought together, if at all, by those virtues which have a deeper source than their political relations to each other.

Mr. Watts's "Facts of the Cotton Famine" is much more than a mere history of the calamity it describes. It is nothing less than a philosophical description of the most intelligent, and because the most intelligent, the most interesting section of English operatives. In its first character, as a history of the years of distress, it is complete, full, and satisfactory, bristling with figures and statistical re-

* "De la Capacité Politique des Classes Ouvrières." Par P. J. Proudhon. Paris: E. Dentu. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

* "The Facts of the Cotton Famine." By John Watts, Ph. D., Member of the Central Relief Committee. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1866.

turns, but oppressed by neither, admirable in the arrangement of the subject, and exhaustive of all its details. In its second character, which rather animates the treatment of the subject than obtrudes itself in any dogmatic manner, it is a complete sociological study of the moral and intellectual effects of the great development of human labour which machinery and subdivision have brought about in Lancashire. As a history, this volume will always be a storehouse of well-arranged facts on one of the most important crises in modern industry, while the views it constantly brings forward on the influence exerted by capital on the character of the labourer, belong to an order of thought that has few such intelligent representatives. The Lancashire operatives have been admired and very justly praised for the spirit of patient endurance displayed under the severe trial from which they are but just emerging. The admiration and praise have been nobly earned and ungrudgingly given, but few have thought it worth while to inquire in what school these virtues were acquired, and how it came about that the children of a class the most disorderly, violent, and uncontrollable, have displayed, under circumstances of exceptional trial, qualities the very reverse of those which characterized their immediate progenitors. And yet the question is one well worth discussion. In a formal manner it is never brought forward by Mr. Watts, but few candid readers can lay down his book without feeling that the answer it conveys is as conclusive as it is satisfactory. The habits of order and regularity which are indispensably necessary to the pecuniary success of a large and complicated industrial undertaking, necessarily react upon every one who takes a part, however subordinate, in its processes. A man who has all his life been employed upon some small and restricted process, which, although almost hidden in, is still necessary to the result in which it can scarcely be recognised, is naturally led to feel, if not to reflect, that he occupies in the great society of men a similar position, and that the mechanism of social life is as dependent upon regularity and order as the material fabric to which he supplies so small a part of its ultimate appearance. This education which capital gives to labour it is not fashionable to acknowledge, in spite of the overwhelming evidence of its force which has been displayed during the last few years in the north of England. It is an education, too, which is given almost unconsciously, and in this resembles the manner in which some of our strongest principles and prejudices are implanted in us. This is the moral side of the pursuit of wealth, which has been far too little dwelt upon by economists, and which would well repay a full and thorough exposition, but which is of course quite incompatible with the limits at our present disposal. There are one or two popular prejudices about the cotton hands which are thoroughly dispelled by Mr. Watts. It has been said that the high temperature of the working-rooms in the mills, and the consequent early puberty of those employed in them, were highly conducive to sexual immorality. A comparison of the judicial statistics on this subject shows, that when com-

pared with the rest of the kingdom, Lancashire illegitimacy is only 0.28 per cent. above the average of the whole of England and Wales. The per centage of bastardy in Lancashire is 7.27, while in Monmouth and Wales it is 7.3; in the North-Western Counties, 7.4; in Yorkshire, 7.6; in the Northern Counties, 7.8; and in the North Midland Counties, 8.8. These figures, which are largely in excess of the corresponding ones for the Southern Counties, point rather to better wages and greater independence than to any effect traceable to the general character of manufacturing as opposed to agricultural employment. Another curious feature of Lancashire morality may be traced to the same source. The per-centage of female criminality exhibits a most remarkable difference from that which prevails in other parts of the country. From 1851 to 1855 the proportion was 27.8 for England and Wales, against 35.9 for Lancashire, and from 1856 to 1860 it was 28.3 to 40.72. This is very striking, but is directly traceable to the greater independence of women in the manufacturing districts. Mr. Watts asks the very pertinent question, "Can it be possible that progress towards the independence of women would develop vice as well as virtue, and that to render woman equal to man in power would also render her his equal in crime?" This is a question seldom fairly looked at by the advocates of woman's rights, but cannot be shirked by those who desire and advocate their extension. There is nothing alarming in the apparent answer. A virtue that is not the result of an intelligent choice has none of the positive qualities which make virtue desirable. Liberty and self-determination are not only desirable in themselves, but they are certainly the only sources from which the highest good can ultimately be drawn for the society in which they are possible. When these are once acquired, every man and woman goes to the great school of nature and takes the correction which her laws unflinchingly administer for their own benefit and that of their fellows. The lessons taught in this school are likely, when once there is a free access to it, to work as great a change upon mankind, as in a more restricted sphere, the influences of capital have upon the rough and passionate nature of the Lancashire lads and lasses of the past generation. These two instances will suffice to show to what apparently remote results Mr. Watts pushes his comprehensive inquiry. It is quite impossible here to touch upon the history of the administration of the relief afforded by the Government and nation—upon the sad consequences of the famine to the most deserving of the population—upon the full history of the rise, progress, and terrible crisis of the cotton manufacture; there is, however, nothing that we can remember as characteristic of the attitude of either the operatives or the nation which escapes his notice, and for the most part his judicious comment. This volume is a complete encyclopædia for reference on the subject, and the large and comprehensive views of the author will make it welcome wherever the modern spirit of industrialism has to be studied or discussed.

Those who take up Mr. Ellis's "Thoughts on

the Future of the Human Race" in search of predictions or forecasts of the future, will be grievously disappointed; unless, indeed, his solitary prognostication, that "progressive improvement is inevitable," should strike them as a novelty. His title-page would justify many in expecting some nearer approach to a definite exposition of possible events than he has undertaken or thinks justifiable. It is no doubt indisputably true that our power of anticipating coming events is in direct proportion to our knowledge and comprehension of the past and present; but a lengthened exhortation to acquire that knowledge and insight, is hardly entitled to be called a treatise on the future of the human race. Perhaps there never was a time, unless in the latter half of the 16th century, when men were less inclined to doubt the general progress of their race than they are at present. The history of the last half century in Western Europe and America is a continued protest against the statu-quo-ite and deteriorationist. Mr. Ellis, it seems to us, is fighting with an imaginary adversary, and indeed, is constantly obliged to set him on his legs, that he may deliver his blows at him; this he does with infinite art and deliberation, but with a tediousness of repetition that becomes after the first chapter or two positively wearisome. As a very general picture of the progress made in material wealth, of a growing sympathy and enlarged sense of duty among us, there are many excellent, though laborious passages in this volume, which are manifest evidence that his conclusion has been long since too fully accepted and acted on to stand in need of such an elaborate proof. That we are better off than our ancestors few will dispute, but in what way our children's condition will be an advance upon our own, is a subject of inquiry which is only fruitful when accompanied by practical suggestions for insuring more definite results than can be summarized under the vague assurance of general improvement.

A volume by Professor Arnold of Marburg, on Civilization and Jurisprudence,* is the first of four, in which he intends to discuss the influence which each exerts on the other. The present one is confined to the general effects of the economical condition, common law, and political institutions of any country on its systematic jurisprudence. In the second he promises to treat of the Roman system, as it existed in antiquity; in the third, he will take up the elements of law, as they existed among the German races before they were affected by the introduction of principles derived from the former; and in the fourth volume he hopes to show by a history of that introduction the modifications which each have undergone. The general subject is co-extensive with the moral and intellectual history of mankind, and will be the last expression of human knowledge when once its generalizations have been made with a convincing truth. Professor Arnold is far from sup-

posing that we are in a position soon to arrive at such results, but is satisfied, as he says, with carrying another stone to the great edifice. The present volume is sober, clear, and most accessibly written, with a complete absence of those technical expressions which debar a layman from taking up a book any way connected with law or jurisprudence.

M. About, who some time since paid homage to the rising sun of political economy in his *Progrès*, repeats his reverence in a little volume on Life Insurance,[†] in which, after an interchange of compliments between himself and M. Eugène Reboul, he steps forward as the champion of a cause that wants no supporters in England, whatever it may do in France. The arguments of his *brochure* can be found in a condensed form in any prospectus of an English insurance office. It is true that they are not there illustrated by epigrams, or by any logic but that of facts; but if the logic of his exposition is good, as much cannot be said for its taste, which is simply execrable. This will not surprise the readers of *Madelon* and *La Vielle Roche*. That we may not be thought prejudiced, we translate a portion of his argument to prove the prudence of the practice of Life Insurance:—

"We will suppose an upper clerk in trade, commerce, or banking, let him be, in fact, anything you please—a manager, or a very precocious *préfet*, who is thirty years of age; in or out of uniform, this young man earns, we will say, 20,000fr. per annum. If he were immortal, and could preserve his youth like the gods of Olympus, the firm which he carries on his shoulders would represent a capital of at least 300,000fr. (we might say 400,000fr. if a man were not a kind of sunken capital which perishes day by day); the misfortune is, that he may tumble downstairs and break his neck, and then his jolly capital would not be worth 60fr., the price of a dead horse. The best and most beautiful of men, when he is once dead, is, in fact, worth considerably less than nothing. His body not only represents no appreciable value, but puts his heirs to expense. His funeral, the purchase of a piece of ground, the cost of the most moderate mourning; just add all this together, and you will appreciate the entirely negative value of the human carcass."

This choice specimen of modern French sentiment is by no means an isolated one in the little volume from which it is taken; but we suppose that M. About knows his public. All we can say is, that we hope he is deceived in the judgment he has evidently formed of it. To say that his *brochure* is clear, terse, witty, and to the point, is almost superfluous; these things every one has a right to expect at his hands. It is impossible to deny that the cause he advocates is a good one; but this is in itself so palpable that nothing remains open to criticism except the manner in which he manages his weapons, and of this we think we have said enough by quoting his own words as above.

Mr. Barnum's "Humbugs of the World"[‡] is

* "Thoughts on the Future of the Human Race." By W. Ellis. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1866.

† "Cultur und Rechtleben." Von W. Arnold. Berlin: F. Dümmler. London: D. Nutt. 1865.

‡ "L'Assurance." Par E. About. Paris: Hachette and Co. London: D. Nutt. 1866.

§ "The Humbugs of the World." By P. T. Barnum. London: J. C. Hotten. 1866.

a trashy compilation, as miscellaneous in its contents as his own museum. Its title is an advertisement which cannot be justified even on his own principle, that at least something like money's worth should be given to those whose curiosity is excited by it. The only original part consists of a collection of letters and evidence, exposing mediums and spirit-rapping. His wrath burns very fiercely against the Davenport brothers, and his demolition of their pretences will be perfectly satisfactory to those who never gave credence to them, but is likely to have but small effect on believing spiritualists. In this he is not to be blamed. Argument is thrown away on those who have other avenues to knowledge besides the five senses. Perhaps, too, there is something of the *jalousie du métier* in his onslaught. In a chapter on hoaxes, he gives the history of the pamphlet on miscegenation, and in another on ghosts, tells a good story of Cuvier (we suppose any other naturalist would have done as well). "Some one undertook to scare him with a ghost having an ox's head; Cuvier awoke and found the fearful thing grinning and glaring at his bedside. 'What do you want?' 'To devour you!' growled the ghost. 'Devour me!' quoth the great Frenchman. 'Hoofs, horns, graminivorous! you can't do it! Clear out!'" There are some half-dozen stories as good as this to be found in the volume, as there were some things of interest in his museum, but if it had been half as laborious to walk through the museum as we have found it to wade through his book, all his skill in advertising could not have kept it open for so many years.

Mr. Sala's "Trip to Barbary by a Roundabout Route,"¹¹ is a collection of the "correspondence" he sent home when he followed the French Emperor into Algiers in the character of comic chorus. He confesses that his object is, in the first place, to amuse, and the reader must be hard to please who cannot find amusement in his pages. An entertainment of a similar kind is often to be met with in country fairs at a cart's-tail, but is of a sort that is much more adapted to single letters than to a continuous series. To be kept on the broad grin for more than five minutes at a time is a little exhausting; but it is as useless to put on airs of gravity with Mr. Sala, as it would be with the ingenious gentleman with whom we have irreverently compared him, and who would be certain to dispel any such protest by a knowing wink, or by thrusting his tongue in his cheek. At the very outset of his journey, the author introduces himself, or rather presents himself as introduced by those he calls his proprietors, to the new King Public, apparently with the full conviction that the modern potentate must stand in need of an officer who was seldom wanting in the early courts of those other kings on whom he turns his back. The officer in question, though profanely called so, was seldom the greatest fool about the court. He knew the foibles of his master, and of those who surrounded him, and

fully resolving to make profit of both, assumed a latitude in particular satire, on the understanding that the favourite weaknesses of his majesty were rather to be flattered than exposed. Mr. Sala has a full knowledge of his position, and takes care that the pet notions of the new monarch shall be tenderly treated. But we are dropping into the attitude which we have said was so untenable in the presence of his irresistible literary patter, and shall only suggest that if it was worth while to collect these letters, the numerous traces of the hurry and difficulty under which they were written should have been better effaced on their leisurely republication. To compare himself to Sir John instead of Hamlet, because he is "fat and scant of breath," may be excused when a man is writing on the top of his hat in a hurry to catch the post, but ought not to remain on revision; and the same may be said of the excuse he finds for the ungallant remarks of Torquato Tasso, or as he prefers to style him, Signor T. T., that it was in the *fourteenth* century he wrote of Algiers as an infamous den of pirates and nursing mother of lions and elephants. All dimensions and distances are given in the terms of the most approved French guide-book, on an assumption far too flattering to most Englishmen, who, however conversant with the language, have in general but vague notions connected with litres, hectares, and metres. But this is useless; the book is intended to amuse, and fulfils its purpose with an animation and unflagging spirit and courage which must be the admiration, and excite the envy of Special Correspondents in every quarter of the world. It is folly to quarrel with Wamba because he is not so gravely sententious as would become the Abbot of Jorvaulx.

The "Red Shirt" by Alberto Mario,¹² is very properly called episodes, for it is in no sense a history of the remarkable enterprise in which he took part; but it gives, what few histories do, the clearest insight into the animus which prevailed among the better part of that strangely adventurous band. The enthusiasm, audacity, and moral exaltation which for a time set at naught every calculation of ordinary prudence, are reflected in every page of this narrative. At the same time it seems evident that no community could long maintain itself in such a state of tension, and that the common influences of the work-a-day world were not at all premature in associating themselves with a movement radically incapable of a prolonged extension. These episodes are as interesting as a novel, the incidents are as romantic as could be invented by the liveliest imagination, and yet they are as true as the most every-day facts. One of the least important in itself, but the most illustrative of the state of Neapolitan life, is the curious chapter devoted to the author's mission of Forio d'Ischia. It is the story of the Capulets and Montagus in the nineteenth century, with a dash of modern intrigue to reconcile itself with cotemporary politics, but with a happier conclusion. We must,

¹¹ "A Trip to Barbary by a Roundabout Route." By G. A. Sala. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1866.

¹² "The Red Shirt." By Alberto Mario. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

however, confess that we should fear the ghosts of private feuds that are only buried under the momentary enthusiasm of a freshly recovered public liberty. That Signor Mario should look upon the arrival of Victor Emmanuel at Gaëta as the frustration of a glorious enterprise, is but natural. It may, however, be seen, even in his own pages, that the irresistible *élan* of the first attack had been already weakened by the intrusion into Garibaldi's force of elements very different from those to which he owed his wonderful success. Such violent births are of but poor validity. It is one of the rarest of mental phenomena when individual men are regenerated in a single day; but no national life can thus turn back upon itself. A collective interest must have firmer and more durable bases than are to be found in an emotional condition, however noble in itself.

Some of the naval and military trials recounted by Mr. Burke¹² hardly deserve to be so called, as for instance that of Jack the Painter, for the destruction of part of the dockyard at Portsmouth, in 1776, and the trial of General Sir Robert Wilson and others, in France, for aiding in the escape of Lavallette. Indeed, it would seem that if the person indicated was either sailor or soldier, it is sufficient, in Mr. Burke's opinion, to make the trial a naval or military one. Thus, in the case of Governor Wall, and in that of Colonel Despard, the murder and treason for which they respectively suffered, came under the cognizance of the civil tribunal. The volume, however, is interesting, and although the author's criticisms throughout are of a very commonplace character, he has been at considerable trouble in very fully reporting the proceedings in each case, so that a great amount of local colour and cotemporary feeling is reflected in his pages. In addition to those we have mentioned, the volume contains the trials of Benbow's captains, of Captain Kidd the pirate, of Admiral Byng, Lord George Sackville, of Admiral Keppel, and Vice-Admiral Calder, with an account of the mutinies at the Nore and on board the *Bounty*.

The first part of a very full and handsome gazetteer of England and Wales has just been issued by Messrs. Fullarton & Co.,¹³ which from its completeness promises to supersede all others. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the undertaking from the fact that the first four hundred pages do not get beyond the first half of the letter O. It is copiously illustrated by maps and plans of all the cities, towns, estuaries, and harbours, and is to be accompanied by a map of the whole country, carefully reduced from those of the Ordnance survey.

Mr. Charles Brooke's "Ten Years in Sarawak,"¹⁴ is tedious from the monotony of his constant conflicts with the unsubdued tribes round that settlement, but it is valuable for its sincer-

ity and the manifest reliableness of the picture which he draws of the slow progress by which a wild and semi-savage race can be made amenable to the rules of a more civilized life. As a history of English administration it will no doubt be exposed to the cavils of those who think that the law need not always precede the gospel, or that what is good for the sixth form is equally so for the first. The violent proceedings and drastic measures by which every valuable advance has been hitherto brought about in all societies, are too apt to be forgotten by those who have outgrown the necessity for their use. Mr. Brooke's accounts of his perilous and adventurous journeys up the rapid and dangerous rivers of the country, for the purpose of suppressing the head-hunting propensities of the natives or of securing the peace and order of the seaboard communities, are told with a graphic power and vividness that are the more impressive from the absence of all attempts at dramatic completeness or exaggeration of the effect produced by them. Nothing but a strong conviction of the ultimate good which must ensue from their exertions could support a few Europeans under the wearisome uniformity and constant dangers of a life among the Dyaks, who are like grown-up children, liable to the most outrageous bursts of passion, but impressionable and ultimately amenable to a strict rule at the hands of those they respect and love. The richness and fertility of this great island imply a future of proportionate wealth and influence, and one of the best features of Mr. Brooke's book, as it is also one of the rarest qualities in those who are heartily interested in their subject, is the sobriety with which he argues such questions as are connected with the physical improvement of the race, the prospects of Christianity among them, and the influence of Malay Mahomedanism and Chinese industrialism. Altogether the book is a valuable addition to our knowledge of that curious episode in modern history which may be called the "Brookes in Borneo."

"Cast Away on the Auckland Isles,"¹⁵ is one of the most interesting histories of shipwreck and courageous endurance that is anywhere to be met with. The schooner *Grafton*, Capt. Musgrave, was wrecked in the southern harbour of these Islands on the 3rd January, 1864. After enduring the greatest physical hardships and the sickness of twenty months deferred hope that he and his few companions might be picked up by some whaling ship calling at the Islands, Capt. Musgrave, with the help of his able mate Raynal, converted the old and shattered dingy, which had been preserved from the wreck, into a sea-going boat in which he and two of the party ventured on a voyage of 250 miles to Stewart's Island, the southern point of New Zealand, and accomplished the daring feat in five days. In spite of his exhaustion and suffering, he, aided by Mr. John Macpherson of Invercargill, immediately returned in the *Flying Scud*, and brought off the two sail-

¹² "Celebrated Naval and Military Trials." By Peter Burke. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1866.

¹³ "The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales." Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Co.

¹⁴ "Ten Years in Sarawak." By Charles Brooke. 2 vols. Tinsley Brothers. 1866.

¹⁵ "Cast away on the Auckland Isles." From the journal of Captain Thomas Musgrave. London: Lockwood and Co. 1866.

ors who had been left behind. For all that is implied in this short summary we must refer to Capt. Musgrave's pages, which are full of interest and information. These islands were first discovered in 1806, and have been visited by Capt. Ross, Admiral Dumont D'Urville, and Capt. Wilkes of the United States. From their accounts it might be supposed they were rather desirable places than otherwise, and indeed there was an effort made, but with little success, by Mr. Enderby, about 1850, to establish a depot on the most northerly island, which might become a rendezvous for the southern whale fishery. But the facts of the case are manifestly very different from the views of the first visitors to these islands. Capt. Musgrave preserved his own life and those of his crew only by the fortunate chance that he was cast away in the southern harbour, for while he was on the island, the *Invercauld*, with a crew of twenty-five men, was wrecked on the north-west coast, and though nineteen succeeded in reaching land, they all perished from starvation with the exception of the captain, mate, and one boy, who, after a year's detention on the island, were picked up by a Portuguese vessel which sent a boat ashore to see if assistance could be found on the island to enable its crew to repair a leak in their ship. That two crews should thus at one time, in ignorance of one another's existence, be wandering about an island which is not thirty miles long in its greatest extent, speaks volumes for the inaccessible nature of the country. Had it not been for the seals which frequent the southern harbour in great numbers, the crew of the *Grafton* must have shared the fate of the majority of that of the *Invercauld*. But even this resource might have failed them another year, for while on their arrival the "mobs" of seals hardly resisted or avoided the attacks made on them, they had become so wary before Captain Musgrave left, that he and his companions were but too happy to put up with any old sea monster they could capture, instead of feeding, as they did at first, exclusively on delicate yearling calves. This is a delicacy, however, to which few of us would wish to be restricted. The account of the lengthening and fitting up of the dingy, without a nail which they had not first made with old iron from the wreck, nor any tools but one axe, an adze, and a gimlet—is an example of patient courage and endurance that throws into the shade the most imaginative fiction. But must not always great things be done before they can be imagined as credible? Not only in the supreme effort to escape which had such well-deserved success is this narrative remarkable, but also for the resolute order of life established among the little company, for the constant industry with which the harbours were surveyed, barometrical and other observations made during their stay, for the means by which the minds of all were kept actively employed, and for the unconscious evidence it displays of talents for command and government in its author, which have been rarely excelled.

"Memorials of Service in India," have been

given to the public by the late Major Macpherson's brother with a twofold object: first, to place on record the very important services rendered to the Indian Government by an able and talented officer; and next, with a fraternal desire to vindicate that officer's posthumous fame from the unfair aspersions cast upon it by Major-General John Campbell, in a volume published in 1864 ("A Personal Narrative of Services among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan.") It appears that both officers were employed, though at different periods, in suppressing, among a wild people called Khonds, the rite of human sacrifice and the practice of infanticide. Each officer claims the sole merit of having effected this object, and General Campbell has had the advantage of being the first in the field to put publicly forward his pretensions. Both officers in describing their operations go over nearly the same ground, but Major Macpherson is much more minute in his description of the Khond habits and customs, and his full and lucid account of the mythological creed (discredited by Gen. Campbell) and social organization of this singular race, will render his book the more acceptable of the two to the ethnologist. The two officers differed so far in the policy they pursued, that while Gen. Campbell added physical to moral force, Major Macpherson trusted to conciliatory measures only, paving the way to religious change by an acceptable civil administration; and there can be no doubt that his policy met with the more unqualified approbation of the Government of India and the Court of Directors, for the latter have placed on record that the merit of having extinguished the horrid rite of human sacrifice is due to Major Macpherson alone; and this verdict we are inclined to endorse on reading the account of his subsequent successful diplomacy at the court of Gwalior, to which (after a short residence in a similar capacity at Bhopal) he was, in 1854, appointed political agent. Here his admirable power of individual character soon gained him a firm ally in the famous Dewan Dinkur Rao, the *de facto* ruler of the state, and to this sagacious alliance it may be fairly attributed that we had not arrayed against us in 1857 the whole of Upper and perhaps of the South of India, and that for the four most critical months of the rebellion, when the fate of Agra and Delhi hung in the balance, 10,000 of perhaps the best native troops in India were kept from joining the rebels. No one at all acquainted with the native character will fail to appreciate the difficulties of Major Macpherson's position, or the statesmanship he exhibited in surmounting them; and the editor of this highly interesting volume, far from overrating either, has told his tale with modesty, candour, and marked ability.

In the story of the Doar war" we have a

correspondence of the late Major Samuel Macpherson, C.B., political agent at Gwalior during the mutiny, and formerly employed in the suppression of human sacrifices in Orissa. Edited by his brother, W. Macpherson. London: John Murray. 1863.

"Bhotan, and the Story of the Doar War, in-

¹⁷ "Memorials of Service in India." From the

connected narrative of the causes, the prosecution, and the effects of the hostilities in which, for the last two years, the Bengal Government have been engaged on their north-eastern frontier. It appears that in 1863, it being thought desirable that our relations with the Bhotan Government should be placed on a more distinctly defined and friendly footing, a mission to effect that object was, early in 1864, despatched to the Bhotan capital under the leadership of the Hon. Ashley Eden, a Bengal civilian. Mr. Eden was furnished with the draft of a treaty, by which reciprocal concessions were to be made with regard to certain border raids recently engaged in by the subjects of both Governments, and if possible, clauses regarding the condition of criminals, free trade, and protection to travellers were to be agreed upon. The mission, notwithstanding many obstacles purposely thrown in its way, eventually reached the capital, Poonakha, where it was received with gross indignities, and, after being forcibly detained for a fortnight, was at length allowed to depart only on the condition of Mr. Eden signing an "agreement," by which a considerable tract of British territory was to be made over to Bhotan. It was therefore resolved to annex the Dooars, or country lying between the British frontier and the Bhotan hills, as well as a portion of the hill territory. As it was from these Dooars that Bhotan was supposed to draw its chief supply of the necessities of life, it was presumed that this hostile occupation would bring the Bhotanese to terms. Accordingly columns of British troops crossed the frontier at four different points, and captured the stockades and forts commanding the hill passes, leaving garrisons in the principal positions. The main force then withdrew, but they had hardly reached their cantonments before the Bhotanese assumed the offensive, and succeeded in recapturing the fort of Dewangiri, the garrison abandoning in their retreat two Armstrong guns. Reinforcements were promptly despatched from Calcutta, and by April, 1865, the Bhotanese were completely driven out of the field and sued for peace. Dr. Rennie deserves much credit for the industry and care with which, from the verbiage of official despatches and correspondence, he has gathered the materials for this readable volume, and we should have little fault to find with the book were it not, like his previous works, overloaded with insipid strictures on matters concerning which few would feel inclined to accept him as an authority.

"Beaten Tracks,"¹⁰ by the authoress of a "Voyage en Zigzag," is a bright, cheerful, and amusing series of letters describing a tour made last year through France and Lombardy to Florence, where the tourists were for some time

detained by the illness of one of their party. There is a pleasing feminine tone of sentiment running through these letters, and a slight tendency to a fondling enthusiastic treatment of anything that particularly pleases their writer, who is, however, far too intelligent to be quite carried away by any temptations to exaggeration. The volume is profusely illustrated by a number of facile etchings, after drawings made by her of any object which struck her on the journey: they are in excellent harmony with the letters themselves, and display exactly that more than average accomplishment which speaks in every page of them. The whole correspondence is singularly natural and unpretending, and gives a very lively picture of such incidents as may be expected by any one who, in easy circumstances, and with a natural faculty of enjoyment, may feel inclined to follow in the steps of this well-described journey.

Another tour in Italy by Herr Max Nohl¹¹ is very well worth reading. The author was a rising German architect, who died in the summer of 1863. The present volume has been edited by a friend, Herr W. Lübke, who has prefaced it with a biography of the author. The chief purpose of the journey described was a professional one, and a great attraction of the volume consists in the numerous and clever sketches of the architectural peculiarities which struck Herr Nohl on his route, which, in spite of the minuteness of their scale, give an interest to his remarks that would otherwise be wanting to those who are unacquainted with the different styles prevalent in Italy.

Captain Osborne has collected in one volume his "Quedah," his "Cruise in Japanese Waters," and "The Fight on the Peiho in 1859."¹² The first of these is one of the best boy's books extant, as well as a first-rate picture of naval service in the Malayan Seas. The animated account of his youthful command on board the *Emerald* is not easily forgotten by those who have ever read it.

Dr. Macleod's account of his tour in Egypt and Syria,¹³ reprinted from "Good Words," with copious illustrations, has a very handsome appearance, and will be very welcome to those who appreciate his mild clerical attempts at humour, or accept his principles of Biblical criticism, in neither of which classes can we affect to place ourselves.

SCIENCE.

THOUGH Dr. Hofmann's lectures¹⁴ were published

¹⁰ "Tagebuch einer Italienischen Reise." Von Max Nohl. Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert. London: Williams and Norgate. 1866.

¹¹ "Quedah; a Cruise in Japanese Waters; and the Fight on the Peiho." By Captain Osborne. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

¹² "Eastward." By Norman Macleod, D.D., one of her Majesty's chaplains. London: A. Strahan. 1866.

¹³ "Introduction to Modern Chemistry, Experi-

cluding Sketches of a Three Months' Residence at the Himalayas, and Narrative of a Visit to Bhotan in 1865." By D. F. Rennie, M.D., Surgeon 20th Hussars, author of "The British Arms in North China," &c. J. Murray. 1866.

¹⁴ "Beaten Tracks; or Pen and Pencil Sketches in Italy." By the authoress of a "Voyage en Zigzag." London: Longmans and Co. 1866.

last year, we think no apology will be needed for noticing them here. The volume is well got up, and is illustrated by woodcuts taken from photographs of apparatus such as was actually employed in the lecture-room. Dr. Hofmann, by the aid of this apparatus, always simple and elegant, has contrived to illustrate the operation of those laws which are the foundations of chemistry. Granting that the experiments are accurately described, it is impossible to doubt any of the principles here enunciated. His experiments not only bring before the mind of the reader the peculiar characters of the elements, but also the laws of combination in definite proportion, with a clearness and beauty, rarely, if ever, previously attained. The book will be eminently valuable to chemists commencing their career as teachers. The language is very clear and simple, and the work contains nothing which any person of average intelligence could fail to understand, even if utterly unacquainted with chemistry.

When an attempt is made to introduce into a science a new system of nomenclature, we have a right to expect that this system should present some decided points of advantage over those already in use, and that the book introducing it should be carefully written and edited. Such, we regret to say, is not the case with Professor Williamson's "Chemistry for Students." In the latter respect especially it is very deficient, many glaring errors being left uncorrected. For example, in paragraph 215, the word "lime" is substituted for "soda;" in consequence of which mistake the student is informed that he can obtain soda from two substances, neither of which contain any trace of sodium. This is by no means a solitary instance. The index, also, is very faulty, and the peculiar form of the book renders this defect of more than usual consequence. Many important substances treated of in the work are omitted—among others, tartaric and chloric acids. This is the more remarkable, as derivatives of tartaric acid are mentioned. Sugar is not to be found, nor is alcohol, except under its somewhat antiquated name of vinic alcohol; but under M there is "mixture of alcohol and water." As a book of reference, Professor Williamson's work is useless, partly because of the badness of the index, partly because the facts relating to any one particular substance are distributed in various parts of the book—a process being described in one place, and its rationale being considered elsewhere. We have no particular objection to the proposed new nomenclature, except that in the case of some of the more complicated substances it would result in names which even an experienced chemist would hardly understand, but it labours under the immense disadvantage of being

a new nomenclature, and before its adoption, must prove its superiority to the old systems. We do not believe that it possesses such superiority, and indeed, cannot find that it is in any way better than the nomenclatures in use. What advantage, for example, is gained by calling tartrate of soda "sodic tartrate"? unless that the word *of* is omitted. On the other hand, it has certain disadvantages, particularly in the naming of the large class of salts of bi-basic acids. Professor Williamson, however, is not inclined to apply the word *acid* at all to these compounds, and would call tartaric acid hydric tartrate, and sulphuric acid hydric sulphate, or would speak of them as the hydrogen salts of the substances in question. Thus he would name bitartrate of potash, hydro-potassic tartrate, and Rochelle salt, sodio-potassic tartrate; but from this it ought to follow that the compound analogous to Rochelle salt containing potash instead of soda (tartrate of potash), should be called di-potassic tartrate. Dr. Williamson, however, names it simply potassic tartrate, or occasionally, normal potassic tartrate. Why normal? Are the other salts abnormal? Other substances are treated of under names which sound strange in the ears of chemists. Who, for instance, would guess that levulose meant grape sugar? Yet that such is the case seems to be proved by a careful examination of the formula.

In remarkable contrast to Professor Williamson's book, is the small manual of "Qualitative Analysis" by Professor Gottlieb, for it does not contain a single symbol or formula from beginning to end; the cautious Professor evidently thinking it as well to be independent of ever-changing chemical theories. We think this has been carried somewhat too far, though the book is otherwise an excellent one. One feature in it calls for special remark. In speaking of the re-agents, he describes not only their actions on those substances which they ordinarily serve to detect or isolate, but also their action upon all the substances capable of being treated by Professor Gottlieb's analytical method. This is a practice which we think might be generally imitated in chemical manuals with great advantage. The chapter on the solution of bodies is also admirable.

The volume before us was left in manuscript by Charles Mansfield,* who was burnt to death ten years ago in the course of a splendid series of researches on the hydro-carbons. We hardly think that his friends have done him justice in publishing it in its present form. There is much that is obviously immature. Had he lived, Mansfield would not have persisted in basing a chemical classification on the results of electrolysis, for, as is pretty generally recognised, it is usually an open question whether the products observed in making an electrolysis are primary or secondary. Again, it is really hardly fair at this time of day to give all his objections to the modern chemical theories, the progress of investigation having cleared up

mental and Theoretic." Embodying Twelve Lectures delivered in the Royal College of Chemistry, London. By A. W. Hofmann, LL.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: Walton and Maberly. 1865.

* "Chemistry for Students." By Alexander W. Williamson, F.R.S., F.C.S., &c. London: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

* "A Theory of Salts: a Treatise on the Constitution of Bi-polar (two-membered) Chemical Compounds." By the late Charles Blackford Mansfield.

many points which ten years ago seemed to be involved in doubt. The nomenclature proposed by Mansfield is so unlike anything which is current, that few chemists will make the mental effort necessary to understand it. A few of his terms—such, for example, as base and style for the metal and acid forming part of a salt—might be adopted with advantage.

Kolbe is one of the few chemists who have succeeded in forming a chemical school. His pupils—including among others Lautermann, the discoverer of the reducing power of hydriodic acid (a discovery which has completely changed the face of organic chemistry); Griess, the author of the classical investigation of the Diazo-compounds; Guthrie, and the late Dr. Ulrich—are distinguished for a certain kind of originality, and for great practical skill in the detail of chemical research. They are, moreover, enthusiastic in their admiration of their master. The volume before us forms a kind of account of his stewardship, being issued by Kolbe on the eve of his translation from the chemical chair in the University of Marburg to that Leipzig.⁴ A few pages at the beginning of the book are devoted to the history of the chemical laboratory in Marburg, then come some financial details, and then follows a short chapter on the method of chemical instruction adopted in Marburg. To this chapter we would direct the especial attention of all those engaged in teaching the science. In making a commencement with a student, avoid the use of printed tables of chemical reactions and of text-books of chemical analysis, and give minute oral instruction, making the student keep a note-book and himself construct his own tables of reactions. From the very first accustom the student to express the results of each experiment in the form of an equation. Do not confine the instruction in the laboratory to chemical analysis, but let the utmost variety of chemical preparation be made. This is Kolbe's advice, and, next to Liebig, Kolbe is the most successful chemical teacher in Germany. The remainder and by far the largest part of the book consists of an account of the researches carried out in the Marburg laboratory since the year 1859. There are no fewer than fifty-five original papers, some of them of the very highest interest. We single out the following: Two papers on the conversion of lactic acid into propionic acid, the one by Ulrich, the other by Lautermann; the transformation of tartaric and malic acids into succinic acid, by Schmitt; the direct transformation of carbonic acid into formic acid, by Kolbe and Schmitt; the secondary alcohols, by Kolbe; a paper on sarcosine, by Vohard, and two accounts of some very interesting sulphur-compounds, by Von Oefele. Certainly, the Marburg laboratory has played a very considerable part in the chemical history of the last seven years. In a preface to the "Special Researches," Kolbe remarks that these, although apparently so diverse, are for

the most part a carrying out of the ideas set forth by him in 1860, in a paper entitled "On the Natural Relation subsisting between Organic and Inorganic Compounds," and that this paper of 1860 has much in common with an earlier paper—a joint production of his own and Frankland's—which appeared in 1857 in Liebig's "Annalen," bearing the title, "On the Rational Constitution of the Fatty and Aromatic Acids, Aldehydes, Ketones, &c., and their relations to Carbonic Acid." A graceful tribute is paid to Frankland, of whom it is said that "a very great, and at all events a greater share in the origination of these ideas than seems generally to be supposed, belongs to him." Kolbe dwells on the great influence which Frankland's researches on the organo-metallic bodies have exercised in the development of the fundamental doctrine that each element has a constant capacity of saturation, and relates how Frankland and himself came to enter into a chemical partnership; and so long ago as 1856, fully recognising that carbon had a constant capacity of saturation just as much as arsenic or nitrogen, were attempting the task of building up acids, alcohols, and ketones in true inorganic substitution style. Engaged with the problem how to substitute ethyl for some of the oxygen in carbonic acid, they were startled by the announcement that Wanklyn had accidentally solved it, and that the substance produced was really propionic acid—the very thing pointed out by their theory. In reference to this discovery Kolbe says:

"It is worthy of remark that no particular importance is attached to it by the supporters of the new theory of types, and yet it is one of the most valuable contributions to the science; and in this respect deserves a place beside the research of Liebig and Wöhler on the benzoyl-compounds, that of Bunsen on kakodyl, of Frankland on organo-metallic bodies, and of Hofmann on the direct conversion of ammonia into organic bases."

M. Figuier's *Scientific Annual*,⁵ of which the tenth issue is now before us, contrasts remarkably with the very poor "Year-book of Facts," which is the only corresponding publication on this side of the Channel. Mr. Timbs seems to derive his scientific facts chiefly from the newspapers, and newspaper science is not of the most reliable description; his French rival, on the contrary, goes to original sources for his information, and knows how to work it into shape when he has got it. In fact, although M. Figuier may occasionally blunder, and certainly succeeds in producing an impression that by far the greater part of the progress of science is effected by Frenchmen, his little annual volume always contains a great deal of valuable information. The present issue contains a good article on the physical constitution of the sun, an account of Helmholtz's researches on the perception of sounds, some interesting meteorological data on the summer of last year, articles on substitutes for gunpowder, an

⁴ "Das Chemische Laboratorium der Universität Marburg." Von Hermann Kolbe. Braunschweig: Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn. 1864.

⁵ "L'Année Scientifique et Industrielle." Par Louis Figuier. Dixième Année. 12mo. Paris: Hachette. 1866.

exceedingly good abstract of the history of our knowledge of the great extinct birds of New Zealand and elsewhere, and a host of other articles of more or less interest. Journalistic science manages, however, to get a footing here and there, as, for instance, in the description of the "*Polype vinaigrier*."

The "*Causeries Scientifiques*" of M. Henri de Parville,* are intended to fulfil nearly the same purpose as M. Figuier's *Annual*, but they are rather gossiping articles upon scientific subjects, than regular abstracts of contributions to the progress of science. These articles are written with more dash and spirit than M. Figuier's, but they are thoroughly French in tone, and perhaps less adapted to the wants of English readers. The subjects treated of by both are in many cases identical.

Another work of M. Figuier's, to which we called attention on its original appearance, has lately been translated into English by an anonymous author. This is his "*World before the Deluge*," a popular exposition of the science of Geology, giving the history of our planet from the supposed period when it floated as a nebular mass in space, to the time of the appearance of man upon its surface, and even later still, for we are treated with an account of the Asiatic or Noachian deluge, illustrated with a plate showing the destruction of a grand city of the traditional Assyrian style of architecture, with a couple of astonished mammoths in the foreground. The translation, on its appearance, was the object of a violent attack on the part of a leading daily journal; but although it undoubtedly has its defects, we do not see that these are of such magnitude as to justify its entire condemnation. The translation seems to be generally well done, and the book itself gives a tolerable sketch of geology, although fanciful in parts. It is illustrated with the beautiful woodcuts of the French edition.

An interesting sketch of a singular piece of local geology is furnished by Mr. Haswell's *Memoir on the Pentland Hills*,† which describes the curious conformation of the Silurian strata in that district, and furnishes a list of numerous fossils which have been detected in them. The Silurian beds which form the foundation of the Pentland Hills, and are capped by strata of Old Red Sandstone age, are found to be contorted in such a manner that they have become nearly or quite vertical; indeed, in some cases a backthrow may be detected. After this extreme disturbance, and before the deposition of the Old Red beds, the upper curves of the Silurians have been, as it were, played off by denudation, and the same cause, acting subsequently, has in some places cleared away a

portion of the superimposed rocks, and hollowed-out valleys in the vertical Silurian beds. It is in these valleys that the older rocks are best exposed, and to one of them especially, that bordering the North Esk, near Coalydune, Mr. Haswell's paper forms an admirable guide. The number of fossils enumerated in the author's table, and figured in the two plates with which the memoir is illustrated, is fifty-two, belonging chiefly to Upper Silurian forms. The portion of the beds best marked by its included fossils seems to approach most nearly to the Wenlock shales. We are sorry to notice a good many mistakes in the spelling of the generic names, and some little confusion as to the systematic position of some of them: thus, *Turritolopas* figures among the Pteropoda, whilst *Theca* occurs both as a Pteropod and a Crustacean.

The "Student" who has published a new "*Physical History of the Earth*,"‡ by no means agrees with M. Figuier in his views upon this subject. He maintains the literal truth of the account of the Creation contained in the first chapter of Genesis, and dissents, with an honesty that does him credit, from the somewhat sophistical attempts that have been made from time to time to effect a reconciliation of the conflicting statements of Science and the Bible. His mode of getting over the difficulty is rather curious. He regards the whole series of Palæozoic and Mesozoic strata as of prehistorical formation, and as being concluded by the creation of man and the existing forms of life, in the manner, and in the six days described in the Book of Genesis; the Eocene formations are treated as subsequent to this period, the Miocene as the consequences of the Deluge, and the highest tertiaries and recent deposits as Postdiluvian. But the most singular part of this author's mode of looking at geological facts is the hypothesis put forward as to the cause of the present arrangement of the materials of the earth's crust. Whilst admitting, of course, the lapse of a considerable period of time before the commencement of the Scripture history, which, indeed, is a necessary condition of the deposition of the existing strata (hard facts not to be got rid of), he maintains that there is no evidence of the numerous oscillations of level to which geologists have recourse for the explanation of these phenomena, but that the deposits have taken place continuously at the bottom of a tranquil sea, while the earth was suspended motionless, or at least *without any rotatory movement* in space, the present arrangement of the strata having been brought about by the sudden commencement of the earth's rotation at the close of the Mesozoic period! This would have the effect of producing the primitive chaos with a vengeance; but the absurdities of the hypothesis are so transparent that we suspect it will hardly find much acceptance even with the orthodox. Our student is also an opponent of the Copernican theory, and seems inclined to think that the sun really moves round the earth.

* "*Causeries Scientifiques, Découvertes, et Inventions, Progrès de la Science et de l'Industrie.*" Par Henri de Parville. 12mo. Paris: Lacy. 1866.

† "*The World before the Deluge.*" By Louis Figuier. Translated from the Fourth French Edition. 8vo. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

‡ "*On the Silurian Formation in the Pentland Hills.*" By G. C. Haswell. 8vo. Edinburgh: Nimmo. 1865.

§ "*The Physical History of the Earth.*" Meditations by a Student. 12mo. London: Bagster.

The Swiss seem to be coming to a determination that Alpine climbing, and the description of its delights and dangers, shall not be left entirely to English feet and hands, and accordingly we have now before us a handsomely printed volume descriptive of the charms of the Grindelwald valley and its surrounding Alps," written by the pastor of the village, and a professor and mining engineer of Berne. The introductory portion is written by the pastor, and contains a description of the valley, with some account of the manners, traditions, and superstitions of its people, and a few observations on temperature and other meteorological phenomena. Professor Alby follows with a poem in blank verse on Alpine wanderings, and then with accounts of the ascent of the Wetterhorn, 8708 metres (round which the adventurers went on a subsequent day); the Schreckhorn, 4080 metres; the Eiger, 8975 metres; the Berglistock, 8274 metres; and the small Schreckhorn, 8497 metres; whilst the third author, M. E. von Fellenberg, describes the ascent of the Kleiner Viescherhorn, 8873 metres, and Pastor Gerwer that of the Mettenberg, 8169 metres. The whole of these descriptions abound in those well-known incidents of Alpine climbing which are generally read with so much interest, although the Swiss explorers do not appear to have fallen into quite so much danger as some of our more reckless English members of the Alpine Club. The account of the scenery is also very attractive, and the panoramic view of the valley, with the surrounding peaks, certainly justifies the encomiums of its pastor. The book is also illustrated with several woodcuts, and with a map of the Grindelwald district.

The series of "Treasures" commenced by the late Mr. S. Maunders, has been continued by the publication of a "Treasury of Botany," edited by the late Dr. Lindley and Mr. Moore of Chelsea." The expectation of excellence which one naturally forms from seeing such names as these on the title-page, and from the respectable list of *collaborateurs* given in the preface, is by no means disappointed by an examination of the book, which seems to us to be a most admirable and handy popular dictionary of botany. The most important plants are described under their English and Latin names, the principal terms used by botanists are well explained, the different natural orders are characterized, and even the synonyms of many groups and of important plants may be ascertained from it. One very valuable feature of the work is the careful manner in which the popular names of plants are given, and this has been done both for French and English names. These little volumes are beautifully illustrated with a great number of woodcuts from the

pencil of Mr. Fitch, and with several plates of scenery showing the influence of characteristic forms of vegetation, upon the landscape.

It is unnecessary, and indeed hardly possible, for us to do much more than announce the appearance of the first volume of Professor Owen's "Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of Vertebrates,"¹² which, although a book of considerable size, includes only the *Hæmatocrya*, or cold-blooded Vertebrata—the reptiles and fishes of most zoologists. Professor Owen seems to regard these two groups as indivisible, and places *Lepidosiren* and its allies as a transitional order in his scheme of classification (pp. 9-18); but in the body of the work in describing the anatomical structure of the different forms of *Hæmatocrya*, he recognises the old-fashioned groups, and frequently refers to *Lepidosiren* under both. In treating of the modifications of structure to which he has occasion to refer, Professor Owen frequently adopts the teleological point of view; and in his exposition of the nature of the skeleton he adheres to his own previously-published opinions, both as to the relations of the limbs to the vertebral column, and as to the vertebral nature of the segments of the skull, and the homologies of its several bones. Of course the present volume does not extend far enough to come fairly upon the great brain-controversy, but this is referred to by the author in his preface, where he endeavours to reconcile the divergent statements with regard to the difference of structure in the brains of man and other animals by drawing a distinction between anatomical and zoological definitions which seems to us hardly admissible.

Dr. Hæckel, a zoologist well known for his researches on the lower animals, and especially for his splendid work on the Polycystina, has commenced the publication of a series of memoirs on the Natural History of the Hydromedusæ.¹³ The first part of these papers contains a monograph of the family *Geryonida*, a group of the naked-eyed medusæ of Forbes, of which most of the known species have been found in the Mediterranean. These animals are characterized by having a long and usually conical stalk suspended from the centre of the umbrella-like disc with which all the medusæ are provided; this stalk is called the stomachal peduncle, as it bears the small digestive cavity at its extremity. Dr. Hæckel's investigations have revealed the occurrence of a very singular mode of reproduction in some of these animals, far more curious than the ordinary alternation of generations which prevails throughout the group to which they belong. The stomachal peduncle does not terminate at the point where the stomach is appended to it, but is produced into the cavity of the latter in the form of a conical tongue-like body, which in many cases may be protruded through the mouth. Now,

¹² "Das Hochgebirge von Grindelwald. Naturbilder aus der Schweizerischen Alpenwelt." Von Dr. Christoph Alby, E. von Fellenberg, und Pfarrer Gerwer. 8vo. Coblenz: Baedeker. 1865.

¹³ "The Treasury of Botany: a Popular Dictionary of the Vegetable Kingdom." Edited by John Lindley and Thomas Moore. Two Parts. 12mo. London: Longmans. 1866.

¹⁴ "On the Anatomy of Vertebrates." Vol. I. Fishes and Reptiles. By Richard Owen, F.R.S. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1866.

¹⁵ "Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte der Hydromedusen." Von Dr. Ernst Hæckel. Erstes Heft. 8vo. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1865.

in *Carmarina hastata*, a species detected by Hæckel in the Mediterranean, and probably in other species, the mature animals, already exhibiting fully-developed sexual products in the ordinary generative organs, are found to produce upon this tongue-like continuation of the peduncle a great number of buds, which are gradually developed into a totally distinct medusoid form, described under the name of *Cunina rhododactyla* as a member of a different family (the *Æginidae*), and these creatures in their turn arrive at sexual maturity. This fact is almost as startling as the original discovery of the alternation of generations, but the observations hitherto made of the phenomena are still imperfect, especially as regards the products of sexual reproduction. Professor Allman has already endeavoured to explain the phenomena in accordance with the ordinary theory of alternations, by assuming the *Carmarina* (or Geryonid form) to be larval, and the apparent sexual organs to be "zooids" produced also by gemination; but this view appears to be negated by the detailed results of Dr. Hæckel's investigations. Dr. Hæckel gives a synopsis of the species and genera of the family, and a full description of the anatomical structure and life-history of two species—*Glossocodon eurybia* and *Carmarina hastata*. He also describes the histology of the *Geryonidae* and the anatomy of *Cunina rhododactyla*, and discusses the relations indicated by the facts above referred to, between the two families Geryonidae and Æginidae. This part is illustrated with several woodcuts, and with six large and well-executed plates.

Whether the recent experiments in pisciculture and investigations into the practices of our fisheries will result in an increase of our supplies of food, remains to be seen, but there is no doubt that in the meantime they must have acted beneficially upon the commissariat of many a household. We have been almost overwhelmed of late with books and articles containing more or less of what one of the writers has denominated "fish tattle;" and the production of these must have caused a flow of a good deal of cash into the pockets of authors, publishers, and printers. The largest and most pretentious, and in some respects, perhaps, the best of these, is Mr. Bertram's "Harvest of the Sea,"¹⁴ which contains a full discussion of the more important questions connected with our supply of sea-fish, including those raised by the reports of the Royal Herring Fishery Commissioners. Mr. Bertram comes to the unwelcome conclusion that the British sea-fisheries have been for years on the decline, owing to excessive and injudicious fishing; and in the case of the herring he shows this very clearly by means of a diagram giving the proportion of the average take of fish, and extent of net per boat, during a series of years extending from 1818 to 1863. From this it appears that during the seven years 1818—1824, the average

drift of nets per boat was 4500 square yards, and the average (annual) capture of herrings 125½ crans; whilst in the corresponding period 1857—1863, with an average of 16,800 square yards of net, each boat only obtained 82 crans of fish. The ten years 1841—1850 occupy nearly an intermediate position. With the white-fish the case seems to be much the same—the length of line, and the number of hooks employed, has been annually increasing; whilst there has been a corresponding diminution in the quantity of fish taken even by these enlarged engines of destruction. To find a remedy for this state of things is a matter of some difficulty; and this would still be the case if our knowledge of the natural history of fish were as complete as it is now confessedly imperfect. Of course the salmon, and the experiments in breeding that fish, and restoring it to rivers in which it had been nearly or quite exterminated, occupy a considerable portion of Mr. Bertram's attention, but he adds little to what has already been written on the subject. The piscicultural establishment at Huningue is described from personal inspection, and the singular fishing community of Commachio from the account given by Coste. The oyster and mussel and the edible crustacea, also come in for a share of attention, but in treating of these, as also in his opening remarks on "Fish-life and Growth," the author betrays some little deficiency of zoological knowledge. A long chapter on the "Fisher-folk" will be found interesting; it relates chiefly to those of the Scotch coasts, with whose manners the author seems to be perfectly familiar. On the whole, Mr. Bertram's book will be found exceedingly interesting and suggestive, but it seems to us that it has been unnecessarily expanded. In many parts the author is very verbose: he not unfrequently tells us the same thing, and that not particularly essential, two or three times over, sometimes even twice on the same page, and several portions, such as the entire chapter on "Angler's Fishes," including a long description of the island of Arran, might have been altogether omitted with advantage.

Mr. Hardwicke is publishing a series of popular volumes on different branches of British Natural History, the last of which is a little work on the "British Reptiles," by Mr. M. C. Cooke.¹⁵ In this the author describes the characters and habits of the few native species of true Reptiles and Batrachia, and has certainly done his best to convince his readers that reptiles in general are undeserving of that almost universal feeling of abhorrence with which they are regarded. Mr. Cooke includes the edible frog in his list of British Batrachia, but upon evidence which does not seem to be very satisfactory even to himself; and the green lizard appears among the native reptiles upon still more doubtful grounds. The work is illustrated with tolerably executed plates of all the species, and with a good many woodcuts of details; and

¹⁴ "The Harvest of the Sea: a Contribution to the Natural and Economic History of the British Food Fishes." By James G. Bertram. 8vo. London: Murray. 1865.

¹⁵ "Our Reptiles: a Plain and Easy Account of the Lizards, Snakes, Newts, Toads, Frogs, and Tortoises indigenous to Great Britain." By M. C. Cooke. London: Hardwicke. 12mo. 1865.

its value is increased by a complete synonymic list, which forms an appendix.

The fossil man of the Neanderthal has probably made much more noise in the world in his present fleshless condition than he or any of his contemporaries ever did while living. The most recent publication in his honour is an excellent little pamphlet by his discoverer, Professor Fuhlrott,¹⁰ containing two lectures on the antiquity of man. In the first of these the author discusses the general question in a popular style, and after reviewing the well-known evidence upon this subject comes to the conclusion, startling enough to many minds, that the existence of man reaches back for a period of from 200,000 to 300,000 years. The second lecture is specially devoted to the history of the Neanderthal man and his relation to the question of the antiquity of our species; and in this the author shows, in opposition to some recent statements, that from the nature of the cave in which the remains were found, it was impossible that the owner of the bones could have made his way into it since the geography of the district acquired its present condition, but that the bones must have been swept in along with the mud in which they were imbedded, and this was identical in character with the diluvial superficial beds of the district. From these circumstances, and the correspondence in the condition of the human bones with that of the bones of animals found under similar circumstances in the neighbourhood, the author maintains the diluvial age of his man, but holds, in opposition to some writers, that the peculiarities of the bones, great as they undoubtedly are, do not justify the assumption that they belonged either to a distinct species of man or to a transitional form between man and the apes.

Mr. Laing has published an account of his researches among the prehistoric remains of Caithness¹¹ in an octavo volume, which is enriched by a valuable memoir by Professor Huxley on the human remains discovered. These remains belong to the Stone period of the prehistoric existence of man in Britain, and most of the stone implements discovered are of the rudest type. From some indications it would appear that the primitive people whose traces are here described were cannibals. Most of Mr. Laing's researches were carried on in burial mounds near Keiss, but he has also examined some curious architectural relics, among which one shows clear indications of having been the result of the operations of three successive sets of people, the remains of each of the first two buildings having served as a foundation for their successors. The author has also found refuse heaps, or kitchen-middens, similar to those of Denmark, although presenting a differ-

ence in the species of animals of whose remains they are composed, a list of which, disfigured unfortunately by many inaccuracies of nomenclature, is given on page 50. The most interesting of the remains discovered are several bones of the Great Auk. Of the human remains, which were tolerably numerous, a full description, occupying indeed the greater part of the volume, is given by Professor Huxley; and the discussion of general anthropological questions arising from their consideration will be found of the greatest importance and interest. Professor Huxley establishes a new subgroup of Dolichocephalic skulls under the name of *subbrachycephali*, by means of which the comparison of the skulls of different races may be rendered more exact, and this is of considerable service to him in the discussion of the relationship of the primeval inhabitants of Caithness. From this it would appear that these had strong Scandinavian affinities.

The second part of Professor Karl Schmidt's "Anthropologie"¹² is devoted to the consideration especially of the intellectual life of man, which is treated in accordance with phrenological ideas. It also describes the general mechanism of life in the human body, and discusses the nature of life in general, but the whole in so transcendental a spirit, that we must in despair give up the attempt to give any notion of the general contents of the six hundred closely printed pages of which it consists.

In a work on the "Mastery of Language"¹³ Mr. Prendergast advocates the adoption in the acquirement of foreign languages of the same process by which the child learns to speak its mother-tongue idiomatically, and ladies'-maids and footmen when travelling abroad attain to a familiar use of foreign idioms far more rapidly than their masters and mistresses. He maintains that the number of words necessary for speaking a language idiomatically—or rather for expressing common matters in idiomatic form—is very small; and that the idiomatic construction of sentences may be learnt from a still smaller number, upon which those expressive of new ideas may be subsequently grafted. Thus he would have the learner acquire from the mouth of a teacher a series of short sentences; these may then be varied so as to extend the vocabulary, and gradually enable the student to carry on a conversation in his new tongue. No one can doubt that this process would answer for communicating the power of speaking a language; but it must be borne in mind that for most of us the labour of learning to read would have to be superadded, and that it is not always convenient or even possible to get at an instructor of the kind recommended by Mr. Prendergast.

A complete edition of the late Sir B. Brodie's works was no doubt considered a fitting tribute to one who in his lifetime had occupied so high

¹⁰ "Der Fossile Mensch aus dem Neanderthal, und sein Verhältnis zum Alter des Menschengeschlechts." Von C. Fuhlrott. Duisburg: Falk und Volmer. 8vo. 1865.

¹¹ "Prehistoric Remains of Caithness." By S. Laing, Esq., M.P., F.G.S. With Notes on the Human Remains, by Thomas H. Huxley, Esq., F.R.S. London: Williams and Norgate. 8vo. 1866.

¹² "Die Anthropologie." Von Prof. Karl Schmidt. Zweiter Theil. Dresden: Ehleemann. 8vo. 1865.

¹³ "The Mastery of Languages; or, the Art of Speaking Foreign Tongues Idiomatically." By Thomas Prendergast. London: Bentley. 8vo. 1864.

a position and enjoyed so great a reputation.²⁰ And yet it may well be doubted whether his published works will be a lasting memorial of him. All his writings are, indeed, characterized by the exhibition of that cautious judgment and that quiet common sense, which were such marked features in his character; but in none of them is there manifest such originality as might give to them a permanent vitality, or such grasp of principle as might float them far beyond the memories of his cotemporaries. His writings and his life were the genuine expression of his character; they were both sincere and faithful performances, admirably adapted to gain the world's confidence, and to secure success and fame during life. But if Sir B. Brodie is remembered by future ages, it will without doubt chiefly be as one in the list of successful surgeons who received the well-earned honour of a baronetcy. The present edition of his works consist of three large volumes, the first of which contains, besides his autobiography, his psychological inquiries, and the addresses delivered by him on different occasions: the former simple and interesting, without being original or profound; the latter full of sound sense and ripe experience. The second volume contains his physiological papers and many of his surgical writings: the former rather representing the hopeful promise of a young man than the matured work of a scientific investigator; the latter still valuable for their sound practical observations. The third volume is filled with his pathological and surgical observations, which, though made many years ago, may still be read with profit. Perhaps the most ready way of measuring Sir B. Brodie's intellectual height, of determining what he was and what he was not, would be to peruse his estimate of John Hunter, as contained in the Hunterian oration delivered by him in 1837, and published in this edition. With admiring sympathy he catalogues Hunter's virtues, and with gentle reticence hints only at his defects; but he never penetrates the character of the man, and never once rises to an appreciation of his wonderful genius, nor seems to be at all conscious of the philosophical pregnancy of his writings. Indeed, he ventures to regret that Hunter's education had been neglected, and is hurt by the effort of attention "sometimes required to comprehend his ill-arranged and involved sentences;" not seeming to suspect that new and complex thought, not appreciated by the critic, might sometimes be the cause of his difficulties. In thus giving his estimate of Hunter, he unconsciously gives the measure of himself; placing himself by the side of a man of genius, he discovers how far talent, however well cultivated, falls short of genius. In like manner the editor of the present edition discovers, by an absurdly exaggerated estimate of Sir B. Brodie in his preface, and by an almost servile prostration, how difficult it is to

tell how high a mountain is when you are lying at the foot of it.

A thoroughly scientific and practical work on *Urinary and Renal Diseases*, by Dr. Roberts of Manchester, meets a want in medical literature, and cannot fail to be very useful.²¹ It is divided into three parts, the first part treating of the physical and chemical properties of the urine, of the method of examining it, and of the various alterations which it undergoes in health and disease; the second part being devoted to diseases which, though not dependent on disease of the kidneys, manifest themselves mainly through changes in the composition of the urine; and the third part treating of the different organic diseases of the kidney. The results of the important original investigations of the author are recorded; there is evidence of a full and candid appreciation of the labours of others, both at home and abroad, in the numerous and complete references as well as in the matter of the text; and the careful description of certain rare diseases of the kidney is such as can be found in no other work in no other language. It is a well-written book, and deserves to become, what it can scarce fail to become, the text-book of students and practitioners in this country.

"The Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences" professes to be an analytical and critical digest of the principal British and Continental medical works, but we cannot help thinking that a much more modest profession would better accord with its real character.²² It is not so much an abstract as a compilation of long extracts from the different English weekly medical journals, made, if not at random, certainly without any recognisable principle of selection. Accordingly, it is encumbered with much trivial and worthless matter, which, but for the necessities of weekly journals, would probably never have appeared in print at all; there is no adequate, but, on the contrary, an extremely inadequate record of the progress of medical science abroad, and what contributions of value are contained in it might have been advantageously condensed into much smaller compass. By omitting, in fact, about half the matter contained in the present so-called abstract, and substituting a record of many important contributions, foreign and English, now entirely left out, and by greatly condensing the rest of the matter, a work would be produced more truly fulfilling the aim of the ambitious title. A good year-book recording the progress of medical science, which might take rank with those that are produced in Germany, has long been, and still is, very much needed in this country.

Dr. Hammond has published an interesting and instructive little volume on wakefulness,

²⁰ "The Works of Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie, Bart., D.C.L. With an Autobiography." Collected and arranged by Charles Hawkins. 3 vols. Longmans and Co. 1865.

²¹ "A Practical Treatise on Urinary and Renal Diseases, including Urinary Deposits." By William Roberts, M.D. London: Walton and Maberly. 1865.

²² "The Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences: being an Analytical and Critical Digest of the principal British and Continental Works published in the preceding Six Months." July—December, 1865. London: Churchill and Sons.

and on the physiology of sleep." He has made numerous experiments on animals with the view of determining the state of the cerebral circulation during sleep; and he entirely confirms the observations made by Mr. Durham in this country—observations which proved that there is not, as was commonly supposed, an increased, but a diminished supply of blood to the brain during sleep. Dr. Hammond discusses the causes and pathology of wakefulness, adducing examples in illustration, and gives sensible instructions as to the proper treatment of it.

The threatened advent of cholera has stimulated, not only the prayers of congregations, but all those who have peculiar theories of its nature and of the proper mode of its treatment, to impress their views earnestly on the public. Dr. Johnson has his own particular theory, and he has accordingly issued his publication as a light to lighten those now sitting in thick darkness.²⁴ He holds that a morbid poison in the blood is the essential cause of cholera; that this poison excites the gastro-intestinal symptoms—the vomiting and purging, by means of which the poison is eliminated; and that the correct principle of treatment is to assist the natural curative process by means of emetics and purgatives. Dr. Johnson is very contemptuous of the theories of other men, speaking of them as "speculative webs spun from the projector's brain," very dogmatic and self-confident in the enunciation of his own, very indignant at the neglect with which his discovery has been treated, and very oblivious, or very ignorant, in his own case, of the difference between hypothesis and theory, and again between theory and observation. Attacked with cholera, and threatened with his mode of treatment, a man not life-weary might devoutly exclaim, "It is better to fall into the hands of God than into the hands of men."

Dr. Chambers, having been compelled by ill health to retire for a time from practice, and to recruit his health by a holiday in Italy, has given, in a small volume, the results of his personal experience of the country, and of his investigations into its prevalent diseases.²⁵ He finds that there is a remarkable excess in the mortality from chronic disease in London over that of an Italian town, where the preponderance is of acute diseases, and that the excess is most striking in diseases where a tendency to degeneration of tissue is most marked. He concludes therefore that the climate of Italy is suitable to the cure of those forms of disease, and is happily able to adduce himself as a living witness of the beneficial effects of a transalpine climate. Certain diseases which he believes would be aggravated by an Italian cli-

mate are pointed out, and an earnest warning given against sending across the Alps invalids who cannot afford to spend something upon comforts and luxuries.

The amount of patient attention now given to the study of the character and properties of the tissues of the body by the most eminent scientific men must be held to be a great tribute to the wonderful genius of Bichat. By him first were the vital properties of the organism referred to the tissues, and although these were not so many as he imagined, his fundamental idea has survived and undergone great development. Two large works now before us are evidence enough of this: one of them by Claude Bernard,²⁶ written in his accustomed clear, interesting, and philosophical manner, and the other by Professor von Hessel, characterized by the usual patient German industry in research.²⁷ The former may be read with interest by those who wish to get a good general view of the present state of our knowledge of the properties of the tissues and of its historical development; the latter contains a minute and elaborate description of the elements of each tissue, and of what is known of their properties; but, being without woodcuts and without references, it is no easy matter at all times to grasp the exact character of a description, or to appreciate the weight of authority of a statement. The author feelingly expresses the difficulty he experienced in face of the "quidquid præcipies, esto brevis," and the "brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio:" he certainly has not always been brief, and we fear that he is sometimes obscure. The book contains, however, the matured results of a life spent in microscopical research, and not spent without benefit to science. It begins, in a rather startling manner, thus: "Everything in the world has a beginning. That is a well-known fact."

The title of M. Daremberg's book, now arrived at its second edition, is rather calculated to mislead.²⁸ It is not a history of medicine, nor an account of the doctrines of medicine, that he has written, but a number of popular essays on striking medical topics. With two exceptions, they appeared first in the *Journal des Débats*, where they were no doubt read with interest, for, without being profound either in regard of learning or thought, they contain much information that is both interesting and instructive. They treat of such subjects as the condition of medicine at Rome under the Republic, the notices of medicine by the Latin poets, Galen and his philosophical doctrines, Louis XIV. and his doctors, the history of the discovery of the circulation of the blood, the health of men of letters, and the general principles of hygiene. The information appears, however, to be chiefly derived at sec-

²³ "On Wakefulness. With an Introductory Chapter on the Physiology of Sleep." By W. A. Hammond, M.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co.

²⁴ "Notes on Cholera: its Nature and Treatment." By George Johnson, M.D. London: Longmans and Co. 1866.

²⁵ "Some Effects of the Climate of Italy." By Thomas King Chambers, M.D. London: Churchill and Sons. 1866.

²⁶ "Leçons sur les Propriétés des Tissus Vivants." Par Claude Bernard. Paris: Baillière. 1866.

²⁷ "Grundzüge der Allgemeinen und Speciellen Gewebelehre des Menschen." Von Theodor von Hessel. Leipzig. 1866.

²⁸ "La Médecine: Histoire et Doctrines." Par Ch. Daremberg. Deuxième édition. Paris: Didier et Co. 1865.

ond-hand from works of which the essays are reviews, and is fitted rather for those who read to be amused than for those who read with scientific aim.

M. Claude Bernard has published an admirable introduction to the study of experimental medicine.¹⁰ Probably no one was better fitted for the task, for no one combines so well a thoroughly philosophical spirit with the experience coming from a long and successful practice in scientific experimentation. With great force and distinctness he marks out the province of observation, and shows how essential a part the well-grounded idea plays in experimental medicine; how indispensable to all good experiment is what Bacon called the *prudens questio*, the well-grounded anticipation, the direction of the inquiry *ad intentionem ejus quod queritur*.

"La méthode expérimentale ne donnera donc pas des idées neuves à ceux qui n'en ont pas; elle servira seulement à diriger des idées chez eux qui en ont et à les développer afin d'en retirer les meilleurs résultats possible. L'idée, c'est la graine; la méthode, c'est le sol qui lui fournit les conditions de se développer, de prospérer, et de donner les meilleurs fruits suivant sa nature. Mais de même qu'il ne poussera jamais dans le sol que ce qu'on y sème, de même il ne se développera par la méthode expérimentale que les idées qu'on lui soumet. La méthode par elle-même n'en vaut rien, et c'est une erreur de certains philosophes d'avoir accordé trop de puissance à la méthode sous ce rapport."

M. Bernard gives us, in this philosophical introduction, the complete principles of experimental medicine, illustrating them most aptly by examples from his own experience. It is a work which should be studied by every one interested or engaged in the experimental investigation of physiological problems.

An unusually active interest on all sides in epidemic diseases is proved by the many books of late written about them; it is heartily to be hoped that the movement now manifest may issue in some definite knowledge concerning their origin and nature. Dr. Anderson has given, in a small volume, the results of his experience of yellow fever, and also of an epidemic of cholera in the island of Trinidad.¹¹ He affirms confidently that ammonia is a specific for cholera, as perfect and reliable in the treatment of cholera as quinine is as a febrifuge in intermittent fever. Dr. Howe¹² has endeavoured, by a study of every epidemic which has been recorded in history, to discover the laws of epidemic diseases. His first general proposition is, that epidemic visitations recur at regular intervals of time, of which eighteen and

a half years may be taken as the type; and he strives to establish this proposition by a learned enumeration of epidemic visitations from the earliest times. Dr. W. F. P. Kiehl¹³ has laboured to prove that epidemic diseases generally, and cholera in particular, are not produced by nature nor by climate, but by a specific human contagious virus generated by man himself, and that India was the birth-place of the poison. He gives a complete history of cholera from its origin in Bengal to its appearance in Europe, discusses at great length its etiology, treats briefly of its pathology and treatment, and concludes with an enunciation of the principles to be followed in the prophylaxis against epidemic diseases generally, and against cholera in particular.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

To write a History of Architecture in all ages and in all countries, is an ambitious literary enterprise. Of the merits or demerits of Mr. Fergusson's history, or instalment of history, in its professional aspects, we do not constitute ourselves judges.¹⁴ If we accept the author's estimate of his qualifications, his work, when completed, ought to possess a high value. Not only has he devoted years to the study of architecture, but he has made personal observations in almost all the countries between China and the Atlantic shore; has amassed information regarding buildings which have not previously been described, and attained an insight into the theory of the art, which is certainly even more novel! In the only volume of the work which Mr. Fergusson has yet published, the knowledge acquired from books, or gained by direct observation, is arranged in distinct divisions, treating separately of the architecture of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Etruria, and Rome, under the general head of Ancient Architecture. Christian Architecture follows in five sections. Under this head, we have a book describing the Romanesque style, followed by one on the Architecture of France; one on that of Belgium and Holland; one on that of Germany; and one on that of Scandinavia. The volume is profusely illustrated with effective woodcuts. In the first two volumes of his projected work, Mr. Fergusson has proposed to himself to go over the same extent of ground as was comprised in the two volumes of his *Handbook*, as originally published, introducing obvious enlargements and additional chapters on Celtic, or, as they are vulgarly called, Druidical remains. The History of Modern Archi-

¹⁰ "Introduction à l'Étude de la Médecine Expérimentale. Par M. Claude Bernard. Paris: Baillière et Fils. 1865.

¹¹ "Handbook for Yellow Fever: describing its Pathology and Treatment. To which is adjoined a Brief History of Pestilential Cholera and a Method of Cure. By Thomas Anderson, M.D., &c. London: Churchill and Sons. 1866.

¹² "A Theoretical Inquiry into the Physical Causes of Epidemic Diseases." By Alexander H. Howe, M.D. London: Churchill and Sons. 1866.

¹³ "Ueber den Ursprung und die Verhütung der Seuchen. Erläutert durch das Beispiel der ansteckenden Cholera." Von Dr. W. F. P. Kiehl. Berlin. 1865.

¹⁴ "A History of Architecture in all Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day." By James Fergusson, F.R.S., M.R.A.S., Fellow Royal Inst. Brit. Architects. In 3 vols. Vol. I. London: John Murray. 1865.

lecture will thus form the third volume of the work; a glossary will be added when a reprint is needed; and the entire work will comprise two thousand pages, in which we have an earnest that much valuable information will be found, communicated in an agreeable and often animated form. Turning from our notice of the more special divisions and general character of the book, we find Mr. Fergusson claiming a peculiar position for it as the work of a practical inquirer who has had access to sources of information of which such men as Niebuhr, Cornwall Lewis, and Grote do not suspect the existence. In short, Mr. Fergusson, with a magnificent contempt for bookworms, professes to extract history out of stone — to restore the past by the aid of archæology and ethnography. It is premature, perhaps, to judge of what Mr. Fergusson will accomplish by what he has accomplished; but on the whole we do not see that he does much more than acquiesce in the conclusions of other men (not those of Cornwall Lewis on Egypt, certainly), but those of previous explorers and historical students. Perhaps this is all he intended to do, and we may have ourselves only to thank for the disappointment we have experienced in reading the introductory portion of his work. In this portion, besides the æsthetic section, which is full of good sense, we have chapters on the races, Turanian, Semitic, Celtic, and Aryan, containing opinions or speculations which Mr. Grote or Cornwall Lewis might sometimes be inclined to disapprove; but certainly interesting, suggestive, and intelligible. Manetho for Egypt, and Berosus for Babylon, are authorities with Mr. Fergusson, who corrects or explains, with the help of his architectural organon. As regards "pre-historic man," Mr. Fergusson divides him into three groups, accepting the well-known generalization, for Europe, at any rate, of the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, corresponding with the Turanian family, the ancestors of the Celtic races, and the Aryans. In the old world, he says, the Typical Turanians were the Egyptians: from the Egyptians the Greeks borrowed, as he thinks, the Dorian style; from the Assyrians (impure Turanians of impure Aryans), they borrowed the Ionic style; and the "honey-suckle ornament, common to Greece and Assyria, is an indication of the derivative character of Greek art. Regarding the Pelasgians as a pre-Hellenic race, and getting moderately warm himself with the *bookworms who lose their tempers*, Mr. Fergusson ventures to suggest that he knows something of the Pelasgi. Here is light at last, it may be thought. Those dreadful Pelasgi are now to be brought to book, and we shall see them in their true colours, and know who they were, and where they came from, and where they went to, and all about them. Mr. Grote, believing in the *historic* Pelasgi, is convinced that the ancient Pelasgi were not knowable, but is quite willing to allow all who are so inclined to call the unknown Grecian Foretime Pelasgi, premising only that the name carried with it no assured predicates, no real extension of knowledge. Thirlwall, adopting a critical, refining process, endeavours

to disengage history from fiction, and agrees pretty closely with Mr. Fergusson about his Pelasgians. As to Niebuhr, he appears to have satisfied himself that there was a time when the Pelasgians, perhaps the most extended people in all Europe, spread from the Po and the Arno to the Rhyndakus. Now what does Mr. Fergusson tell us? He takes us to the ruins at Mycenæ and Orchomenos, and infers from them that at the time of the war of Troy a people were supreme in Greece who were not Hellens, but who were closely allied to the Etruscans and other tomb-building, art-loving people, and in an Ionic-like scroll, and in the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ, he traces the Assyrian origin of this architecture. If his evidence is sound (it is not very strong), we may be justified in referring "the Cyclopean" architecture to Asia; but we do not learn who were the Pelasgi, nor have we any intimation as to what was the language they spoke. Quite conceding to Mr. Fergusson the use of the tools which he handles, we could wish often to have more result; and after his preliminary announcement, we are disappointed rather than gratified at his hitherto not very original disclosures. He quotes Mr. Layard, which is quite right; and he abridges the Rev. George Rawlinson, accepting his views of the Aryans and their religion, which these gentlemen agree was monotheistic; but we had anticipated more originality and more novel information from Mr. Fergusson. His reflections are often just; but when in his dogmatism he implies that Comte's Law of the Three Phases is disproved by ethnography, we believe him to be profoundly mistaken. Once we meet with an intimation that fairly astonishes us — that the Temple of Jerusalem was *destroyed* B.C. 972. The Exodus is dated B.C. 1312, which is a date incompatible with the statement in 1 Kings vi., which places that event 480 years before the Building of the Temple; but in this case the author seems consciously to surrender the received Bible chronology, which fixes the Egyptian deliverance in the year B.C. 1491. Mr. Fergusson's book, however, if not so original or so cogent in argument as might be expected from his own announcement, is an informing, lucid, and pleasant digest of our historical knowledge of the most useful of the fine arts — the art of building palaces, temples, churches, tombs, bridges, aqueducts.

A History of the City of Rome, forms a companion volume to that just noticed.* The author, Mr. Dyer, quarrels with Niebuhr and Sir George Cornwall Lewis on similar grounds to those on which Mr. Fergusson justifies his hostility. Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just; and we are bound to say that in our opinion Mr. Dyer is entitled to an occasional triumph over his opponent. But if the critic of Roman history was unduly sceptical, the

* "A History of the City of Rome, its Structures and Monuments. From its Foundation to the end of the Middle Ages." By Thomas H. Dyer, LL.D., author of article *Roma* in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Ancient Geography," "History of Modern Europe," &c. London: Longmans. 1865.

critic's critic is unduly credulous. A man who can believe in Romulus is capable of believing in a great deal. Accordingly we find that Mr. Dyer believes that there were Christian churches in St. Paul's time because he reads in 1 Cor. xi. 18, "When ye come together in the church," ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. He might almost as well believe that the Apostles kept their carriages because we read, Acts xxii. 15, "After those days we took up our carriages and went up to Jerusalem." Following a sharp and sometimes successful critique on what he regards the historical heresies of the late Cornewall Lewis, Mr. Dyer gives us his version of the legendary history of Rome, not believing all the old fairy tales, but only fancying that a residuum of historic fact may be got out of Livy's recital of the primitive history of Rome. This takes us down to the burning of the city, A.C. 888. About thirteen years before this event was recorded in the public chronicle the first duly-observed eclipse of the sun, and from the beginning of the fifth century the registered numbers of the census begin to look as if they might be historical. Therefore we can go some way with Mr. Dyer in his anti-sceptical reaction, but we cannot quite see our road back to Romulus. When our author gets fairly into his subject he tells us a great deal that is worth knowing about the city and its structures, breaking up his material into separate masses, and leading from the capture of Rome by the Gauls, through the reign of Augustus Cæsar and his successors, to the death of Hadrian, and from the death of Hadrian to the death of Constantine, and onward to the extinction of the Western Empire, its restoration under Charlemagne, and the close of the Middle Ages. Research, sagacity, intelligent and recent study, all combine to make Mr. Dyer a valuable first-class cicerone. In the section on the monuments built or rebuilt by Augustus he has carefully studied the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, but not in the improved edition of Theodore Mommsen. Mr. Dyer differs from Zumpt as to the tripartite temple of Jupiter, Minerva, &c. on the Aventine; Mommsen agrees with Zumpt. Mr. Dyer considers that there was a temple to Libertas, as well as a temple to Jupiter; Mommsen thinks that the tituli Orelliani are conclusive as to the recognition of a Jupiter Libertas, and that Libertas is not here a separate divinity, and that consequently Augustus did not build two distinct temples to Jupiter and Libertas. Page 213 we find the nephews of Augustus, instead of the nephew (Perrot's reading); and in the same place we are told that Augustus presided forty-seven times at the regular games, twenty times more than the *Monumentum Ancyranum* attests. In an earlier portion of the work Mr. Dyer calls attention to the new theory of Signor Rosa, on the *Roma Quadrata*. This theory has been suggested by discoveries connected with the excavations made on the Palatine by order of the Emperor Napoleon III. who has purchased from the King of Naples that portion of it which comprises the Farnese Gardens. Signor Rosa, the superintendent of these excavations, infers, from the recently-discovered intermon-

tium or depression traversing the hill from north to south, and dividing it, like the Capitoline, into two distinct eminences, that the city of Romulus occupied only the western portion of the hill, to which he gives the name of Germalus, one of the old names of the Palatine; while to the eastern eminence he assigns the name of Velia. Mr. Dyer is willing to accept the second part of the hypothesis, but proposes an amendment as regards the first part. He thinks that the greater portion of the western division of the hill was the original Palatium, and that the consecrated tract where the germani or twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, came ashore, was the only portion of it that bore the name of Germalus. That portion lay towards the Forum Boarium. But we must refer our readers to Mr. Dyer's attractive volume for what more he says on this subject, and the deductions which he draws from Signor Rosa's premises.

Less than two years from the present time M. Parent, travelling in the Holy Land, succeeded to his own satisfaction in identifying an isolated and rocky ascent called Djephthah, in the neighbourhood of Nazareth, with the famous Jotapata of Josephus, which the war-engines of the Romans assailed with such fatal results. The description which M. Parent gives of this spot resembles that which we find in the pages of the Jewish historian.* The city was built on a mountain, and accessible only on the north side. Surrounded by other mountains, it was completely hidden from the view. So Djephthah has the north side united to a mountain by a rising ground covered with ruins, and is similarly concealed from sight. Schultz and Robinson, no less than M. Parent himself, are of opinion that this is the site of the ancient Jotapata. The author of the historical *brochure* before us, after a brief introduction to his work, avails himself of the opportunity to relate the story of the first terrible episode in the work of repression which the Romans undertook to carry out. His authority is of course Josephus, in whose narrative of the patriotic defence and furious assault he sees only occasional exaggerations; the substance, and even the general circumstances of the history of the siege, as told by Josephus, being accepted as authentic. The form, however, is original, and may attract readers who, not caring to turn to the passage in the "Wars of the Jews," may yet feel pleasure in the perusal of a modern version of the siege of Jotapata in clear and vigorous French.

Gipsies and Jews have many things in common—so at least says Mr. Walter Simson,† in a queer sort of book, with a preface, two introductions, and a disquisition on the past, pre-

* "Siège de Jotapata, épisode de la Révolte des Juifs (66—70 de notre ère)." Par Auguste Parent. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1866.

† "A History of the Gipsies, with specimens of the Gipsy Language." By Walter Simson. Edited, with Preface, Introduction, Notes, &c., by James Simson. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. Edinburgh: Menzies. 1865.

sent, and future of Gipsydom—and we shall not now dispute the truth of the assertion. In a rambling talk about gipsies, some curious information is given respecting the habits of this wandering race, which is rather a favourite with at least one of the writers, while the Jews get a regular theological wiggling for their impenitent heart of unbelief. Mr. Walter Simson professes to have corresponded with Sir Walter Scott and with Mr. William Laidlaw, the manager of the Abbotsford estate, the subject of course being gipsies and their language. The "History of the Gipsies," says the editor, should have been introduced to the world long ere now; but the author, a timid and nervous man, having the fear of reviewers and gipsies before his eyes, postponed the publication. Having "descended into the tomb," he is now safe from the assaults of the critic and the Egyptian, and his more courageous representative gives us the "History" enlarged with his own rather silly disquisition. The book really does give us something like a consecutive narrative of the wandering race, from its first appearance in Europe down to the present day. As we are certainly among the outsiders whose ignorance of gipsydom excites the disdain of the editor, we shall not attempt to pass any judgment on the performance. For aught we know to the contrary, its statements may be authentic. The book contains lists of gipsy words; it partly goes with Mr. Borrow in his views, partly differs from him. The gipsy language is allowed to be Hindostani; but the gipsies are confidently pronounced not to be an expelled Indian tribe, but descendants of the mixed multitude (probably of the Shepherd Kings) that went up out of Egypt with the children of Israel, when the Jews and the gipsies, we suppose, had a great deal in common. They are, *therefore*, in some sense Egyptians, though they derive their language from their supposed place of sojourn from India. We believe that the character of their language is now a settled point. Max Müller speaks of it as belonging equally to Asia and Europe, and calls it an Aryan language. Degraded in its grammar, he observes, and with a dictionary stolen from all the countries through which the Zingari passed, this language is clearly an exile from Hindostan. The editor of the "History of the Gipsies" estimates the entire Egyptian population in the British Isles at 300,000. Mr. Walter Simson, in mentioning the gipsy sacrifice of the horse, and tracing it to the Hindoo religious sacrifice of the Aswamedha, tells us that the ancient pagan tribes of Tartary also sacrificed horses, and speculates on their possible Tartar origin. But we are getting on dangerous ground, and as we have no wish to illustrate the proverb, we break off before *catching* the gipsy's hypothetical ancestor.

Mr. Glover's Chronicle, "*Le Livre de Reis de Britannie*," begins twelve hundred years be-

fore the birth of our Lord, when Brutus, the son of Silvius, with his wife Ynogen, and with his three sons, after the Trojan war was over, came to England, and ends nearly a century before Mr. Simson's descendants of the Shepherd Kings made their mysterious appearance in Europe. Mr. Glover attributes the authorship to Peter of Ickham. He does not consider that the work has any independent value; but as a careful compendium of good historians, he thinks it may be useful to students. He has endeavoured to translate the peculiar French dialect in which it is written so literally that a boy desiring to learn how to construe it, might find help in his volume. Of course the later portions of the work give pictures of life which enable us to feel our relations to the past; but in the first page we seem to be wandering out of time into fable-land. When Brutus called the land Great Britain, after his own name, Eli was judge of the children of Israel. When Camber, the son of Locrius, called Wales Cambria, David reigned in Jerusalem. A few generations after an eagle used to speak, either at Canterbury, Winchester, or Shaftesbury, or at all three places. After that, again Blandud built Bath. He also made the Hot Baths. Afterwards he made himself wings and flew as far as London, then called Trinovant, and there he fell and broke his neck—the best thing that could happen to so flighty a personage. We do not see the great use of this publication, but we think Mr. Glover's patience in working his way through the chaos of early French truly admirable.

This chronicle brings us down to the fourteenth century. Mr. T. A. Trollope resumes his "*History of Florence*" with the fifteenth. This history of four hundred years is characterized by the action of the democratic faith that freedom is the one great need, without which all else availed not to save the city. Unfortunately, this love of liberty degenerated into an egotistical individuality; and the real love of freedom, the love which values the liberty of others as fully as our own, was not the animating motives of Florentine politics. Mr. Trollope explains that with the extension of the old city frontiers, and the acquisition of peasant-peopled strips of surrounding territory, the townsman and countryman alike of the new domain became simply subjects of the sovereign commonwealth, and not fellow-sharers in its sovereignty. Thus the arrangement of the relation subsisting between the conquering and the conquered constituents was, in point of fact, "the old Roman municipal theory of social constitution, so wonderfully indestructible in the minds and instincts of the Italian people—the *civis Romanus* idea." Mr. Trollope, accordingly, while acknowledging the claims of Florence to the kindly sympathies and admira-

* "*Le Livre de Reis de Britannie et le Livre de Reis d'Angleterre*." Edited by John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners, &c. London: Longmans. 1865.

* "*A History of the Commonwealth of Florence from the Earliest Independence of the Commune to the Fall of the Republic in 1581*." By T. Adolphus Trollope, author of "*The Girlhood of Catherine de' Medici*," &c. &c. In four vols. Vol. III. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

tion of the world, still contends that in the annals of her stormy but prolific life, she has left mankind a larger legacy of warning than of example. The Medicean period is of course that specially treated of in these concluding volumes of Mr. Trollope's valuable and attractive history. Mr. Trollope has written somewhat diffusely, but with excellent purpose and effect, on the character of that brilliant despotism. The Medicean absolutism was the natural antecedent of Florentine subjugation. Florence became more exclusive, more egotistical, more demoralized, as the system of personal domination developed itself, as the people were better fed and better amused, as the artisan was more profitably employed, and the professor of literature, of art, and every liberal pursuit, was more honourably entertained. The anti-absolutist reflections of Mr. Trollope, sound as they are, would gain in force if they were expressed in fewer words; and as no human arrangement is so good but what it carries with it some defects or inconveniences, so, perhaps none is so bad but what it offers some advantages which go to make the sum total of evil less. It may be doubted whether Mr. Trollope has done complete justice to the good in the Medicean tyranny; while he has done his utmost to bring out its evil. On the varied contents of his work we have too little space to expatiate. His third volume opens with the death of Giovanni de' Medici, the author of the popular taxation reform, the wealthy banker and founder of the family greatness. The government of Cosmo, his son, the builder of sumptuous structures and the encourager of philosophy and art, is described in this book. The seventh book ends with the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and the eighth with the flight of Pietro de' Medici. This book records the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the merciless captor of Volterra, the appropriator of the funds destined for the marriage-portion of the citizens' daughters, and the destroyer of so many innocent victims after the conspiracy of the Pazzi. "The death-bed confession," in which Savonarola stands by the side of the penitent, is an impressive narrative. The story of the remarkable man, thus introduced, is told partly in the eighth and partly in the ninth book, which contains the history of the Medicean interregnum. This is, perhaps, the most interesting portion of the whole work. The figure of the prophet moves through it, persuading, influencing, ruling the people. Much of what Mr. Trollope says of the failure and incoherence of this earnest whole-hearted priest, a man eager to fight against evil, yet, if our historian be right, frustrating his own objects by the use of the political power that the times had placed in his hands, is well worth consideration. Yet are not some of his objections equally applicable to the mystic and prophet, in all times and in all places? The profession of prophet is a precarious one, jeopardizing the sincerity of the man; and possibly, though no charlatan, the Italian seer may have had his hours of professional insincerity. Following the martyrdom of Savonarola, we have an account of the struggle before Pisa, the progress of Cesare Borgia, and the war policy of

the soldier-pope, Julius II., who drove out the French, the very people whose arrival was so desired by Savonarola. The tenth and last book depicts the events in the history of Florence from the return of the Medici to the fall of the republic, A.D. 1580. Mr. Trollope is so good an historian that we only regret that he is not a better one. His industry is great, his research praiseworthy, his knowledge comprehensive, his style fluent, animated, and manly, his reflective faculty sufficiently vigorous. His remarks on the influence of Platonism, on monetary affairs, on absolute government, on fantastic superstition in an age of perishing faith, all show that Mr. Trollope thinks as he writes. But his possession of partial power serves to make us discontented. He gives us so much that we want more. His narrative is spirited, but the actors hardly seem alive. He does not make us see the scene which he tries to paint. He wants concentration and graphic force, a realizing imagination—in short, his style, though pleasant, is often diffuse, and occasionally recalls the sensational paragraph writer. His colloquialisms are detestable. It is bad enough "to come to grief" in his pages, or "do things in a genteel style," but when he talks of Volterra "kicking up its heels for the fourth time," we kick up our own and trot off.

Far inferior to Mr. Trollope in the mental qualities necessary for historical composition, Mr. Yonge has written his volumes on the Bourbon rule in France, in language free from vulgarisms, and an enthusiasm cooled down to freezing-point. His well-behaved and extremely respectable Muse begins her tale with a review of the events that preceded the accession of Henry IV., and proposes to continue it to the deposition of Charles X. His estimate of Henry, in the fourth chapter of the work, is thoughtful and impartial. In an earlier chapter he contrasts the condition of France, when the assassin's knife terminated his reign, with its condition twelve years before, when his predecessor, Henry III., was murdered. It was estimated that during the entire period of the civil war a million of people had been killed, and 128,000 houses destroyed. Barefaced dishonesty was the rule and not the exception. The most upright of the nobles helped themselves from the national purse, or made free with the royal revenue; the most corrupt of their order, the men who had directed the finances of the kingdom, to facilitate and conceal their delinquencies, complicated and perplexed the public accounts, so that it was almost impossible to ascertain the amount of revenue or expenditure, and therefore almost impossible to suggest a remedy. In short, commerce and trade were annihilated, and the manufacturing and agricultural arts were nearly forgotten. On the death of Henry IV. "order and tranquillity had taken the place of outrage and faction; economy and purity had superseded waste and corruption; the treasury

* "The History of France under the Bourbons, A.D. 1589—1830." By Charles Duke Yonge. Author of "The History of the British Navy," &c., &c. Vols. I, II. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1866.

was relieved of debt; the revenue was augmented, yet no class was oppressed by undue or excessive exactions." The merit of Mr. Yonge's book is its compactness. He gives you a correct summary of events; but he seldom or never throws life or colour into his narrative. In his portraits of the principal actors in the Bourbon drama, so far as it has been played in these volumes, he endeavours to present you with a faithful, not a faithfully-striking likeness. Generally impartial, his prepossessions we suspect are Conservative. Perhaps his bias in favour of royalty inclines him to put in a plea for Catherine, and his love of established order to describe Cromwell as "the murderer." Though deficient in picturesque detail, the narrative sometimes records an interesting or illustrative fact. Thus Mr. Yonge identifies the Man in the Iron Mask with Matthioli, the minister of the Duke of Savoy, who for an alleged betrayal of confidence incurred the displeasure of Louis XIV., who kidnapped and threw him into a prison, and to keep his seizure secret compelled him to wear a mask of black velvet which he was never allowed to remove. So the statement that, in ten years' duelling, two thousand gentlemen of France had perished, exemplifies the manners of the times. The Pope's eulogy on the fanatic Clement, and his comparison of the benefits which his crime secured for the human race, to those consequent on the incarnation and resurrection of Christ, shows us the true nature of that zeal which is not according to knowledge. In p. 53 of vol. ii. we find a double account of the origin of the name of La Fronde, a word adopted as a party badge. The explanation given by De Retz is, that one of the deputies, a M. Bachaumont, deriding the pusillanimity of his colleagues who were very bold in the absence of the Duke of Orleans, but abated their pretension when he was present, compared them to the school-boys *slinging* under the city walls, who, when they saw the police coming to interrupt their sport, ran away, but resumed it as soon as the officer had turned his back. The explanation given by Mademoiselle de Montpensier is somewhat different. Bachaumont said of his party, she observes, "*je la fronderai bien*"—*fronder* having a metaphorical meaning, like a rather unclassical expression of our own, "to have a shy at." The word was caught up, repeated, sung in a jingling rhyme by Barillon, and finally when the parliament and its supporters broke out into open insurrection, appropriated by the party called collectively *La fronde*, each individual member being termed *un frondeur*. But we must leave the reader to trace in Mr. Yonge's own pages the history of a war which Michelet calls the most ridiculous of wars—a revolt of the lawyers. With the dissolution of the Fronde terminated ninety years of civil commotion. It began in the minority of Louis XIV., in the year of the treaty of Westphalia. Mr. Yonge closes his second volume with the death of this king, whose reign was the longest that has ever been granted to any monarch, and who, if not a great king, was the official representative of a great age in France. How many more vol-

umes will be required to complete this somewhat dry but not uninteresting history, we cannot say.

In 1662 the Grand Monarque purchased Dunkirk of Charles II.* About five years after a Dutch fleet anchored up the Thames, a detachment of it forced the chain at Chatham, burned several of the finest ships, and carried off the *Royal Charles*, the largest of all, to be sent as a trophy to Holland. In the panic created by the tidings, the unprotected state of the ships and forts was the subject of indignant discussion, and the generality of the people not only grieved, but "suggested their discontent" against those who counselled the king to sell Dunkirk, caused the strength of Upnor Castle to be taken away, and in short, were answerable for the mismanagement of the naval affairs of the country. The proceedings of the Dutch fleet, the action of the citizens of London, the conclusion of peace, and the meeting of parliament, are some of the topics illustrated in the Calendar of 1667, edited by Mrs. M. A. Everett Green, who has introduced the volume with a preface, and facilitated its examination by a general index.

About a hundred years after the Revolution which finally disposed of the Stuart family in England, occurred the terrible catastrophe which in a neighbouring country prepared the way for the final overthrow of the ill-fated and, generally speaking, ill-conditioned Bourbons.† Detesting the crimes of the French Revolution, though still believing it to have been a beneficent event, we welcome any exposure of the errors into which the advocates of that revolution have fallen. Among the critics of the historians who have regarded it with favour, is M. Mortimer-Ternaux. Since the first volume of this gentleman's history of "*La Terreur*" was published, four others have appeared, of which we have seen only the last. This fifth instalment commences with the recital of events following the triumph of Dumouriez, and ends with the trial and execution of Louis XVI. The author's judgment of the king's character is in unison with the estimate which is universally accepted. Louis was a good, amiable man, but an incapable king. Constitutionally inviolable, M. Mortimer-Ternaux thinks that, on that ground, if on no other, Louis ought to have escaped his miserable fate; but he adduces evidence in proof of his position, that the votes of some of the members of the Convention were in direct contradiction to their real convictions, and were extorted not by their reason but by their fears. We are sorry to find the name of the great Carnot in the list of those who would have given a different ver-

* "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles II., 1665, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office." Edited by Mary Ann Everett Green, author of "The Lives of the Princesses of England." Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, &c. London: Longmans. 1866.

† "Histoire de la Terreur, 1792-1794, d'après les documents authentiques et des pièces inédites." Par M. Mortimer-Ternaux, de l'Institut. Tome Cinquième. Paris. 1866.

dict had they dared. We should have more confidence in our author if we did not find him mistaking Thomas Paine for an American; at least he describes him as a *publiciste American*, and he calls the United States his country, though in reality only his adopted country. What excuse, in any case, is there for an author who undertakes to correct his predecessors spelling the "rebellious needleman's" name with a Y? In the sixty pages of elucidatory notes at the end of the volume is an inquiry into the truth of the story of the alleged poisoning of Gamain, the locksmith, reported by "le bibliophile Jacob," and erroneously alleged by the historian to have been adopted by M. Louis Blanc. M. Mortimer-Ternaux does not believe a word of it. His refutation of the calumny should be read attentively by those who do, of whom Louis Blanc is not one.

The "History of the British Empire in India from 1844 to 1862," is a record of the leading events in war and government, written in a fluent and readable style by Mr. Lionel James Trotter.* It is intended to form a sequel to Thornton's "History of India." Far from considering it as exhaustive or finally authoritative, Mr. Trotter declares that the period of which he writes has yet to be worthily handled by "some future Milnan, gifted with all the special knowledge of the late Mr. James Mill." The work is designed to be completed in two volumes. The first only is published. It brings the history down from the appointment of Lord Hardinge to the retirement of the Marquis of Dalhousie. Mr. Trotter is fortunate in his subject, the period he has chosen being, as he well describes it, remarkable in itself for great events, sweeping changes, splendid conquests, and "for one tremendous uprising of Eastern pride, ignorance, ambition, fanaticism against Western zeal, learning, haughtiness, strength of will, and readiness to trample on all opposing claims of feeling or tradition." His narrative is a lucid, well-written chronicle of the great battles and political changes, the most remote of which have occurred during the lifetime of men who are still young. Many who have followed the progress of Indian events, who perhaps were personally interested in the great campaigns of the Punjab, or in the military incidents of the Burmese war, many to whom the names of Moodkee, Ferozshuhur, Aliwal, and Sobraon, suggest an almost classical renown, may trace their history in the quiet and flowing narrative of Mr. Trotter. What brilliant reputations were acquired in this period of 1842—1862 may be seen almost at a glance from the volume before us. Pottinger, Napier, Edwards, Gough, Campbell, Dalhousie are among the many distinguished men whose abilities in battle or in council were employed to uphold or extend our British Empire in India. In the concluding volume we shall find others, of equal note, whose heroic and sagacious acts

fill the interval between the vice-regency of Lord Canning and the final enthronement of the parliamentary council which has superseded the great Company in whose name and under whose authority that empire had attained so rapid and so magnificent an extension.

In Mr. R. G. Watson's "History of Persia" during the present century, we have a work which, in its general character, resembles that which we have just noticed.[†] It is intended, in some sort, as a continuation of Sir J. Malcolm's work, but goes back a little way to give a summary of the leading events which prepared for the establishment of the Kajar dynasty towards the end of the last century. The introductory chapter describes the country and the people, their manners, education, religion, and prospects. The manners consist in the practice of general immorality, including dishonesty, mendacity, and intolerance. The education consists chiefly in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The religion is a sectarian Mahomedanism, and the prospects are semi-stagnation and British rule. On the other hand, every village in Persia has its bath and its ice-house; and though domestic slavery exists there, all field-labour is free. Two hundred and fifty-three monarchs have mounted the Persian throne in succession, and the constitutional theory of Persia is, that the king is the State, and that all men live for the king. The authority of the king, or shah, is checked by the precepts of the Koran. The military force of Persia is supposed to consist of a hundred thousand men. The soldiers are hardy, patient, enduring; but all their good qualities are neutralized by the vicious regulations of the country. Till the Earl of Mornington selected Captain Malcolm as our representative at the Court of Tehran, in or about 1800, no English diplomatist had been employed in Persia since the reign of Charles II. The object of this mission was twofold—to counteract the possible designs of the French nation with regard to Persia, and to relieve India from the annual alarm of the threatened invasion of Zemar Shah. A commercial treaty and a political treaty were concluded between the envoy from India and the prime minister of Persia. The Russian war ending in the peace of Gulistan, and the cession of eight or more provinces to the invading power, the renewal of war, the seizure and capture of Erivan, and the treaty of Turkomanchai, the accession of Mahommed Shah, and the siege of Herat, the suspension of diplomatic relations between England and Persia, the declaration and conduct of the war between these two countries, and the defeat of the Persians and restoration of peace in 1857, with the treaty signed by Lord Cowley at Paris, are among the salient topics of Mr. Watson's narrative. Some indications of advancing civilization in Persia are given in this history. But the ill success and premature fate of the Meerza Teki Khan, the commander-in-chief of the Persian

* "The History of the British Empire in India, from the appointment of Lord Hardinge to the Political Extinction of the East India Company, 1844 to 1862," &c. By Lionel James Trotter, late of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers. In 2 vols. Vol. I. London: Allen and Co. 1866.

† "A History of Persia, from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the year 1858, &c." By Robert Grant Wilson, formerly attached to Her Majesty's Legation at the Court of Persia. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1866.

army, and the possible regenerator of his country, shows the true condition of Persia, and seems to point the moral that "no Government can force progress if the people be unsound." The story of this ill-starred minister's career may be contrasted with the popular (not the official) triumph of the fanatic Bab. Bab declared the mission of Mahommed at an end, announced himself as the inaugurator of a new era, asserted that he was God, or an incarnation of God, and contended that heaven was his true home. The temporary disappearance of Bab, just before he was shot to death, had led his followers to infer for a moment that he had actually ascended into heaven. The inference was destroyed before it hardened into faith. In endeavouring to escape, Bab missed his way, was recaptured and shot; but Zinjah, which his adherents had seized, was still defended by courageous men and devoted maidens. "In vain were the conspirators shot, sabered, or burnt to death. They met their fate with the utmost firmness, and none of them cared to accept the life which was offered to them on the simple condition of reciting the Moslem creed. Bab was shot in the month of May, 1850.

The political attitude of Napoleon I. after his matrimonial alliance with Austria, the menacing prospect of a Russian war, and the consequent danger to Prussia, caused all the friends of Frederick William to rally round their king. Among them was Gneisenau, who, in conjunction with Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, Boyen, and Blücher, projected different political and military plans, strengthened the fortresses, and promoted the efficiency of the army. Gneisenau's career is described in the circumstantial life, of which G. H. Pertz has published his second instalment.¹² His activity appears to have been incessant. In Austria, Russia, Sweden, and England, he endeavoured to carry out the project he had at heart—the overthrow of Napoleon. The Prince Regent, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Cambridge were favourable to his views. His decided military talent, his indefatigable zeal, his conduct in battle, his general career in fact, till his appointment as Governor-General of Silesia, are the subjects of discussion or narration in the second volume of Pertz's life of the distinguished field-marshal. A third volume is promised, bringing the biography down to the second peace of Paris.

Numerous biographical works await our notice—a notice which, in some instances, must be very cursory.

Captain (?) Henderson, "The Soldier of Three Queens,"¹³ served in Portugal, when the object of the Brazilian expedition which he had joined was to establish Donna Maria on the

throne of that country: in Spain, where he acted as Captain in the British Auxiliary Brigade, and fought in the cause of Queen Isabella till the termination of the War of Succession. After this he joined the 12th Lancers as first-assistant in the riding department—"marched with that corps by the Overland Route from India to the Crimea"—was present at the siege and capture of Sebastopol, and the subsequent operations between Eupatoria and Simpheropol—and returned with the regiment to England at the Peace," when, being in extremely bad health, he quitted the service of the third Queen whom he had had the honour of serving. An orphan, whose father died in debt, a soldier of fortune, a driver of a coach, and a gentleman jockey, Captain Henderson has had various adventures and experiences, which he has told, perhaps with some allowable embellishments, in his own lively, "rough-and-tumble" fashion. He gives his own view, less from personal observation than on evidence, of the battle of Balacava, Nolan's famous order, Lord Cardigan's noble and gallant bearing, the perfect acumen and judgment of Sir Colin Campbell, and the military incapacity of civilians for the appreciation of military movements, and even military language.

A popular "Life of Richard Cobden,"¹⁴ offers a sufficiently full and a really interesting account of the great free-trade statesman, who even in his life-time became an historical character. We wish that Mr. McGilchrist, his admiring biographer, had not called Cobden an apostle, nor made occasional use of other tall words; but in such a case a little sign-painting may be easily tolerated. Mr. Cobden was born at Dunford, near Midhurst, in Sussex, on the 8rd of June, 1804. Before Cobden was born, Charles Fox sat for the borough, and in its grammar-school Sir C. Lyell, like Cobden himself, received the rudiments of education. Other local associations might be particularized which make this part of Sussex classical. For the life of the "Apostle" himself we send our readers to Mr. McGilchrist's pleasing volume.

Captain Gronow's final reminiscences¹⁵ are recorded in the fourth volume of the entertaining series which he has given to the world. The concluding instalment contains some amusing anecdotes and some tolerable *notes*. A few weeks before his death Captain Gronow wrote, "I have lived long enough to have lost all my dearest and best friends." An Eton boy, an officer in the Guards, serving in the Peninsula and present at Waterloo, a member of Parliament, and a man of fashion, Captain Gronow led a life full of incident, and his gossiping narratives sometimes indicate that he had been a part of all that he had seen. Descended from an ancient Welsh family in Glamorganshire, he entered the army at the age of eighteen, and

¹² "Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Reithardt von Gneisenau." Von G. H. Pertz. Zweiter Band. 1810 bis 1813. Mit einem Steindruck. London: Williams and Norgate. 1865.

¹³ "The Soldier of Three Queens: a Narrative of Personal Adventure." By R. Henderson, late of the 12th Royal Lancers, and formerly Captain in the British Auxiliary Brigade in the Service of H.M.C. Majesty the Queen of Spain. In 2 vols. London: Saunders, Odey, and Co. 1866.

¹⁴ "Richard Cobden, the Apostle of Free Trade," &c. By John McGilchrist, author of "The Life of Lord Dundonald," &c. London: Lockwood and Co. 1865.

¹⁵ "Captain Gronow's Last Recollections: being the Fourth and Final Series of his Reminiscences and Anecdotes. With a Portrait." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1866.

died in Paris on the 20th of November, 1865, in his seventy-second year. We gather these facts from a short and sensible advertisement prefixed to "Captain Gronow's Last Recollections."

The memoir of a merchant prince and public benefactor of Glasgow,¹⁸ who represented his native city in the Reform Parliament, travelled in Italy, and wrote long, informing letters containing his impressions of the scenery, art, and inhabitants of that beautiful peninsula, will interest friends and local patriots; but it is too long, in our opinion, and the style is heavy and laborious. Mr. James Ewing of Strathleven was distinguished as much for the universality as the magnificence of his benefactions. A schedule of bequests, in Dr. Mackay's "Memoir," indicates that he gave away upwards of 70,000*l.* to asylums, institutions, societies, churches, &c. Mr. Ewing, a scholar and antiquarian, was a member of the Maitland Club, and practically supported its literary character by the publication, in two quarto volumes, of "The Cartulary of the See of Glasgow." Born the 7th of December, 1775, he died on the 29th of November, 1853.

After the letters of this charitable archæologist, we will glance at the "Letters of Mozart,"¹⁹ translated by Lady Wallace, from the collection of Ludwig Nohl. As the original work has already been noticed in a previous number of this *Review*, we shall only express our pleasure at seeing Mozart's simple, affectionate, graceful, and sportive correspondence presented in an intelligible form to an English public, by a lady whose long and patient discharge of the duty of interpreter gives us a general confidence in her rendering, and entitles her to our grateful recognition.

A somewhat similar case calls for similar treatment. "Franz Schubert, a Musical Biography,"²⁰ is less a translation than a condensation from the German of Dr. Heinrich Kreissle von Helborn, by Mr. Edward Wilberforce, who has obtained the author's permission to select what he thought would be new and valuable to the English reader. In making this selection Mr. Wilberforce has not adhered to the words, nor followed the arrangements of the original. Sometimes, too, he has inserted opinions of his own. In particular, he has added an essay on Musical Biography, in which some of his remarks on the superfluous matter found in kindred works are correct enough, but perhaps hardly worth the trouble of recording.

¹⁸ "Memoirs of James Ewing, Esq. of Strathleven, formerly Lord-Provost of Glasgow and M. P. for that City, LL.D. of the Province of Glasgow. With a Series of Letters written while on a Tour in Italy, Switzerland," &c. By the Rev. Macintosh Mackay, LL.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1866.

¹⁹ "The Letters of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1769—1791), translated from the Collection of Ludwig Nohl by Lady Wallace. With a Portrait and Facsimile." In 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1866.

²⁰ "Franz Schubert: a Musical Biography. From the German of Dr. Heinrich Kreissle von Helborn." By Edward Wilberforce, Author of "Social Life in Munich," "One with Another." London: William H. Allen and Co. 1866.

The life of another great artist, of Raphael Santi, the Sophocles of the glorious art of Form and Colour,²¹ would be worth telling, if there were anything to tell. Unfortunately, there is nothing to tell, and Alfred Baron von Wolzogen has told it. Of course, what we say must not be taken too literally. Raphael was born, for instance—place, Urbino; time, 28th of March, 1483. His father was Giovanni del Santi, a painter of merit in the city where his son first saw the light. Raphael lost both father and mother before he was twelve, became the pupil of Perugino, the friend of Fra Bartolomeo and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, and the protégé of the patriotic Pope Julius II. In the time of Leo X. the papal court occupied the apartment decorated by his pencil. Raphael was once engaged; the name of the lady was Maria di Bibbiena, the niece of the Cardinal Santa Maria in Portico. He was never married. Soon after his arrival in Rome, his biographer tells us, "he appears to have formed an affection which only terminated with his life;" adding, in an unconscious epigram, "though it cannot be considered quite certain whether it was always one and the same maiden whom he loved during this period." In this case, Raphael must have resembled Byron's coquette, who, when she vows eternal attachment, simply specifies three weeks. "According to the records of the Abbate Melchior Missirini, which are, however, not very credible, his beloved was the daughter of a turf-burner, living near Santa Sicilia, on the other side of the Tiber." From an annotated copy of Vasari's "Biographies," it appears that the girl was called Margarita; "she is now generally called the Fornarina, without any decided testimony whence the name arose. She may have been the same maiden who, according to Vasari, was in Raphael's house at the time of his death;" all of which potential-mood information is extremely satisfactory. As Raphael was born, so also he died on Good-Friday, which our author calls the anniversary of the day of his birth; but which, being April 6th, was assuredly not his birth-day. His death, at thirty-seven years of age is attributed by some of fever, or feverish cold; by others to sensual excesses and over-bleeding. As usual, little is really known of the cause of his death; but, says our author, "that he loved women is an established fact;" so that we get at last a glimpse of one glorious certainty. Such is the life of Raphael, who "believed in the mother of God and all his saints," and who, with his "Greek eye and Christian feeling" created beauty, which, in his biographer's judgment, makes him to the modern world what Pheidias was to the ancient. Baron von Wolzogen's criticism is often interesting, and his ample account of the artistic career and the works of Raphael will be valued by those who are adequate judges of those deathless productions. The biography has been translated by Miss

²¹ "Raphael Santi: his Life and his Works." By Alfred Baron von Wolzogen. Translated by F. K. Bunnett, translator of "Grimm's Life of Michael Angelo," and "Gervinus's Shakespeare Commentaries." London: Smith and Elder 1866.

Bunnett, who has long been regarded as a competent interpreter.

The next work that comes to hand is a biographical farrago by Mr. Cyrus Redding.²⁰ The past celebrities of whom he offers us his random records, amount to twenty. Among them are Canning, Hazlitt, Schlegel, Talma, O'Connell, Cuvier, Belzoni, and Czartoryski. The papers which we like best are those on Horace Smith, Haydon, Turner, Wolcott, Parr, Colton, and Beckford. Mr. Redding assures us that Turner was born at Barnstaple, in North Devon. Mr. Thornbury, we believe, states that he was born in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, we presume erroneously, as Turner was himself Redding's informant. Colton, the author of "Lacon," must have been a curiosity; he was a clergyman and an unbeliever. To escape a painful operation he committed suicide. In the notice on Parr, we find a story similar to that told of a late admirable preacher: "Do you know what end Don't-care came to, Mr. Robertson?" "Yes, madam; he was crucified on Calvary." When Gerald was tried in a Scotch Court for sedition, in defending himself he justified Reform, and said that Christ was a Reformer. "Yes," said one of the judges, "he was a Reformer, and mickle did he get by it!" It is impossible to deny that Mr. Redding has produced some amusing pages; but he is by no means an able writer or a vigorous thinker. His style is often singularly clumsy: his trite reflections degenerate into twaddle; and he has not the ready or accurate information which a literary man of his pretensions might reasonably be expected to possess. Why shouldn't he know, or, having known and forgotten, why couldn't he find out the name of the real or supposed compiler of that church creed which a patriarch of Constantinople thought might have been written by a drunken man? Probably Mr. Redding meant Vigilus of Thapsus, or Hilary of Poitiers. If Parr, however, affirmed that either of these persons was the author, he affirmed more than he could prove; for the author of the creed with the *damnable* clauses, as by a happy solecism Mr. Redding once called the Athanasian symbol, is still unknown. Again, Mr. Redding might have been better informed about Pitt's last dying speech, since we have the authority of Mr. James Stanhope, who was present at his death, for attenuating the grandiloquent apostrophe—"Save my country, Heaven!" into the rather prosaic exclamation—"Oh, my country! how I leave my country!" and that not in the agonies of death, but about two hours before his death. What will the admirer of Goethe say to the critical judgment of the appreciator of "Past Celebrities," when he reads in the notice on Madame de Staël, that the first of modern poets was one who did more harm than good in the world? that the mind which worked out the half-human devil, was not a mind to be envied? that his creations are all artificial, and that he never felt what he affected to feel? Or, "noting the scepticism of Germans as general,"

²⁰ "Past Celebrities whom I have Known." By Cyrus Redding, author of "Fifty Years' Recollections," &c. In 2 vols. London: C. J. Skeet. 1866.

what shall we say of such a silly sentence as that in which we are told Madame de Staël was of course a stranger to the notions of Strauss, Hegel, and others of the present day? Hegel died in 1831, Madame de Staël in 1817; but as Hegel had already written his "Phänomenologie des Geistes," we see no reason why such an intellectual heroine should not have known something of Hegel's "notions"—though he was certainly not of the *present* day. On the other hand, Strauss and others, who *are* of the present day, could not very well have flourished in a past day. At any rate, they did not flourish till after 1817. Of course, therefore, the lady *was* a stranger to their notions; but need Mr. Redding have told us this?

A work of a similar description, but with more fun and less reflection in it, has been recently given to the world by Lord William Lennox, who has seen life in most of its phases, and has enjoyed peculiar facilities of approach to various inner circles, which he has described with a high-bred, good-fellow sort of cleverness that invites a lazy intermittent perusal.²¹ His portrait gallery does not show the hand of an artist, and some of his portraits might perhaps be dispensed with. Still, in a superficial way he paints the manners of the times, gossips about illustrious personages and brilliant reputations, and tells anecdotes, many of them quite new, about men and women in cottage and palace; about duellists, actors, actresses, bishops, poets, prize-fighters, naval and military officers, kings and queens, emperors and statesmen. A quotable story of a true reformer, who was not a first-rate shot, may serve as a specimen of this Ana. "One day, when enjoying a day's sport with a friend in the country, and when pheasants and hares were numerous, the noble lord made no addition to the bag. On taking leave, and seeing the gamekeeper, he remarked, 'I suppose I am about the worst shot you ever saw.' 'Not at all, my lord,' responded the man; 'I've seen many a worse; you misses them all so cleanly, my lord.'" Among the men whom Lord William Lennox saw, and some of whose features he still remembers, are Wellington, Byron, Kemble, Brummell, Theodore Hook, Sir Robert Peel, Count d'Orsay, Sydney Smith, Talleyrand, Haynes Bayley, Gully the pugilistic M.P., and Fauntleroy the banker-convict. "George IV., too, as Prince Regent, and King William IV., the Dukes of York, Beaufort, Richmond, and St. Albans, the Prince Louis Napoleon, and the Emperor Napoleon III., are among the inmates of 'his' noble and royal gallery, which is closed by the bust of the late Prince Consort."

"Shadows of the Old Booksellers"²² is also a collection of portraits, but, unlike the preceding work, it has a genuine purpose, a unity of subject, and a real literary character. Mr. Knight has called up some of the people of the

²¹ "Drafts on my Memory: being Men I have Known, Things I have Seen, Places I have Visited." By Lord William Pitt Lennox. In 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

²² "Shadows of the Old Booksellers." By Charles Knight. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

past, who, not always remarkable in themselves, yet have a decided if secondary interest for us—first, because they are the representatives of what may be called pre-eminently the Trade of Intellect (some would suggest in Intellect, like Campbell, who toasted Napoleon for shooting a bookseller); and secondly, because they are “accompanied with shadows of many of the immortals of literature.” Of these intellectual middlemen, some, as Mr. Knight himself acknowledges, are obscure and ill-defined, nor are their annals particularly attractive. The first of the shadows that we care for is Jacob Tonson, son of the barber-surgeon of the parti-coloured pole which advertised the shop in Holborn, who published for Otway and Dryden, and first made “Paradise Lost” popular. Tonson and Lintott were Pope’s booksellers. Samuel Richardson is reviewed both as critic and bookseller, and Mr. Knight’s portrait of him is one of the best in the book. John Bell, of the Strand, deserves special notice. He introduced the pocket volume, nicely printed and appropriately embellished. For one daring reform he is entitled to the special gratitude of all little and some big boys; he discarded the *long s*, and thus contributed to the diffusion of reading made easy. Hutton, Cave, Longman, Rivington, Murray, Curll, Dunton, and many others will be found in the shadowy procession led by Thomas Guy and closed by James Lackington, at the summons of one who is happily not yet qualified to take a distinguished place as author-bookseller in the illustrious but unsubstantial brotherhood.

“A Picture History of England”²³ contains eighty-five large engravings and three hundred odd pages of letter-press. Mr. Dulcken, the narrator, has brought together the salient facts of English history in a readable form, and told them with a liberal emphasis. We are surprised, however, to find the story of the “Massacre of the Welsh Bards” recorded by a writer who has *endeavoured* to keep out of his volume “anything the reader would afterwards have to unlearn.”

The second volume of a reprint of the “History of New France,”²⁴ by Marc Lescarbot, will interest the antiquarian geographer. “New France” was the name given to that part of North America now called Canada, by Giovanni Verrazani, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when he took possession of it in the name of Francis I., in whose service he was then retained. The history is the production of an eye-witness, and was first published, we believe, before the middle of the seventeenth century.

²³ “A Picture History of England. From the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Present Time.” By H. W. Dulcken, Ph. D. Illustrated with Eighty Engravings by the Brothers Dalziel, from Designs by A. W. Bryce. London: George Routledge and Sons. 1866.

²⁴ “Histoire de la Nouvelle France, contenant les navigations, découvertes,” &c. Par Marc Lescarbot. Enrichie de cartes. Nouvelle édition, publiée par M. Edwin Tross. Vol. II. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1866.

“The Superstitions of Witchcraft,”²⁵ by Mr. Howard Williams, “is designed to exhibit a consecutive review of the characteristic forms and facts of a creed which, in the seventeenth century, was a living and lively faith.” We recommend it as a popular digest of witch-knowledge, as well as for the moral which it suggests; we mean that there are cases in which it is duty to reject human testimony, whatever be the number and whatever be the character of the witnesses. The orthodox witch-believer could refer the sceptic to the highest theoretic authority, the Bible, for evidence of the existence of witches, to the statute-book of all civilized countries, to the experience and practice of centuries, to the evidence of thousands of accusers, and perhaps of hundreds of thousands of the accused themselves. The great doctors of the church, the decision of learned lawyers, the unanimity of jurors, the procedure of parliament, the opinion of kings, nobles, churchmen, could all be cited in vindication of the diabolic reality of the alleged crime. Catholic and Protestant, the Eastern and Western, the Old and New World, alike believed in witchcraft. Luther and Innocent VIII., Charlemagne and James I., Erasmus, Francis Bacon, Judge Hale, Jewell, and Hooker, all believed in dæmoniacal agency, nearly all in the common form of the popular superstition. Yet, in spite of this accumulated weight of authority and testimony, we refuse to believe in the principles and practices of witchcraft. In England, as a consequence of the disgraceful credulity of the undisciplined human mind, seventy thousand persons were executed during the period 1603—1680; while in fifteen centuries of Christianity, nine millions of men, women, and children have been burned or hanged as a sacrifice to superstitious ignorance. Such at least are the estimated numbers; and in the second instance the computation has been made or approved by Dr. Sprenger, who considers it by no means an immoderate one.

BELLES LETTRES.

His severest critics, we suppose, will not deny Mr. Dickens genius, not of the highest indeed, but still of a very rare order. When we look back at his long gallery of portraits, Sam Weller, Chadband, Pecksniff, Pickwick, and Mrs. Gamp; when we consider how much we should lose if deprived of all these, and all their whims and fancies, we must confess that their creator does not belong to the common roll of authors. But on the other hand, when we compare Mr. Dickens to the world’s great humorists, Aristophanes, Molière, Swift, Cervantes, and Shakespeare, then we see how far short he comes of the highest rank of genius. Pecksniff weighs as chaff in the balance against

²⁵ “The Superstitions of Witchcraft.” By Howard Williams, M.A., St. John’s College, Cambridge. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1866.

Tartuffe, and Pickwick is a mere monster beside the Don of Spain. The more we study Falstaff, Gulliver, and Sancho Panza, the more we perceive the art of the artist and thinker, but the closer we look at Mr. Dickens's characters, the more we detect the trickery of an artificer. The more we analyse Mr. Dickens, the more we perceive that his humour runs into riotous extravagance, whilst his pathos degenerates into sentimentality. His characters, in fact, are a bundle of deformities. And he appears, too, to value them because they are deformed, as some minds value a crooked sixpence more than a sound coin. He has made the fatal mistake against which Goethe warned the artist. Everything with him is not *supra naturam*, but *extra naturam*. His whole art, as we shall presently show, is founded upon false principles. When we put down a work of his, we are tempted to ask, *Quid hinc abest nisi res et veritas?* And if this criticism may be pronounced upon his master-pieces, what can be said of his later works? Our answer must be found in our remarks upon "Our Mutual Friend."¹ As it is impossible for us here to analyse the whole work, we must content ourselves with a chapter. To do this in most cases would be as absurd as to exhibit a man's tooth as a specimen of his eloquence. But Mr. Dickens does not suffer by the process. He is seen to the best advantage in detached pieces. And we shall take the chapter on Podsnappery, both because it has been so much praised by Mr. Dickens's admirers, and because, too, we think it is most characteristic of his mind. A more suitable character than Podsnap could not have fallen into Mr. Dickens's hands. We fully sympathize with him in his hatred of Podsnappery. For Podsnap, be it known, is the incarnation of Grocerdom, that stolid British Grocerdom, which deems that only coronets and titles make heroes, only silks and jewels heroines, that the feast of reason comes only with venison, and the flow of wit only with Sneyd's claret—that Grocerdom where riches instead of elevating only enervate their possessors, instead of refining only brutalize each passion, and instead of broadening only swathe the mind in intolerance. In a crusade against this Mr. Dickens has our warmest wishes. And Podsnap, if well conceived and well carried out, might have been the pendant of Pecksniff. But when we open the chapter, we find it an explosion of dullness. A number of automatons are moving about, who are all, so to speak, tattooed with various characteristics. There is the great automaton Podsnap, who is tattooed with a flourish of the right arm and a flush of the face, and the minor automaton Mr. Lammle, who is tattooed with ginger eyebrows. Dancers are called "bathers," and one of them is distinguished by his ambling. In fact Mr. Dickens here seems to regard his characters as Du Fresne says the English did their dogs, *quanto deformiores eo*

meliores aestimant. The conversation is still more wonderful. Mr. Dickens here alternates between melodrama and burlesque. If he is not upon stilts he goes upon crutches. For instance, take the following—

"Said Mr. Podsnap to Mrs. Podsnap, 'Georgiana is almost eighteen.'"

"Said Mrs. Podsnap to Mr. Podsnap, assenting, 'Almost eighteen.'"

"Said Mr. Podsnap then to Mrs. Podsnap, 'Really I think we should have some people on Georgiana's birthday.'"

"Said Mrs. Podsnap then to Mr. Podsnap, 'which will enable us to clear off all those people who are due.'" (Vol. i., p. 98.)

The only thing we can compare with this wonderful passage is "Peter Piper picking pepper." Let us now turn to the satire. Here are Mr. Podsnap's views upon art—

"Literature; large print, respectfully descriptive of getting up at eight; shaving close at a quarter past, breakfasting at nine, going to the City at ten, coming home at half-past five, and dining at seven." (p. 97.)

Now as these exact words are repeated under Painting and Music and again under Dancing (p. 104), we must conclude that Mr. Dickens thinks he has written something very effective. Our comment is that sham wit like a sham diamond, can cut nothing. But then whilst some jokes are dull, others are old. Thus we read of an epergne "blotched all over as if it had broken out in an eruption" (p. 99.) This poor old joke has broken out year after year amongst Mr. Dickens's followers ever since Leech's woodcut of the page "who had broken out into buttons and stripes." The chapter also contains a specimen of Mr. Dickens's bad grammar. We are told that a certain meek young man "eliminated Mr. Podsnap's flush and flourish" (p. 106), whereas the context shows that he produced them. Such a blunder implies that Mr. Dickens knows neither the meaning of the French *éliminer* nor the Latin *elimino*. He appears to confuse "eliminate" with "elicit." The chapter, however, may be taken as a very fair specimen of the whole work. *Tota Natura in minimis*. Much of the caricature in the second volume is simply like trying to frighten a man by making faces at him; whilst in the chapter on "The Voice of Society," Mr. Dickens becomes as angry as a woman, and as inconsistent as the *Times*. But more extraordinary than any chapter is the preface, or postscript, or apology, for we don't know what to call it, which closes the work. It is divided into five sections, and each section contains a separate fallacy, except one, which contains two. In the first, Mr. Dickens lays down the proposition "that an artist (of whatever denomination) may, perhaps, be trusted to know what he is about in his vocation." Mr. Dickens's later works are the best refutation of his own words. He attempts to be a satirist when he is only a caricaturist, and a philosopher when he is only a humorist. That a man who, as far as can be gathered from his works, has never read a word

¹ "Our Mutual Friend." By Charles Dickens. With Illustrations by Marcus Stone. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

of Aristotle, should hold such a doctrine, is natural enough. The second contains the old rock on which Mr. Dickens has so often been shipwrecked. His object in "The Mutual Friend," he says, is to "turn a leading incident to a pleasant and useful account," that is to say, if we rightly understand him, to set forth the wrongs of Betty Higden and the Poor Law. Now, true art has nothing to do with such ephemeral and local affairs as Poor Laws and Poor Law Boards; and whenever art tries to serve such a double purpose, it is like an egg with two yolks, neither is ever hatched. This clause also contains the further fallacy that a work of art is best produced in a serial form. As Mr. Dickens gives no reasons whatever for this opinion, we cannot possibly examine them. In the third clause Mr. Dickens defends the plot of his story by the fact that it is founded on reality. But how does that affect the matter? Truth is not always probable. And it is probability which is required in a novel. When honest Wilars de Honcourt, in the thirteenth century, wrote under his carved animals, "et sachiez bien quil fu contrefais al vif," he only showed how far he still was from a true conception of art. Further, Mr. Dickens's conduct of the plot makes the story still less probable. In Greene's play of "Tu Quoque" occur the following stage directions: "Here they two talke and rayle what they list," "Here they all talk." This may be taken as a short summary of the conduct of the personages in "The Mutual Friend." In the fourth section Mr. Dickens explains his views about Betty Higden and the Poor Law. Our reply is that a novel is not the place for discussions on the Poor Law. If Mr. Dickens has anything to say about the Poor Law, let him say it in a pamphlet, or go into Parliament. Who is to separate in a novel fiction from fact, romance from reality? If Mr. Dickens knows anything of human nature, he must know that the practical English mind is, as a rule, repelled by an advocacy in the shape of fiction. And to attempt to alter the Poor Law by a novel is about as absurd as it would be to call out the militia to stop the cattle disease. The fifth and last section is entirely personal. We believe that all England would have been deeply shocked had Mr. Dickens been killed in the Staplehurst accident. But many minds will be equally shocked by the melodramatic way in which he speaks of his escape. Those who are curious to understand the tricks of his style should analyse the last section. He first endeavors to raise a joke about Mr. and Mrs. Lammie, "in their manuscript dress," and his other fictitious characters being rescued from the railway carriage, and then turns off to moralize and improve upon his own escape, concluding the whole with a theatrical tag about "The End," which refers both to the conclusion of his book and his life. We write this in no carping spirit, but because it so fully explains to us the cause of Mr. Dickens's failures, a want of sincerity, and a determination to raise either a laugh or a tear at the expense of the most sacred of things. After all that can

be said, Art is still the flowering of man's moral nature. ←

In novels as in ladies' dresses, fashions have their day. A few years ago the Jane Eyre pattern prevailed, then Sensationalism, and now Bohemianism. Some half-dozen Bohemian novels and tales lie before us. Thus, to take them alphabetically, Mr. Austin gives us a new story.* He is best known as a satirist, and has not forgotten his power. Terrible things are said against publishers and critics. The critics will probably believe what is said against the publishers, and the publishers against the critics. As we are not afraid of hard blows, we will quote a passage against the critics. "Marston Light was one of the most cynical, selfish, ill-tongued, cruel-penned littérateurs of the town. Somebody said of him that he had read the Sacred Scriptures as hastily as the books which he reviewed, and that he had in consequence totally misunderstood the divine admonition, and invariably did to his neighbours what he took precious good care they should never do to him" (vol. i. p. 11.). This is not bad as jokes go now-o-days. We would, however, advise Mr. Austin to draw his illustrations from less sacred sources. As it is, he lays himself open to the charge that he is seldom witty without being profane, and often profane without being witty. He has, however, great powers of description, to which, in the present work, he has scarcely done justice. Though the offices of critic and prophet should be kept distinct, still we are inclined to predict that Mr. Austin may really distinguish himself as an essayist or satirist.

Passing by some minor names we come to Mr. Winwood Reade's "See-Saw." It is evidently founded upon a careful study of "scrofulous French novels." As it is French in style, so is it French in its moral—

"Le scandale du monde est ce qui fait l'offense,
Et ce n'est pas pécher, que pécher en silence."

We regret to speak so severely, for there is much that is clever and epigrammatic. The account of the "Craven" and its members is, to say the least, vigorous. In detached passages Mr. Reade excels. Looked at as a whole, the art is coarse and clumsy. He is constantly shirking his work. And there are in a novel two ways of escaping the difficulty, either to say that a thing surpasses description, or that it is too well known to need description. Mr. Reade has recourse to both. Further, in proportion as he endeavours to interest us with his principal characters the more he fails. True love, true art, are to him either unknown worlds, or else he cannot describe them. With his minor personages he succeeds better. Darlington, like Rosie Raffles in Mr. Austin's story, appears to be drawn from life. Like Mr. Austin, too,

* "Won by a Head. A Novel." In Three Volumes. By Alfred Austin. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

"See-Saw. A Novel." By Francesco Abati. Edited by W. Winwood Reade. London: Edward Moxon and Co. 1866.

we should imagine that Mr. Reade would distinguish himself more in some other field of literature than in that of novel writing.

Lastly, by the necessity of our alphabetical arrangement, comes Miss Thomas.* She has long since established a reputation as an authority on gloves, horses, and oaths. Versatile and clever, she contrives to do herself as much injustice as her worst enemies could possibly wish. Take for instance such a passage as this—"When one feels the setting sun at all, it is always in 'the small of the back,' and forthwith a helpless feeling of vulgarity, and a wild desire to sneeze sets in. His brazen rays, in fact, make one feel wicked, or weak and dusty." (Vol. iii., p. 64.) Now if Miss Thomas has really discovered any such physiological fact, by all means let her put it forward in a scientific treatise. Her evidence, however, is valuable, for we can now explain various passages in her work, by supposing that she wrote them with her back to the setting sun. Her hero, we may remark, falls in love with three women, two of whom are married. In short, her ethics in the present tale seem somewhat like those of the Bosjeman's—"it is right to steal another man's wife, but it is wicked when one's own is stolen." Some portions, as in all Miss Thomas's works, are cleverly done; the scene between Daisy and her lover in the beginning of the third volume is excellent, whilst the "Menagerie" may fairly be set against Mr. Winwood Reade's "Craven." But the fault of the story, and there cannot be a worse fault, is its moral tone.

And now turning from stories with more or less of a Bohemian bias, we will select some with a different tendency. First comes Mr. Alexander Smith's attempt.[†] In our last number we called attention to his unjustifiable attack on Leigh Hunt. We regret to say that there is the same disposition to sneer at other Liberals in the present work. Now novels are not the place for political vituperation. Mr. Smith, however, reaches his climax of bad taste in vol. ii. ch. viii. A gentleman, who thinks it decent to call the majority of his countrymen "donkeys," should at least be able to point to some higher qualities than we can discover in the present work. Some of the early chapters are prettily done, and Mr. Smith can always describe scenery. But the power of moralizing vaguely upon all things, and letting loose a description here and there, hardly constitutes a novelist.

We should be sorry to say one word that might seem flippant upon "Hidden Depths."[‡] It treats of a subject which no one can approach without much sadness,—a subject, however, which we do not think suitable, in the way in which it is here handled, for a novel.

The author, we should suppose, is either a young curate or a woman. No other beings could possibly have imagined such scenes. *Fingunt creduntque.* The book is put forward as being substantially true, whereas it is substantially false. General accusations are valueless. We can, however, point to a particular passage—vol. ii. p. 20—which shows how little reliance can be placed upon the author. The passage cannot well be quoted. And we should advise none but those who may consider it a duty, to test our words to refer to it. The value of the evidence is thus set at rest, and the value of the morality may be gauged by the following sentiment—"True virtue can have no existence except on a foundation of dogmatic truth." (Vol. ii. p. 157.)

"The Grahames" would certainly seem to be a first attempt. The author's strong point is description. It is however, sadly overdone, as in the account of a certain sunset (vol. i. p. 40). The sketches of characters are coarse, whilst the author's habit of punning renders some of the personages doubly offensive.

"The Man of his Day," is also apparently a first production. Fine writing is also its great blemish. Thus the lightning leads one person "like a pillar of fire," whilst a bay is so bright that it makes another person "dizzy," which we should imagine is just what the lightning should have done. Such phenomena, however, lend an unusual interest to an intrigue or a love scene.

To atone for all these failures, we have, however, "Wives and Daughters." It is decidedly the greatest novel since "Romola." Whether we look at the art of its construction, the natural development of situation after situation, the ease of the dialogue, the subtle humour and happiness of description, it is in each admirable. Many passages rival the best scenes in Miss Austen. The minor characters are as carefully executed as the more important. A sense of reality—and this should be the aim of the novelist—pervades every scene. To justify our remarks is here impossible. We must be content to wear "the foolish face of praise." Let us, however, call attention to such delicate touches as little Molly's "Please, papa—I wish to go—but I don't care about it;" to poor Mrs. Hamley, asking if a son "who wrote such poetry, could do anything wrong?" and to the old butler "who thinks that anger is a good thing for Thomas." "Dear Clare," and Cynthia and Mr. Gibson are, in their different ways, sure to be admired, but the minor strokes of humour of a great artist are often missed. And Mrs. Gaskell's humour is free, on the one hand, from any vulgarity, and on the other hand from any exaggeration—tender and true. And the perfection of the work adds poignancy to our

* "Walter Goring. A Story." By Annie Thomas. In Three Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

† "Alfred Hagart's Household." By Alexander Smith. London and New-York: Alexander Strahan. 1866.

‡ "Hidden Depths." Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglass. 1866.

* "The Grahames of Bassbridge House, Dydborough." By Mrs. Trafford Whitehead. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

* "The Man of his Day. A Novel." London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

* "Wives and Daughters. An Everyday Story." By Mrs. Gaskell. In two volumes. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1866.

grief. When lately a great satirist and novelist was taken away, most of us felt our sorrow lightened by the thought that he had accomplished his work, but now when her fame was at its highest, and her powers at their greatest, has the authoress of "Mary Barton" been snatched away, and there is nothing left for us but to pay a mournful tribute of praise.

Excellent, too, in their way are the Essays of O'Dowd,¹⁰ rattling and racy. The author's assumption of a disguise, however, is something like the Queen travelling under the title of the Duchess of Lancaster. No one can mistake him. Everywhere is he at home, and on everything has something to say. It has been remarked that the present generation cannot pay a compliment or play a hand at whist like their fathers. If anyone will turn to the dedication he will see that the first assertion is wrong, whilst another passage will give him a reason for doubting the last. But this rattling style has its drawbacks. Accuracy is not amongst its merits. Thus we read that "life is carried on, like the American war, by substitutes." (p. 5.) This assertion has certainly been disproved over and over again. At the beginning of the war it may have been true, but not during the real struggle. So, too, the joke about the "new terror of death" (p. 287) belongs not to Lord Lyndhurst, but Arbuthnot, and was first used in reference to Curl. Again, the story of the port-wine (p. 101) is originally told not of a City man, but of a celebrated nobleman long dead.

Volumes of poetry are nearly as numerous as novels. Those who can't write the latter, appear to write the former. This is the only way we can explain the average dulness that pervades such works. Hesiod speaks of poetry as

"*Λημοσύνη τε κακῶν ὑμπαυμά τε μερμηρεύων,*"

but these books are each quarter the renewal of cares and the beginning of difficulties. To praise such poetry is to do infinite harm. Happy indeed is that reviewer who can say, "Thank God, I have never praised a minor poet." On the other hand, to condemn them mercilessly is to be most unjust. With all the vanity, affectation, and weakness that is in them, much that is amiable and at least inoffensive is to be found. The chief fault is, that the writers have neither imagination nor ear. Good feelings, unfortunately, will not supply thought, nor amiable intentions rhythm. Here, for example, is Mr. Washington Moon¹¹ with a sacred poem. We remember him not long ago in prose. He waged war with Dean Alford. The combatants fought. We know not who won, but each has now sung a hymn. The Churchman put forward a volume of mixed poetry; the layman, however, gives us nothing but what is scriptural. The value of the Dean's book we have

already shown; and the utmost praise that we can give "Elijah" is that it is something like an Oxford prize poem put into the Spenserian stanza, with "Salem" at the beginning, middle, and end.

Mr. Fulford's beautifully bound volume¹² simply illustrates the truth of Goethe's saying—there are many echoes, but few voices. Like Mrs. Prideaux, whom we noticed a short time ago, he has caught the mannerism of Tennyson's style and the ring of some of his thoughts. Mr. Leighton¹³ is far more original. A man who can strike out such happy phrases as "honey-scented meadows," and "brooks silver-slippered," has certainly a true eye for nature; whilst one who can write such lines as

"The form of thought
Goes with the age—the thought is for all time—"

shows that he, too, can really think. His great fault lies in extreme redundancy. We wish poets would not so often remind us of Hesiod:

"*Νῆπιτοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν, ὅσῳ πλέον ἤμισιν πάντος.
Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὄνειαρ.*"

If they practised the first line, they would be better able to describe the pleasure in the last.

Mr. Bradbury¹⁴ prefaces his poems with the following extraordinary introduction—"At the end of this volume will be found extracts from notices of the press of my works published in 1859. To insert notices of such a kind may be objected to by some persons; but it, is thought they may serve to guide the judgment of those critics into whose hands my previous volume did not fall." As we are not in the habit of taking our opinions from the *Times*, from which nearly half a page of eulogy is given, Mr. Bradbury must not be surprised at our declining under these circumstances to notice his work.

If Mr. Chorley¹⁵ does not fall into platitudes, he certainly never rises into the region of thought. If there is nothing to censure, there is certainly nothing to praise. If there is *nulla mica salis*, there is, on the other hand, *nulla gutta fellis*. The volume may very fairly be said to represent the average poetry which any man of an amiable disposition might with moderate cultivation produce.

Dr. M. J. Chapman gives us two series of "Idylls,"¹⁶ one sacred, the other secular. We must say that we infinitely prefer the latter.

¹² "Launcelot. With Sonnets and other Poems." By William Fulford, M.A. London: Edward Moxon and Co. 1866.

¹³ "Poems." By Robert Leighton. Liverpool: Edward Howell. 1866.

¹⁴ "Lyrical Fancies." By S. H. Bradbury. London: Edward Moxon and Co. 1866.

¹⁵ "The Wife's Litany. Ballads, and other Pieces in Verse." By John Rutter Chorley. London: Chapman and Hall. 1865.

¹⁶ (1) "Hebrew Idylls and Dramas." By M. J. Chapman, M.A. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1866. (2) "The Greek Pastoral Poets. Theocritus, Bion, Moschus." Done into English. By M. J. Chapman, M.D. Third edition. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1866.

¹⁰ "Cornelius O'Dowd upon Men and Women, and other Things in General." Third Series. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1865.

¹¹ "Elijah the Prophet. An Epic Poem." By G. Washington Moon. London: Hatchard and Co. 1866.

Regular feet and accurate rhymes will certainly not, by themselves, add beauty to the noble English version of the Old Testament. Theocritus suits the translator's powers better. But even here we should prefer an average prose translation to Dr. M. J. Chapman's rhymes. His rendering of the famous xv. Idyll (the Adoniasusæ) reads tamely beside Mr. Matthew Arnold's prose version. To English readers, however, the translation will be of much interest, whilst the notes furnish all requisite information.

Mr. Gibbs' poems¹⁷ in some degree resemble those of Mr. Leighton. Like him, he takes a high view of life and its duties, and has a real regard for Nature. But both he and Mr. Leighton must remember that no high place can possibly be attained in poetry without much labour and severe training. The Muses are hard taskmistresses; they accept no half-and-half homage. You must serve them entirely or not at all. "The Story of a Life," which is the longest, is also the best in the book. As also in Mr. Leighton's case, the comic pieces are failures.

In "Lost and Found,"¹⁸ Mr. Wilson not only shows fluency but power. He does himself, however, great injustice in jumbling metaphors together thus—

"Time sows no seeds which bear so rich a yield
As shattered hopes—they multiply themselves!
Let one be jarred, the others tremble too;
E'en as a single ripple on the lake,
Caused by a pebble cast."

And so on through two more lines. Simplicity, as it is the most difficult, is the last thing attained in art.

"Lays of Italy,"¹⁹ and "The Idylls of the Hearth,"²⁰ both deserve a word of praise, not so much for the poetry as for the tendency of thought and feeling. The former is full of admiration for liberty and Garibaldi, whilst the other deals with homelier subjects. In both cases the authors must find their reward in their work.

Last of all come Sir Bulwer Lytton's "Lost Tales of Miletus."²¹ They stand to his other poems much as the "Caxtoniana" stands to the rest of his prose. We find less of the old smartness; the tinsel is not so tawdry; the commonplaces are less numerous; or perhaps we had better say that the story and the setting prevent them from being very conspicuous; still they are here. Thus such expressions as "teaching thewing souls" (p. 11), and "breath balmng the morn" (pp. 17, 20), are

in the old "Pelham" vein. The literary tinsel crops out in such lines as—

"War is the child of cloud,
Often stillest just before the thunder,"—p. 22.

Where the first sentence is evidently the child of the second. The old commonplaces bud and blossom again in—

"Life hurries on to meet the point it sprung from,
Youth starts from infancy and age returns,"—p. 148.

Which is only the old Bulwerian way of saying that "age is second childhood." Still these faults do not violently obtrude themselves. And we may fairly pronounce the stories as graceful, picturesque, and superficial.

If, however, we can find no original poet this quarter, we have, at least, two excellent collections of poetry. The charming edition of Mrs. Browning²² will, we trust, extend her fame. The selection is well and carefully made. The two greatest achievements of women certainly in our day are "Romola," and the poems of Mrs. Browning. No woman has, on the whole, done for women more than she has. The other is a selection of religious poetry, chiefly from modern authors.²³ The selector has not only exercised wise judgment, but shown an unusual catholicity of taste. He gives us not only English but American poets—not only Protestants but Roman Catholics. He is not afraid to quote either from Sir Aubrey De Vere or Emerson. Arthur Clough will be found side by side with John Henry Newman, and Miss Rosetti opposite to Miss Procter. We much wish, however, that he had gone further afield. He scarcely quotes at all from the Elizabethan poets. And after what Lamb has done, there can be no excuse for being ignorant of their beauties.

If, too, we have no original poetry, we have at least what is the next best thing, an excellent translation of the "Iliad."²⁴ We have so recently given our opinion as to the superiority of blank verse over the so-called English hexameter, that we shall not here enter into the question further than to observe that Mr. Wright quotes from Longfellow—its acknowledged master—the admission that "the motions of the English muse in that measure are not unlike those of a prisoner dancing to the music of his chains." We have, indeed, been accused of favouring blank verse, because, forsooth, Lord Derby used that metre. It is certainly a novelty for this Review to be accused of an aristocratic bias. We trust the reproach will be removed when we say that Mr. Wright's version is, in most respects, equal to Lord Derby's. They stand on equal pedestals. Neither

¹⁷ "The Story of a Life, and other Works." By William Alfred Gibbs. London: A. W. Bennett. 1866.

¹⁸ "Lost and Found. A Pastoral." By J. Crawford Wilson. London: William Freeman. 1865.

¹⁹ "Ruggiero Vivaldi, and other Lays of Italy." By Eleanor Darby. London: Trübner and Co. 1866.

²⁰ "Idylls of the Hearth." By Joseph Verey. London: Aylott and Son. 1865.

²¹ "The Lost Tales of Miletus." By the Right Hon. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart., M.P. London: John Murray. 1866.

²² "A Selection from the Poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning." London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

²³ "Poems of the Inner Life." Selected chiefly from Modern Authors. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. 1866.

²⁴ "The Iliad of Homer." Translated into Blank Verse. By Iohabod Charles Wright. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer. 1865.

of them, however, has approached to the delicacy, music, and colouring which Tennyson has thrown into a famous passage. Whether Tennyson could sustain this high standard is another question. And here let us call attention to a new edition of the "Odyssey."³³ Scholars may differ as to the value of the readings adopted in the text, but no one can doubt the value of the marginal references, and the scholarship of the notes. This is not the place to enter into discussions as to the authorship and date of the "Odyssey." It is sufficient to say that these questions are dealt with by Mr. Hayman in the trenchant style which Professors Conington and Goldwin Smith first introduced. His book must certainly become the text-book of the "Odyssey."

"The poet," κατ' ἔξοχον, in England, means not Homer but Shakspeare. And we are glad to see so many new editions of him. First and foremost, both in size and popularity, stands Cassell's Illustrated Edition.³⁴ One of the editors is well-known by her Concordance, and the other by his "Shakspeare-Characters." It is meant for the people, and is both cheap and useful. The notes are to the point. The editors show good taste, though, perhaps, their feelings here and there override their judgment, as in their comments upon "peonied and liliated brims" ("The Tempest," act iv. sc. 1). Here and there, too, little absurdities peep out, as in the remarks upon "the man, the dog, and the bush in the moon" ("The Tempest," act ii. sc. 2), that "an Italian once pointed out to the editors the figure of a dog in the full moon." After so much has been written upon the subject, the mention of the Italian is a little superfluous. For Mr. Selous' illustrations we can say but little. He shines most amongst the lower characters, and is more at home with Quince, Snug, and Bottom, than with Titania and her elves.

Mr. Dyce's edition³⁵ is in many respects just the opposite to Mr. and Mrs. Clarke's. He writes for the scholar and not for the multitude. His notes recal both the criticism and the satire of the days of Porson and Herman. He is unsparing to his opponents, especially Mr. Collier. The following note upon "Go, get thee to Yaughan" ("Hamlet," act v. sc. 1), is a fair sample of his style:

"Mr. Collier, in the second edition of his Shakspeare, adopts his Corrector's 'yon,' and certainly the Corrector is fortunate in such an expositor as Mr. Collier, without whom we never should have guessed that 'yon' is equivalent to 'yon alehouse.'"

³³ "The Odyssey of Homer." Edited, with Marginal References, various Readings, Notes, and Appendices, by Henry Hayman, B.D. Vol. I. Books I. to VI. London: David Nutt. 1866.

³⁴ "The Plays of Shakspeare." Edited and Annotated by Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke. Illustrated by H. C. Selous. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1865, 1866.

³⁵ "The Works of William Shakspeare." The Text Revised by the Rev. Alexander Dyce. In eight volumes. Vol. VII. Second edition. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.

The method in which Mr. Collier illustrates his Corrector is, to say the least, remarkable. For some time past we have been waiting to see his refutation of the very serious charge brought against him in Mr. Grant White's recent "Life of Shakspeare" (p. 151, footnote.)

Mr. Dyce, too, in other respects presents a contrast to Mr. and Mrs. Clarke. He is never led away by poetical feeling, or a mere love of beauty. Thus "in Macbeth" (Act v. sc. 8) he prefers, and probably rightly, the plain "way of life" to the more poetical "May of life." Again, too, in the same play (Act iv. sc. 8), he reads "summer-seeming lust," in preference to Blackstone's poetical "summer-seeding lust."

The game of emendations is very popular. Not long ago a certain critic nearly re-wrote all the chorusses in Æschylus. The emendations were undoubtedly ingenious. There was, however, one slight fault—the emendator wrote such ungrammatical Greek. Something of this sort is the fault we have to find with Mr. Bailey's clever book.³⁶ He is so dreadfully ingenious. Thus, on a well-known passage in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," he writes:

"Bottom, the weaver, wishing to play the lion, promises that, in order not to frighten the ladies, he 'will roar you as gently as any sucking-dove,' adding, 'I will roar you as 'twere any nightingale' (Act i. sc. 2). The expression in italics is so utterly nonsensical that it is marvellous how it has escaped criticism and condemnation. So far from suffering such a fate, it continues to be quoted as if it were some felicitous phrase. . . . The blunder, which is whimsical enough, may be rectified by the smallest of alterations—by striking out a single letter from dove, leaving the clause, 'I will roar you as gently as any sucking-doe.' As dove was spelt 'doue' in Shakespeare's time, the transition from doe would be easy."—pp. 198.

Now mark how a short extract from such a common work as the "Penny Cyclopædia" demolishes all this ingenuity.

"One part of the internal organization of the pigeon is worthy of special notice. The crop in the state which is adapted to ordinary digestion is thin and membranous, and the internal surface is smooth; but by the time the young are about to be hatched, the whole, except that part which lies on the trachea, becomes thicker, and puts on a glandular appearance, having its internal surface very irregular. In this organ it is that the food is elaborated by the parents before it is conveyed to the young, for a milky fluid of a greyish color is secreted and poured into the crop among the grain or seeds undergoing digestion, and a quality of food suited to the nestling is thus produced. The fluid coagulates with acids and forms curd, and the apparatus forms, among birds, the nearest approach to the mamme of the warm-blooded animals. Hence, no doubt, the term 'pigeon's milk.'"—Article "Columbidae."

And hence, too, no doubt, Shakspeare's "sucking-dove." Similar objections might be taken to many other of Mr. Bailey's emenda-

³⁶ "On the Received Text of Shakspeare's Dramatic Writings, and its Improvement." By Samuel Bailey. Vol. II. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1866.

tions. He, however, is open to conviction, and is candid enough to acknowledge that Mr. Singer's "rother's sides" is preferable to his own ingenious "browser's sides" in "Timon of Athens" (Act iv. sc. 3). His book, if taken cautiously, may be of real service to the critic.

The last, and the least too in size of Shakespearean books this quarter is "the Songs and Sonnets."²² We need not say that it is well edited, for it is edited by Mr. Palgrave. Alexander had a casket made for the "Iliad," and Messrs. Macmillan have made one for Shakespeare's Sonnets. It is a dainty edition in every respect—binding, type, and paper. The notes, too, are admirable, short yet clear. Mr. Palgrave has his own theory upon "the Sonnets," but about this we shall say nothing, as Mr. Gerald Massey promises to clear up all mystery in his forthcoming work.

In our last number we noticed Mr. Farrar's excellent work on the onomatopoeic theory. We now have Mr. Wedgwood himself²³ on the subject. No theory has, perhaps, been so abused. Berkeley was supposed to be conquered by a grin, and Mr. Wedgwood by an epigram. The theory, however, has gained ground in spite of misrepresentation and in spite of nicknames. We shall anxiously look forward to what Max Müller and his followers may have to reply; at present they have answered only with sarcasms. Mr. Wedgwood conducts his argument with a calmness which cannot be too much admired. He has not exhausted his subject in the present little volume, simply because it is inexhaustible. One can scarcely turn to any language without finding some corroboration of his views. The history of the onomatopoeic theory in England is a warning to scholars. Dr. Charnock's book²⁴ is a very second-rate production by a second-rate mind. He possesses no power of real criticism. One authority seems as good as another to him. He does not digest his learning. Thus, to take an example, he quotes under Lullaby—"Lullaby, or L'Ellaby, from a supposed fairy called Ellaby Gathon, whom nurses invited to watch the sleeping babes, that they might not be changed for others. Hence changeling, or infant changed." Now this is so much nonsense, and not very amusing nonsense. It is like the genealogy of Heralds. For the proper treatment of the word let Dr. Charnock turn to Wedgwood's Dictionary. We see that Dr. Charnock promises us a glossary of the provincialisms of Essex. Here he may do real service, but he must be content to collect, and not theorize. A complete revival of Middle Age and early Northern literature is going on. Everything that Mr. Ludlow²⁵ gives us is sure

to be good and substantial. His workmanship is sound, but his style is heavy. "Il est Anglais," as M. le Maire said, when Mr. Sabine Baring-Gould proposed to attack the loup-garou. And so, too, Mr. Ludlow attacks the great epics of the Middle Ages, and in these volumes gives us the spoils. The first part is to us the most interesting, and we wish that Mr. Ludlow had extended his chapter on the Growth of Legend into a longer essay. His book, we fear, will be more often referred to than read, and more often plundered than acknowledged. The three most interesting chapters in Mr. Sabine Baring-Gould's work²⁶ are those on the "Were-Wolf in the North," "The Origin of the Scandinavian Were-Wolf," and "The Were-Wolf in the Middle Ages." And he well illustrates what he has said of the advantage of the study of Norse Mythology. He writes fluently, and possesses a keen eye for whatever is picturesque. For our own part, we should be inclined to regard lycanthropy certainly in many cases as nothing more than the result of the human mind hardening poetry into fact, and materializing what had been taught in a spiritual sense. Two translations from the Norse have also appeared.²⁷ They are works, however, more suitable for the "specialist" than the general critic to deal with. We can, however, say that Sir Edmund Head's rendering, like everything that he writes, is marked by both ease and vigour. Amongst other translations, from very different sources, we must mention Mr. Wells's "Eastern Tales,"²⁸ and Mr. Brooks's rendering of Richter's "Hesperus."²⁹ To many, whatever Richter wrote is quite as wonderful as the "Thousand and One Nights." The Rhine and the Ganges, it has been well said, are only geographically distinct. Englishmen can now amuse themselves in tracing resemblances between Mr. Wells's Eastern tales and the Orientalisms of Jean Paul, in Mr. Brooks's very readable translation of an untranslatable work. Amongst books which refuse to be classed under any denomination is Mr. Ruskin's "Ethics of the Dust."³⁰ We should be very sorry to treat him in the way in which he treats others. Indeed, he seems rather to be an object for commiseration than

²² "Songs and Sonnets." By William Shakespeare. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

²³ "On the Origin of Language." By Hensleigh Wedgwood. London: Trübner and Co. 1866.

²⁴ "Verba Nominalia; or, Words derived from Proper Names." By Richard Stephen Charnock, Ph. D. London: Trübner and Co. 1866.

²⁵ "Popular Epics of the Middle Ages of the Norse-German and Carolingian Cycles." By John Malcolm Ludlow. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1865.

²⁶ "The Book of Were-Wolves: being an Account of a Terrible Superstition." By Sabine Baring-Gould, M.A. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865.

²⁷ (1) "The Story of Viga-Grum," Translated from the Icelandic. With Notes and an Introduction. By the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Head, Bart., K.C.B. London: Williams and Norgate. 1866.

(2) "The Edda of Sæmund the Learned." From the Old Norse. With a Mythological Index. Part I. London: Trübner and Co. 1866.

²⁸ "Mehemet, the Kurd, and other Tales from Eastern Sources." By Charles Wells. London: Bell and Daldy. 1865.

²⁹ "Hesperus; or, Forty-five Dog-Post Days." A Biography. From the German of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter. Translated by Charles T. Brooks. London: Trübner and Co. 1865.

³⁰ "The Ethics of the Dust." Ten Lectures to Little Housewives on the Elements of Crystallization. By John Ruskin, M.A. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1866.

for criticism. This is the manner in which he thinks it decent to oppose certain well-ascertained conclusions of modern science: "Lecturer.—Do you think you don't know whether you are alive or not? (Isabel skips to the end of the room and back.) Yes, Isabel, that's all very fine, and you and I may call that being; but a modern philosopher calls it being 'in a mode of motion.' It requires a certain quantity of heat to take you to the side-board, and exactly the same quantity to bring you back again—that's all." (p. 46.) Paley has said that you can't refute a sneer. Luckily, however, a sneer refutes itself. But we will not bid Mr. Ruskin look to Paley, but rather to Butler, who in his famous tenth sermon says "it is as easy to shut the eyes of the mind as those of the head."

A solitary topographical work, the Rev. S. Smith's, "The Temple and the Sepulchre,"¹⁸⁵ appears. None but those who have made this subject a study, and who have seen the actual locality, can be judges of its merits or demerits. We possess neither qualification. All that we can say is, that the arguments are temperately expressed, the descriptions good, and the illustrations are a great help to the text, which is by no means always the case in similar works. Two Christmas books, as we suppose they must be called, reached us too late to be noticed in our last number. It is not, however, of much consequence, for they will be welcomed at any season. Mr. Millais's collection¹⁸⁶ is of a very miscellaneous kind. But every one who cares not for Millais alone, but the progress of art, should certainly study this volume. Goethe used to advise the study of nature in her monstrosities, and even in the poorest sketches here—and there are some very poor—much may be learnt. The other is a child's book.¹⁸⁷ A well-told story is set off by Mr. Tenniel's illustrations. And we must say that we like Mr. Tenniel here far better than in the pages of *Punch*. It must, we should think, too, have been some relief to him to have escaped for once from satire to the poetry of childhood. Satire, such as Mr. Tenniel's was against Lincoln, must bring remorse, but a book like this nothing else but pleasure to both maker and reader. And here let us take occasion to notice another child's book, "The Butterfly's Gospel, and other Stories."¹⁸⁸ The names of the author and the translator are sufficient guarantees for its excellence. The publishers, we may add, have done their utmost to make the binding correspond with the text.

¹⁸⁵ "The Temple and the Sepulchre." By S. Smith, M.A., Vicar of Lois Weedon, and Rural Dean. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1865.

¹⁸⁶ "Millais's Illustrations." A Collection of Drawings on Wood. By John Everett Millais, R.A. London and New York: Alexander Strahan. 1866.

¹⁸⁷ "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland." By Lewis Carroll. With forty-two illustrations by John Tenniel. London: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

¹⁸⁸ "The Butterfly's Gospel, and other Stories." By Frederiks Bremer. Translated by Margaret Howitt. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder 1865.

From France we have several novels. Amongst them "La Prime d'Honneur"¹⁸⁹ is remarkable for its descriptions of scenery. The account of the *combe*—or, in Devonshire dialect, *coombe*—is excellent. The author is very happy in all his home-scenes. He makes cabbages, potatoes, and bacon poetical. There is a farm-supper, as far as description goes, worthy of George Eliot. His rustics, however, do not possess the wit of George Eliot's yokels. But he is quite correct in saying that the labourer admires scenery, and notes the changes of the seasons, and the varying aspects of cloud and sky, more than those above him in life. And there is, too, a certain amount of truth in the following sentence, which might be remembered in England—"Il serait décidément plus facile d'éventrer un chêne de cent ans avec un couteau de deux sous que de faire entrer une idée de bon sens dans la tête d'un tueur de lièvres." The remark does not apply only to poachers. In a novel of M. Urbain Olivier's we naturally look for country scenes. In the present¹⁹⁰ the reader will not be disappointed. Here, as in George Eliot, we come upon rustic terms and provincialisms—to be found in no dictionary—which give the true local colouring to the dialogue. The philologist may certainly here pick up some fresh word-lore, whilst the artist may learn a lesson by the skill with which it is used. Further, the story possesses a great deal of humour, and a thoroughly healthy tone. It is a new thing for French novelists to be writing on the text.

"Où peut-on être mieux,
Où peut-on être mieux,
Qu'au sein de sa famille?"

But it is a novelty in which we should like to see some further experiments. M. Edouard Ourliac gives us a collection of tales and essays.¹⁹¹ Both are interesting. Thus, "La Petite Loiseau" is the story of a foundling, who, though motherless, still has a mother. The tale, though well told, is far too sentimental and theatrical. Wordsworth's "We are Seven" suggests the true method of treating such a subject. We trust, however, that M. Ourliac does not think that it is only by the Loire that a peasant's house "est plutôt une tanière qu'une habitation," and that only the peasants of La Varaine eat "du pain, toujours du pain, toujours." In Dorsetshire he might find similar hovels, whilst in London men and women lack even bread. Amongst the essays, those who relish genuine French humour should turn to "Le Gendarme." The title of a little handbook¹⁹² to the French Exhibition of 1867 best explains its contents. On the whole, in spite of some tall talk about "le beau et le bon," it will

¹⁸⁹ "La Prime d'Honneur." Par M. Calemard de la Fayette. Paris: Hachette et C^o. 1866.

¹⁹⁰ "L'Ouvrier. Histoire de Paysans." Par M. Urbain Olivier. Lausanne: Georges Bridel. 1866.

¹⁹¹ "Les Contes de la Famille." Par M. Édouard Ourliac. Paris: Michel Lévy, Frères. 1866.

¹⁹² "L'Exposition Universelle de 1867. Guide de l'Exposant et du Visiteur, avec les Documents Officiels, un Plan, et une Vue de l'Exposition." Paris: Hachette et C^o. 1866.

be found equally useful to the exhibitor and the mere visitor. Further, it contains a history of the various French Exhibitions, prefacing it with the quotation, "L'idée des expositions périodiques est une idée toute française." England, we suppose, must be content with the minor idea of expanding cucumber frames into crystal palaces.

Amongst reprints we have to acknowledge Mr. Booth's "Collection of Epigrams." In spite of various improvements, many still remain to be made. In a third edition we should advise him to scrupulously weed out all those pieces where the humour depends upon the word rather than upon the thought. "The Biglow Papers," in their new form, are most suited for the railway, whilst "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" is fitted for the draw-

ing-room. Lastly, from Messrs. Smith, Elder, and Co. we have five reprints in their excellent monthly series of standard novels, and from the Early English Text Society, three new volumes.

J. C. Thompson. London: Alexander Strahan; and Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. 1865.

"(1) "Beyminstre." By the Author of "Lena." (2) "Entanglements." By the Author of "Mr. Arle." (3) "The School for Fathers." By Talbot Gwynne. (4) "Winifred's Wooing." By Georgiana M. Craik. (5) "Paul Ferroll." A Tale. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1865, 1866.

"(1) "The Wright's Chaste Wife." A Merry Tale, by Adam of Cobsam. Copied and Edited by Frederick J. Furnival. (2) "Merlin; or, the Early History of King Arthur." A Prose Romance (about 1450—1460 A.D.). Edited from the unique MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, by Henry B. Wheatley. With an Introduction by D. W. Nash, Esq., F.S.A. Part. I. (3) "The Monarch, and other Poems of Sir David Lyndesay." Edited by Fitz-Edward Hall. Part. I. London: published, for the Early English Text Society, by Trübner and Co. 1865.

" "Epigrams, Ancient and Modern." Edited by Rev. John Booth, B.A. Second Thousand. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1865.

" "The Biglow Papers." By James Russell Lowell. London: John Camden Hotten. 1865.

" "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." By Oliver Wendell Holmes. With Illustrations by

PROFESSOR BLACKIE'S TRANSLATION OF ÆSCHYLUS.

IN the last October number of this Review it was stated that Professor Blackie's translation of Æschylus "was aided by Prussian funds through Bunsen." The Professor has informed us that "there is not a shadow of truth in the statement." We are extremely sorry that, having been misinformed on the subject, we gave publicity to a false report.—*Editor of the Westminster Review.*

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